This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

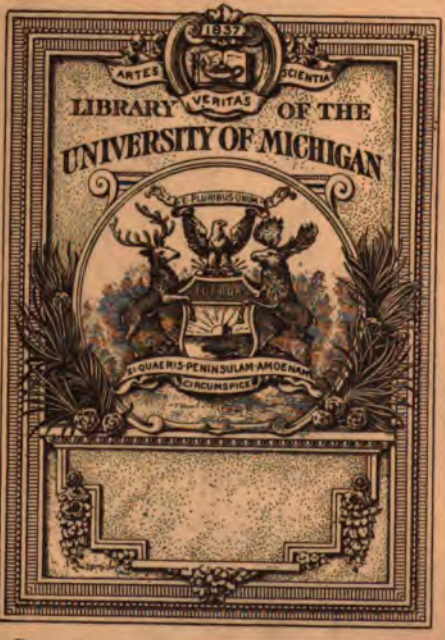
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


1837
ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
E PLURIBUS UNUM
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

.C556

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

A

Quarterly Review.

VOL. XX.

JULY—DECEMBER.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY J. & C. MOZLEY,
6, PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND D. APPLETON & CO. 200, BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

1850.

LONDON:

R. CLAY PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JULY, 1850.

ART. I.—*History of the Church of England. By the late Rev.* J. B. S. CARWITHEN, B.D. *A new Edition by the Rev.* W. R. BROWELL, M. A. *Rector of Beaumont, Essex.*

WE hold it impossible to overrate the importance of that influence which the historian will exercise over his own and succeeding generations, should he be so fortunate as to win, in the first place, and afterwards to retain, the 'ear of the public.' If, as we are told, the formation of opinions and principles is in the hands of poets, historians, and divines, can we lay too much stress and insist too rigidly upon the orthodoxy, the truthfulness, and moral character of these high-priests of literature! On this obvious ground, without further apology, and because of the conflicting claims advanced from time to time by men of every shade of sentiment and variety of creed, we deem it to be within our province to remark, and even our duty to keep a watchful eye, upon the productions of our own age in any of these the principal departments of learning; accordingly we would now turn the attention of the reading part of our community to a reprint of the excellent work standing at the head of this article; and we must first of all lay down what qualifications are, in our judgment, essentially necessary for an ecclesiastical historian to possess; that we may be justified in the commendation we shall venture to bestow, and in the exceptions to an entire approval we shall find it necessary to make.

In attempting to define the duties of an historian, if we begin with a foundation of elementary and well known matter, we solicit our readers patience until they can determine for themselves whether our remarks would have been complete without them. We commence then by opening a school-book, Cicero de Orat. lib. ii.; nor could so much as the following passage contains be easily comprehended in fewer words:—

'Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat, ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne

227

qua simultatis? Hæc scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus: ipsa autem exædificatio posita est in rebus et verbis, Rerum ratio ordinem temporum desiderat, regionum descriptionem: vult etiam quoniam in rebus magnis, memoriâque dignis consilia primum, deinde acta, posteà eventus exspectantur, et de consiliis significari quid scriptor probet, et in rebus gestis declarari non solum quid actum aut dictum sit, sed etiam quo modo, et cum de eventu dicatur, ut causæ explicentur omnes vel casûs vel sapientiæ vel temeritatis; hominumque ipsorum non solum res gestæ, sed etiam qui famâ ac nomine excellant, de cujusque vitâ atque naturâ. Verborum autem ratio et genus orationis fusum atque tractum et cum lenitate quâdam æquabili profluens sine hac judiciali asperitate et sine sententiarum forensium aculeis, persequendum est.'

The powers and habits of mind demanded for the execution of this office are evidently extremely numerous and of a very high stamp: we are almost afraid to attempt their enumeration. Take however the following; honesty, sagacity, discrimination, sound judgment, diligence, and order; add to them taste and elegance, and even then we shall have by no means exhausted all those excellent qualities which ought to meet in a writer of history. Every one must, we think, be struck with the fact that moral habits of the mind, and not those of an intellectual kind, prevail in our list of desiderata. The truth is, that we must regard historians more or less in the light of witnesses; we demand to know their names and character (for where shall we find an anonymous history that has carried any authority with it?) They must appear in the court of public opinion, and may be cross-examined on every thing to which they depose: it is a question of credibility, and therefore the moral worth of the historian is necessarily made prominent. We shall not of course be misunderstood so far as to be thought to insist on the testimony of eye-witnesses alone, or to confine our confidence to contemporary historians;—such an overstrained and rigid law could never be enforced, and would not secure more of truth, while it would mutilate and embarrass the course of narrative insufferably. Our meaning is, that every thing placed on record by a writer receives such a stamp and value as his judgment awards;—he is, in a secondary sense, a witness of transactions which occurred ages ago, for he believes them or rejects them; such is the accumulative testimony of the Church of successive generations. On this point, however, we shall have occasion to dwell when we come to the consideration of what the Christian historian should possess, over and above those endowments of the mind that make up the accomplishments of a civil historian. We propose to restrict ourselves at first, guided in some measure by the definition of the great orator, to those qualifications which all who would succeed in this noble employment, whatever be its subject, must possess in common. For when we

look at the ponderous and countless volumes lettered 'Hist. Rer.' or 'Univ. Hist.' which rest almost untouched upon the shelves of every good library, we feel some compassion for those industrious men who have laid up a store to which few have recourse, and make it a question with ourselves, why they are so generally overlooked! And we confess to have come to this conclusion, that in addition to the dryness of crude detail, and the sameness that the actions of mankind maintain, much of the neglect to which they are subject may be traced to their own deficiencies.

There is a kind of historical genius, not altogether distinct from poetical talent, without which no one will arrest attention, or leave vivid impressions upon the general mind. That native fire of the soul, which constitutes the poet, has a twin-sister spirit engaged on a humbler though still a sacred subject—history. It is a gift; it shows itself often at an early age in powers of description and narrative, and survives in the loquaciousness of grey hairs, a distinct and peculiar gift. The uncultivated mind of one who is acknowledged to 'tell a good story;' of a nurse, whose memory is the treasure-house of things marvellous; of that peculiar person (and no neighbourhood is without such) who chronicles the history of every family around,—here is frequently to be discovered the latent genius of a historian, the almost poet of actual life. This is the germ out of which is to be developed, under the fostering hand of cultivation, that attractive talent for the composition of History, without which it is wiser and safer for any one to decline entering these lists for fame: no mere imitation of phraseology, and the careful use of conventional terms, can atone for the want of this natural gift; if they could, historians might be made to order at public schools and universities. Nor is the most exact and careful compilation of events to be designated history; for if so, the Annual Register might suffice us for all common purposes. The writer who would rank as historian must inherit some of that engaging genius with which bards and eulogists of former days were so largely endowed. This was the great charm that Herodotus imparted to his historical recitations, and kindled the spark of genius that lay dormant in the second, perhaps the greatest, of Grecian historians. Such must we accord to Xenophon also; to Cæsar and Livy; and amongst moderns, to Froissart and Robertson. And, admirable as we must admit Cicero's 'Law of History' to be, we think it fortunate for his reputation that he never executed his design of writing the history of his own country, as it certainly would have been as great had he never tried his hand at poetry. The most powerful mind may be, and frequently is, entirely desti-

tute of the 'narrative faculty.' But we pass on to consider the other requisites which constitute the good historian.

Truth being the professed aim of all who undertake this task, boldness and impartiality are amongst the first things required by the reader, and also promised by the writer; but who does not know the infinite number of occasions that may arise either to disturb or to suspend the full tranquillity of perfect impartiality? Evidence is so fugitive; the canon of credibility so little agreed upon; the sources of historical information are so various, so opposed to each other, so intricate and unsatisfactory, that we are inclined to place the composition of a faithful history amongst the highest achievements of the human mind. Ample powers of imagination are required to transfer a lively picture of the times, and scenes, and persons described; and yet how necessary it is also for the soundest judgment to be exercised that the very truth may be represented. We cannot endure colouring to increase the effect, and yet look for more than a tame stiff outline, and want the artist's aid to prevent our history from becoming a mere *procès verbal*. What a field there is for displaying powers of the highest order, when the line of truth can be only one, whereas the paths of error must be infinite! Even that intense and passionate love of truth which is so captivating and heroic, be it ever so unfeigned and earnest, will not avail for maintaining impartiality; objects must be viewed through some medium; the mind must come to its task with some fixed principles and habits of thought, and the representation of facts will be coloured by the prevailing tone of mind in the narrator; the very simplest story will discover something of the teller, however warily his words be chosen, and this we hold to be so general as to extend even beyond pure narrative; the very mathematician displays the cast of his own mind by the nature of the proofs that he employs. Now, confessedly, what on all accounts we look for in history, is not this man or the other's version of events, but the plain unvarnished tale of actual transactions with all their attendant causes and consequences, motives and feelings; and, acknowledging the manifold difficulties that lie in the historian's way,—of such a nature too, as we have just observed, as to seem almost insuperable,—it is a grave question whether any method can be suggested for avoiding error altogether, and to what extent we can ever hope to see this realized. There are persons, not numbered perhaps among our ordinary readers, who, should they by any chance light on this passage, will look upon our inquiry as a forlorn hope, or as a dream promising the philosopher's stone or perpetual motion; but we trust that there are many who have already divined the answer we are preparing to make, and whose

concurrence in it we earnestly desire. The natural craving after absolute truth has at all times had recourse to different securities and provisions against error, by which authors have hoped to be guided through the tangled maze of facts and opinions. In early and simple writers we meet with an invocation for supernatural assistance, which, so long as it was sincere and faithful, could not fail to engender some of that serious sobriety, which leads to the adoption and the expression of truth, though it degenerated, we know, into a mere form of introduction utterly destitute of reality. Some historians enter upon their labours with an avowed expectation of finally settling every disputed point, relying upon their superior means of information, or because they have discovered the errors of preceding writers, and are determined to guard against the same and the like. But self-reliance is no safeguard against any dangers, least of all the dangers of authorship. Some writers have thought to overrule their political bias by dealing always in contradictory statements, and leaving the reader to gather the truth for himself as he best can, and from the bottom of a well indeed, inculcating the maxim that the truth is ever to be found midway between the statements of contending parties. Of this we have had a recent example in Mr. Macaulay's History of England. He affects great impartiality by producing opposite authorities, and intends to leave the impression on his reader's mind that what really occurred was somewhere between the two extremes; this is his favourite figure of composition; but it is not, in the first place, applicable to facts, which admit of no degree; and secondly, he has actually created and coined extremes, in order to bring his own version into the supposed medium of truth. Let him not deceive himself, he can never be a historian; he may support his friends in power by celebrating the cause of the 'glorious Revolution;' but he is destitute of many of those qualities which would entitle him to be enrolled in the honourable corps of historical bards. We are far from denying that diverging and contradictory statements should be compared; this is of course a chief duty for the historian: we condemn the application of that much questioned Aristotelian doctrine of the mean and extremes to the debated facts of history, and dismiss with contempt an author who stoops to support his party by tampering with original documents. Again, we have remarked in other writers so much sensitiveness to the imputation of partiality, as to bear the appearance of addressing their opponents only, aiming at the approbation of their enemies, and adapting their statements to the wishes and views which they do not themselves avowedly hold; they are deserters, and should be treated as such. This is an attempt on the part of conscientious men to

counteract the natural bias of their own opinions; but, excusable or even meritorious as the attempt may be, the same ill effects result from it as would proceed from an affectation of charity, namely, one-sided history. It is a high and praiseworthy aim indeed to aspire after absolute impartiality, but it requires a steady head to stand long on such an eminence, and a steady hand to record the actions and words of men without any bias whatever. Here we will introduce an admirable passage from F. Schlegel's Lectures on Modern History, for which we are obliged to the recently published translation; it contains the root of that solution to the great difficulty of historians of which we are now speaking:—

'That history is written with partiality is a universal complaint. In the ordinary and literal sense this complaint ought not to be made, if we survey history from a lofty point of view. If, in his narrative a writer of history has in view merely the advantage of some individual state, or some special political object, and not the general interests of mankind and the progress of human destinies, in that case he may be perhaps a skilful advocate, an able orator, a distinguished political writer, but by no means is he an historian. But if a genuine historian sets before us facts, as they are, without falsification, and with the strictest conscientiousness,—for so he is required, and so it is self-evident he ought to do;—and if, with respect to his views and opinions, without which it is impossible to write history, or at least a lively historic narrative, he frankly states the principles of belief and right which determine his views and opinions; then we cannot complain with justice, for he himself furnishes us with the means of easily ascertaining how far we can agree with him or not. Of partiality we ought not to accuse him, even if we should differ from him in opinion; or at least the word then has no longer any very reprehensible sense. In general it is in history as in life itself, when it may often be more praiseworthy to choose and join the right party, than to remain without any party, ever neutral and indifferent. The example of a great Roman writer will best serve to illustrate my meaning. Tacitus opens his two immortal works, of different tendency, with the same assertion,—that they were written without hate, as without love. In this, perhaps, he only alluded to his own personal relations under this or that particular emperor, which might indeed more readily occur to his contemporaries. But if his impressions were to be taken strictly we should then do him injustice. For it is precisely the high moral hate, glowing through his pages, and the exalted love visible in them; the hate namely of unrighteous despotism and degrading vice, and the decided watchful love for every thing worthy of better times; these things it is that render his works immortal, that have given them an imperishable value for all ages. Not impartial is Tacitus—this any one without intellect or love can easily be. No! he is in the highest degree partial, but his partiality is for the right party, and expressed in a just and noble manner.'—P. 3.

With this opinion, so far as relates to secular history, we cordially agree. It is fallacious to suppose it possible for any human being to divest himself of all passion and feeling, inclination and conviction, in order that he may sit in judgment on the actions and lives of others; and, if he could, his production would be an unnatural and monstrous performance, that could

find no sympathy in the human heart. Socrates in his basket, or Archimedes looking about for an unearthly spot on which to fix his fulcrum, are not more ridiculous than to aim at independent impartiality of this kind. But let no one too hastily conclude from these declarations on our part, that we suppose no history of perfect truthfulness has ever been written, or, as a consequence of the infirmities of mankind, ever could be composed. We believe that there has been, and that there still exists perfectly impartial history in the Book of Holy Revelation, and moreover, that it is practicable for one who is under the guidance of Him who inspired the Scriptures, to compose a true and faithful history of the Church. This latter proposition we will proceed to support with certain arguments, elementary indeed in themselves, but evidently not obvious to many persons; the former we assume as granted, while the clamours and objections which such an announcement will certainly excite, must be deferred until we have stated our own case.

First, we beg all our readers who can, to realize in their own minds the theory of the Church, such as it is asserted and maintained to be, by faithful sons of every generation and every land. The Church is a spiritual creation of God, made visible in the faithful; mysterious in constitution, in doctrine, in the Sacraments, and also in the powers entrusted to it. For the Church does lay claim to supernatural powers, not exhibited in every age in proof of its divine mission, as the Romanists pretend, though they cannot substantiate it, but still in the judgment of every Catholic capable of being called forth into action by Him whose original gift they were, acting nevertheless upon the hearts and minds of the faithful as really and effectually as did the open manifestations of the Spirit. If this be an essential characteristic of the nature of the Church, how incomplete must be the history which relates only to the externals of this institution, to its points of contact with the world considered politically only; and then, reverently applying the reasoning of the Sacred Book contained in 1 Cor. ii. 11, 'What man knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of man 'which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man 'but the Spirit of God;' we may for our parts deny that one who is no member of Christ's Church *can* enter into the fortunes and destinies of it; and if going before unbelievers for judgment is prohibited by the Apostle to Christian brethren, when any case of disagreement between them occurs, it is, we think, a fair inference that to receive the history of the Church at the hands of infidels or of misbelievers is also a departure from the line of duty prescribed by Scripture. And since, unfortunately, true membership is very vaguely interpreted amongst us, and we have an

counteract the natural bias of their own opinions; but, excusable or even meritorious as the attempt may be, the same ill effects result from it as would proceed from an affectation of charity, namely, one-sided history. It is a high and praiseworthy aim indeed to aspire after absolute impartiality, but it requires a steady head to stand long on such an eminence, and a steady hand to record the actions and words of men without any bias whatever. Here we will introduce an admirable passage from F Schlegel's Lectures on Modern History, for which we are obliged to the recently published translation; it contains the root of that solution to the great difficulty of historians of which we are now speaking:—

'That history is written with partiality is a universal complaint. In the ordinary and general sense this complaint ought not to be made, if we survey history from a lofty point of view. If, in his narrative a writer of history has in view merely the advantage of some individual state, or some special political object, and not the general interests of mankind and the progress of human destinies, in that case he may be perhaps a skilful advocate, an able orator, a distinguished political writer, but by no means is he an historian. But if a genuine historian sets before us facts, as they are, without falsification, and with the strictest conscientiousness,—for so he is required, and so it is self-evident he ought to do;—and if, with respect to his views and opinions, without which it is impossible to write history, or at least a lively historic narrative, he frankly states the principles of belief and right which determine his views and opinions; then we cannot complain with justice, for he himself furnishes us with the means of easily ascertaining how far we can agree with him or not. Of partiality we ought not to accuse him, even if we should differ from him in opinion: or at least the word then has no longer any very reprehensible sense. In general it is in history as in life itself, when it may often be more praiseworthy to choose and join the right party, than to remain without any party, ever neutral and indifferent. The example of a great Roman writer will best serve to illustrate my meaning. Tacitus opens his two immortal works, of different tendency, with the same assertion,—that they were written without hate, as without love. In this, perhaps, he only alluded to his own personal relations under this or that particular emperor, which might indeed more readily occur to his contemporaries. But if his impressions were to be taken strictly we should then do him injustice. For it is precisely the high moral hate, glowing through his pages, and the exalted love visible in them; the hate namely of unrighteous despotism and degrading vice, and the decided watchful love for every thing worthy of better times; these things it is that render his works immortal, that have given them an imperishable value for all ages. Not impartial is Tacitus—this any one without intellect or love can [illegible] be. No! he is in the highest degree partial, but his partiality [illegible] right party, and expressed in a just and noble manner.'

With this opinion, so far as relate[illegible] cordially agree. It is fallacious to [illegible] human being to divest himself of [illegible] tion and conviction, in order [illegible] the actions and lives of other[illegible] would be an unnatural and

find no sympathy in the human heart. Socrates in his basket, or Archimedes looking about for an unearthly spot on which to fix his fulcrum, are not more ridiculous than to aim at independent impartiality of this kind. But let no one too hastily conclude from these declarations on our part, that we suppose no history of perfect truthfulness has ever been written, or, as a consequence of the infirmities of mankind, ever could be composed. We believe that there has been, and that there still exists perfectly impartial history in the Book of Holy Revelation, and moreover, that it is practicable for one who is under the guidance of Him who inspired the Scriptures, to compose a true and faithful history of the Church. This latter proposition we will proceed to support with certain arguments, elementary indeed in themselves, but evidently [illegible] to many persons; the former we assume as granted, while the [illegible] objections which such an announcement will certainly excite, must be deferred until we have stated our own case.

First, we beg all our readers who can [illegible] minds the theory of the Church, such as it is asserted and maintained to be, by faithful sons of every generation and every land. The Church is a spiritual creation of God, made visible in the faithful; mysterious in [illegible], in the Sacraments, and also in the [illegible] the Church does lay claim to supernatural [illegible] in every age in proof of its divine mission as the [illegible] pretend, though they cannot substantiate it, [illegible] judgment of every Catholic capable of being called [illegible] action by Him whose original gift they were, [illegible] upon the hearts and minds of the faithful as [illegible] tually as did the open manifestations of the Spirit. [illegible] an essential characteristic of the nature of the Church [illegible] incomplete must be the history which relates [illegible] externals of this [illegible] points of [illegible] world considered [illegible] then, [illegible] the reasoning of [illegible] contained in [illegible]

apostolic warning that 'they are not all Israel which are of Israel,' (Rom. ix. 6), we must require for our historian that he receive the previous, or an equivalent definition of the Church. To consent to take any other view than that which a faithful churchman is bound to take, we pronounce a dereliction of Christian duty—to endeavour to obtain some more elevated position such as philosophy is supposed to furnish, from whence a more comprehensive, and therefore a truer estimate of history may be made, is in our judgment nugatory. Even F. Schlegel is not always to be acquitted of entertaining this idea: in his Philosophy of History, lect. xii. is this passage:—

'It is only the knowledge, and complete comprehension of the great scheme of history, which can enable us to rise above the particular transactions of our own, or of a foreign nation of the present times or of past ages; and it is this knowledge which can alone clearly and safely determine the feeling with which we should regard particular historical facts. But for that end the ancient historian, as well as all antiquity, wanted the clue which Christianity alone has given us, to the internal connexion of the world's history, and which they who seek for it elsewhere but in this religion, will certainly seek in vain.'

There is so much to admire here that we shall be thought hard to please, we fear, when we venture to say that the lecturer seems to refer to a genius of Christianity higher than the Romish Church, to which however he was sincerely attached; and we believe that the more comprehensive Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the Church would have better satisfied his reasoning and his aspirations. But most unreservedly do we join him in maintaining that faith in the revelation of God is the only key to a perfect knowledge of history, whether we look back upon what is recorded of various nations, or look forward to their future destinations according to the pages of prophecy. And now, to resume our argument more consecutively. Let us remember that ecclesiastical history is a continuation of the Bible, as the Bible is the beginning of Church history; and thus the older historians, Eusebius and others, always treated it; they prefaced their own annals with a brief account of the first institution of his Church by Christ and His Apostles; nor must this be lost sight of by any one that ventures to put his hand to so holy a work. The lapse of fourteen or fifteen centuries can make no difference in this respect. If Church history be what it professes to be, it is *a continuation of the Acts of the Apostles and their successors*, and we cannot admit any one to perform this office with whom the above consideration is not paramount to every other and always present. We disclaim any attempt to confound the authority of canonical with apocryphal Scripture; we only look for such a continuation of the sacred records as

the Jewish canonical scriptures found in the Books of the Maccabees.

Now, truth being the professed aim of every historian, is it possible that his object can be attained in any other way so effectually as under the guidance of the Spirit of truth? If honesty is almost the first, the second, and the third grand requisite in treating history, the faithful follower of his Lord, whose mind is renewed from the fountain of truth, must not only have an advantage over every other, but must indeed be the only person to whom can be intrusted the history of truth itself. With respect to himself, and his own appreciation of his task, how important it is that he believe himself to be engaged in a work wherein he may dare to hope for Divine influence, such as being really *συνεργὸς τῷ Θεῷ* must certainly ensure. What abundant and heart-stirring motives will he have for zeal, for charity, for discrimination; how fervent his prayers!—after the example of the devout painter who prefaced his daily work with a supplication for divine assistance on his labours,—when he reflects that a portion of the Book of God is purely historical, that all the several economies displayed therein are grounded upon history, and that he too has engaged *'to set in order the things most surely believed by us:'* these things being no less than the operations of God's Spirit upon the heart of man, the opposition of the world and its perversion of the truth, destined to suffer a fearful retribution, and a portion of the struggle between good and evil which forms the great mystery of our condition.

We must still farther unfold our meaning, in order to guard against being misunderstood. With us it is impossible, for one who is a good Churchman, to be other than a devout and enlightened Christian: and we believe that there is no moral excellence beyond the reach of those who are renewed day by day with the refreshing grace of God. Whatsoever, therefore, may be needed for the counteraction of all that can pervert, debase and injure historical truth, may with confidence be expected in one whose character is formed and matured under the influence and discipline of the Church of Christ. It may here be justly expected that we should, even if it were only as an illustration of our meaning, enter into a few particulars of the mode of action, whereby, as we assert, true Churchmanship will neutralize all or most of those evil humours of the mind, from whence spring error, deception, and falsehood. To commence, then, with what has been already acknowledged for one of the greatest disturbing forces, partiality and partisanship, exemption from which the Roman historian claimed for himself; (sine odio et sine delectione;') it is the endeavour and the earnest prayer

of every Christian, that his will, and tastes, and predilections, may be all submitted to, or brought into accordance with the will of his heavenly Father; and, so far as he attains his avowed object, so far may we be assured that he escapes from every narrow prejudice, realizes his brotherhood with every man, and truly "loves his enemies:" nor should we omit to mention, that not only is this grace given to sincere Christians, but that he holds in the sacred history of the Bible, the clearest directions by example for his guidance, not alone in this particular, but in every thing that concerns a historian. In Holy Scripture, the offences and failings of the greatest saints are unsparingly recorded; it was not Jewish prejudice and national partiality that blotted every page of their history with only 'evil continually:' and shall we exceed the bounds of reasonable expectation, if we look for similar traits of unbiassed impartiality, such as are seen in the sacred writers, successfully imitated by a true Churchman? The annals of God's people have formed the subject of his studies at every period of life, and have been taken for his model of excellence in all the main essentials of history. Again we are well aware, that vanity and self-love have frequently spoiled with a taint inexpiable, memoirs and historical compositions; for this great blemish of the mind we know of no other remedy, we never heard of any successfully applied, but Christian Churchmanship. By it men are taught to know their own true position, like the good centurion, who, being himself under authority, had soldiers under him,—they are taught their real subordinate place in the economy of God's household; they are not lifted above it, nor lowered beneath it; and the consequence is, a serene self-knowledge, which neither highest philosophy, nor any of the exaggerations of Christian doctrine could ever attain. Egotism and an anxiety for reputation, is the besetting sin of authorship; nor have the plodding band of historians been exempt from it; we may, perhaps, refer to this feeling some of the almost incredible exertions and industry, recorded of certain writers; but, making themselves the centre of their system, bent upon showing their superior acuteness or sagacity, and endeavouring to raise themselves by the depression of others, they produce a distorted and unfair misrepresentation of history. In this case also, if we compare the sacred historians of both the Old and the New Testaments with such authors, how remarkable a feature in the former is the absence of personal and private feelings; the individual is quite lost sight of, so far, at least, as dwelling for an instant on his own merits, or the importance of his history: all concern for self, is absorbed in zeal for the honour of their God. Thus Moses composed his history in the third person, placed on

record his own and his family's offences, and their exclusion from the land of promise: he does indeed declare that 'Moses was meek above all men,' but this does not amount to self-laudation, it is the simplicity of truth, and it may be made a question whether it is not mentioned by him as an infirmity, rather than a virtue. So, also, the solemn asseveration at the end of St. John's Gospel, of the authenticity and genuineness of that holy writing, is almost the sole instance of authorship being declared in the New Testament, (excepting of course in the Epistles, the very nature of which made it necessary:) and even here, as in the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, the testimony of the Church was required to identify the writing with its author. So little had *self* to do with the authorship of the Sacred Writings. We need hardly tell our readers that the subversion of vanity is one of the most difficult tasks ever accomplished in the mind's discipline, (especially in those who have devoted themselves to literature of any kind, the inventive faculty appearing to be prone to worship its own creations,) and thus becomes an indication of the presence of that influence, without which no one can go on towards 'perfection.' Under this head, also, we may class that great impediment to truthful narrative, under which those writers labour, who may be described as men of one idea. Some favourite notion takes possession of their minds, and appears to them to be the solution of every difficulty, to be illustrated directly or indirectly by every event in history, and, indeed, to be the grand cardinal truth on which everything in life has turned and must turn. This monomania totally unfits a man for the office of historian, and, to our cost, we know, has rendered the labours of many serious-minded Christians almost useless. To such contracted views Catholic Christianity is corrective, nor will we ever believe that its noble principles are really held by those who have all their views bounded by the narrow horizon of one formula. One more phase of human weakness leading to the deterioration of history we will mention, which, also, perfect Christianity can alone remedy; we mean the excessive admiration for great men, recently termed hero-worship. There is no greater contrast, in our judgment, to be found between sacred and non-sacred history, than that all praise in the former centres in, and rests upon One. In a piece of biography or in a funeral sermon, we can allow a wide licence to the attachment of friendship, and the regrets of the bereaved. But in Church history, the last page of which shall record that 'God is all in all,' we can tolerate no homage to the creature that is not based upon, and derived from, the glory of God. We should be led too far for our present limits, if we pursued to any greater length the details

of all that is to be corrected by the sanctifying influence of real Churchmanship; and enough has been shown by way of specimen in proof of its efficacy; for it is unnecessary to say, that all dishonesty, intentional unfairness, malicious feelings, all morbid discontent at the providence of God, as well as Utopian expectations of the universal happiness and perfection of mankind, are utterly excluded from the writings of one who looks upon the world through the medium of the light of revelation; and remembering that there *is*, no doubt, if it only can be attained, a true view of every transaction, a just estimate of every character, to be secured and faithfully represented by neutralizing every evil tendency and counteracting every disturbing force; (such a view, perhaps, as a dying man takes of all the transactions of his past life) we hold that the Christian's estimate of every thing terrestrial must be nearer to that than any other that can be supposed. 'I die daily,' St. Paul's short and impressive description of the Christian frame of mind, is the very position of superiority to the passing interests, and the fleeting passions of a troublesome life, which must be acknowledged to be the most favourable for a calm and unbiassed judgment. There is a holiness about such a retrospect of life, so truthful in many individuals, as well nigh to anticipate the final estimate that shall be summed up and declared at the dreadful day of judgment; and this surely finds a close resemblance in the serious decisions which a Christian purged from the mists and perplexities of active life is enabled to make. The clue to all history, and *à fortiori* to ecclesiastical history, is the Christian dispensation. "Without this faith, the whole history of the 'world would be nought else than an insoluble enigma, an 'inextricable labyrinth, a huge pile of the blocks and fragments 'of an unfinished edifice; and the great tragedy of humanity 'would remain devoid of all proper result."—*F. Schlegel, Phil. of Hist.*

It is sufficiently obvious that such a claim as the above advanced for the Churchman, will be resisted by the generality of men, and will remain unsupported even by many Christians. They refuse to look at the Church history in a religious light, and consequently miss the only point of view, from whence its true character is discoverable. It will be said that history written on this principle, must be 'an ex parte' statement; that prejudice must disfigure any annals that are written by one who is a zealous, however intelligent, member of the Church; that he will be blind to its imperfections through attachment, and that the only way to arrive at certainty in such matters, is by the ventilation of controversy. Such reasonings are plausible, and only too popular we fear; but we hope that the fore-

going argument, when duly considered, will be found to have met all that is of weight in these objections; at all events we can plead for our opinion the very highest of all authority; for it is under these circumstances that the whole of the Sacred Volume was written; it is on this foundation alone, that every sacred document rests for its historical credibility. What account have we of our Blessed Lord's life and death, save that which was composed by Christians, the written tradition of that which the Apostles preached? How diligently have heathen writers been searched for any allusion to the marvellous times and events of that period, and yet with how little success! Has not even an argument against the truth of the gospel been raised upon the absence of all mention of such events in contemporary writers? The 'chosen witnesses' must be trusted, or you will have none. And the same may be extended to the Mosaic history; it stands alone, unsupported by corroborative evidence, beyond certain vague rumours out of the traditions of Arabia; at any rate there is no work pretending to be of the same age, out of which can be extracted anything for or against the truth of the Pentateuch; ours is a traditionary faith, whatever part of Holy Scripture be made the object of it. We received it first from our parents, the best source to receive it from, confirmed, no doubt, by subsequent experience and reflection, but resting ultimately on the credit of those who, 'believed and therefore spoke;' why then should it be made an objection to an ecclesiastical history, that it emanates from a member of the Church, interested for its welfare, and compromised to its doctrines?

Here we anticipate a demand for some explanation on our hypothesis, why there is not a 'summa consensio' amongst all Church Historians—whereas it is notorious that there is most manifest disagreement even amongst the well-disciplined ranks of the Papacy? It surely will not be necessary to say more in reply than that few, very few, who go by the name of Historians of the Church, are entitled to rank as such, on the principles we have been laying down: and if we strike off all who, having treated of the Church, may yet be easily convicted of scepticism, or of heresy, of schism or erastianism, all who have failed, for some reason or other, to realize in their own case the divine life, and have continued, in spite of all their professions, sensual and worldly; a small number will suffice to comprehend the whole of those whom we should admit to be Christian Historians. But when we have removed all such, (and we think it must be admitted that such cannot be trustworthy or efficient teachers of a christian community,) there will be found a striking agreement in all material points of History—not indeed a logical

coincidence,—the circumstances of the case make that neither possible nor desirable—but an agreement of that kind, which on points of doctrine runs through the writings of the Fathers, and out of which Catenæ have been to so great an extent traced and formed, proving that they were of 'one mind': or in some degree resembling the harmony which may be formed out of the Four Gospels, or that subsists between the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. This consistency requires attention to discover, and has exercised the highest abilities to develop, but it is, perhaps, only the more valuable on that account when once established,—only the more convincing from being undesigned: such an agreement in kind, though no doubt in degree we cannot promise it, is all that men have any right to ask of contemporary or successive Church Historians—and this we are prepared to maintain is to be observed.

It is no longer possible to comprise the history of the whole Church in one work, even if there were a central point of unity confessed by every nation, language, and people under the sun,—if the Propaganda were all that the Romanists could wish,—the streams of history are far too numerous for this to be done, and any attempt to join them would merely produce an ocean of confusion: but every national Church must have its own historian, and candidates for that high honour are never wanting in every age. Our own Church, however, has been singularly unfortunate on the whole with respect to her historians: the evil example of foreign reformers, at a time when every reformer was embraced as a brother engaged in the same cause; the political cast of the Reformation, which imparted even to its theology some of the characteristics of Revolution,—wherein the most noisy is the most eloquent, and the popular passes for the true,—these causes converted every attempt at history into controversy or mere rabid declamation, misled the zealous and silenced the wary and judicious. The times and scenes of public excitement are unfavourable for the composition of history, though they are said to give rise to the most fervid eloquence, and to furnish the best materials for subsequent historians. Matter must be at rest that it may crystallize—and so too must the mind that undertakes to arrange the cause and effect, the worth and the estimation of a series of human actions, speeches and literary compositions: it would be unreasonable therefore to express any surprise that the days of the Reformation passed away without seeing one Church historian produced. John Foxe was manifestly not a Church historian: he was lineally descended, in the taste and design of his work, from Matthias Flacius and the Magdeburgh Centurists, and, unhappily for this nation, he was taken for their main authority by

most of the writers of the century succeeding his own: his earnest roughness and plain speaking have been thought to be a pledge of his honesty and sagacity: and, perhaps, the dread of conceding too much to the fierce attacks of Romanist writers, may have inclined our own divines incautiously to throw around the martyrologist the mantle of their protection,—such at least seems to be the case with the late Dr. Wordsworth, judging by the preface to his Ecclesiastical Biography. But the reign of Foxe is over: an illiterate and prejudiced writer of one idea and no charity could not always remain the foundation stone of our Church's history: and every lately discovered document, every investigation entered into by competent scholars of the present day, has diminished, and is daily diminishing the prestige of his name: Maitland's Essays now collected out of the British Magazine with large additions, Haweis' Sketches of the Reformation, and Massingberd's English Reformation, present us from original sources with quite enough to check that enthusiastic admiration for the horrible book of bonfires which has so long prevailed. Together with Foxe, however, must sink also all who have trusted him, all who have built upon his sandy foundation: and so far as Fuller and Burnet and Strype are his followers, which they are to a deplorable extent, so far are they also seriously injured in reputation by the recent advances made in this field of literature. In that they collected and preserved original papers, their works are extremely valuable, but by depending upon Foxe for perhaps the most important period of the history that they undertook, and from his reports and tales filling up the body of their narrative, they have of necessity abounded in misrepresentations;—above all, they have perpetuated that unfair and even malicious picture of the opponents to the Reformation, which had been used as the best 'argumentum ad populum', and not because of its fidelity and truth.

It is therefore undoubtedly true, (a confession to be made with much regret,) that there is no continous and systematic History of the Church of England belonging to the 16th and 17th centuries—that it remained to be composed at a great disadvantage after the Revolution, and the current of faithful history was confined to those morsels of biography furnished by good Isaac Walton and others. Warburton is said to have declared that we have only two historians of our national Church, Collier the Nonjuror, and Fuller the Jester: the claims of the latter we shall leave others to support: of Collier we must be allowed to say that his work approaches nearer than any other, with which we are acquainted, to the standard which we have found supplied to us, by a consideration of the task to be accomplished. We are not blind to the defects of Collier, but we think they

have been always very much exaggerated: he was a conscientious man, who relinquished all worldly consequence and popularity to maintain his honest convictions,—this is never understood nor forgiven by the mass of mankind,—and Burnet, who made his fortune by adhering to the Prince of Orange, and ended with becoming a Bishop and delivering pastoral advice, owes much of his reputation to his success in life: Collier was a Nonjuror, (we are by no means sure, by the way, that the Nonjurors have not been confounded with the Nonconformists of a former generation, certainly they were regarded with equal abhorrence by many,) whilst acute casuists and easy-going consciences complied with the political transfer of their loyalty, and assisted materially towards bringing about the Revolution. But Collier, writing under the excitement of his conscientious sufferings, and living in such a state of separation as to border very closely upon schism, though his whole heart, we know, yearned for the fruition of a purer Catholicism, was consequently unable to come to that calm and devotional state of mind, which we re-assert to be necessary for the Historian of the Church.

We commenced this article with declaring that the previous reflections which we should make upon Church historians generally, were intended to lead to some notice of the work standing at the head of it: and we hope, now that this sterling work has escaped from the thraldom of an expensive shape and size, and been put into the most marketable and convenient shape, it will speedily be generally known and adopted. This hope we entertain, because we believe it to be the best work of its kind yet produced. In saying so much as this, we beg our readers to observe closely the terms we employ—we say *of its kind*, because after all, it is but an abbreviated and condensed history, such indeed as the author was restricted to, when he proposed to himself the task of preparing a work suitable for students of divinity in our universities, and at the same time generally readable. Moreover, the historical narrative does not fully commence before the time of Henry VIII., the previous single chapter giving a scanty outline of the English Church before the Reformation: still further, it is carried up only to the Revolution, though it was the intention of the author to carry it so far as his own days, had his life been prolonged. There is, indeed, nothing that we can discover omitted by Mr. Carwithen, material towards understanding the annals of our Church during the period which his plan comprehends: the acts of the Church at large, and the enactments of the legislature respecting the Church, are recorded by him with more of care and of skill than we have ever seen displayed in such works: there is more matter, and it is more lucidly

arranged than in any similar composition: the author's powers of condensing without giving a confused account of the most intricate and protracted negotiations have, we really believe, never been exceeded. But it would be unjust to expect everything that illustrates the Church's history, everything that bears upon the fame of her greatest characters, to find a place in two small volumes; nevertheless, we suspect it will be found, that the 580 pages in each volume contain much information, and certainly suggestions for further inquiry, that many well-read men in other literature are entirely without, or possess in scanty measure. We have reason to believe, that a large majority of our legislators, including the very judges themselves, the magistrates of the country, not forgetting the clerical members of the bench, and another class, not perhaps less influential upon the affairs of society than the foregoing,—we mean religious ladies,—may derive from this succint and impartial history that information, for want of which they often make themselves ridiculous. The author's talent for compressing the more bulky matter of other writers into a small compass is quite remarkable, and it is curious to see how the loquacity of Burnet, and the tediousness of Strype can be 'packed small' without any detriment. And there is, at the present day, a new and additional reason for desiring every member of the Church to be tolerably well instructed in her previous fortunes. Subjects of the last importance to the Christian, questions which affect the position of a Churchman in this country, are being opened up afresh, and submitted to the decision of public opinion,—such things were referred of old to the Bishops and Synods of the Church, or later to Convocation; now they are brought before public opinion,—and woe is us! that Presbyterian, Baptist, Wesleyan, Calvinist, and Latitudinarian, have a voice in swelling the loud roar of public opinion: newspapers, whose staff of contributors may be most ungodly men, without one fixed principle beyond writing what the many-headed monster will read, are allowed to join the cry, and as they pass a life of masquerade, can personify a member of the Church as well as anything else. Hence, we believe the Church of England to be at this time in a great strait: and we urge and intreat every son and daughter of our beloved mother to acquaint themselves with the misfortunes she has gone through, her constancy in trouble, her purity of doctrine, and her providential protection up to this day; that they may be enabled with knowledge, and on conviction, to withstand their adversaries, and 'having done all to stand.' One great excellence of Mr. Carwithen's history is his forcible and polished style; and style is a tolerably certain indication of the vigour and power of mind with which an

author is endowed; the most fastidious person need feel no apprehension of weariness on this score, when he takes up this History of the Church of England: it is even, we think, deserving of being held up to the young as a model of vigour, propriety, and rhythm; a consideration of some value, since the tendency and taste of the age is on the side of overlooking classical elegance, and neglecting ornaments of style. More particularly with respect to historical style, we are anxious to introduce here some general remarks which have been suggested by what we must say appears to us to be a defect in Mr. Carwithen's history. It is this; it was thought necessary by writers of twenty and thirty years ago to modernise the diction of old authorities, and to make them, as the phrase was, read better. Our author is not free from this charge, and we are glad to see that the new edition has returned in most cases to the very expressions, and even the spelling of the original authorities: there was no intention amongst the writers of his time and taste to misrepresent the ancient records, but they were unwilling to introduce obsolete expressions into their text, and sometimes were so ill-starred as to undertake to revise a style vastly superior to their own in nervousness and musical cadence,—they would dress their characters in the fashionable garments of their own day, at whatever period the plot was laid.

There is, however, a growing disposition to look for original documents and words in all their uncouth form, as well as, we believe, a better appreciation of the literary merits of the Elizabethan and following ages of literature,—and a greater jealousy of any 'private interpretation' of the sense of an authority;—this we hail as a great improvement in our national taste; and we think that no department of letters will benefit more from it than history. For the grammatical puzzles that have originated in the 'Oratio Obliqua' appear to us to be amongst the least of the evils introduced into history under the cover of it: unfairness and injustice and exaggeration have made it their favourite lurking-place—and high time it is that such licence be checked, and that history be restricted to the 'ipsissima verba' of all who figure in it; or if any reason call for an abridgement of what has been spoken or written, let it be declared to be an abridgement; or lastly, if the substance only be given, it should pass for nothing more. Those are memorable words of Thucydides, (I.20:) *ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι, ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν, ἐμοί τε ὧν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν μοι ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς συμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται.*

We say they are well worthy of attention, as indicating what that eminent historian considered himself at liberty to do, what perhaps he was almost driven to do, and, at the same time, the wide opening left by such terms for introducing what was, in some cases, most foreign to the intention of the original speaker. We are far from undervaluing the accuracy of traditional history,—we believe modern times hold it in greatly too much contempt: for we have known uneducated persons who must trust to their memories, if they would secure what they hear, more exact and truthful than written reports; as also on the other hand we are not ignorant of reporters and their devices. We are not likely therefore to complain of history composed on the principles which the Greek historian avows as above; so long as the work passes for an intellectual creation, a well-drawn picture with shades and colouring artistically introduced;—for we would not confine all the world to look at nothing but daguerreotype likenesses of the past,—and we love too well the pages of Herodotus and Livy, and the orations of Cicero that were intended to be spoken, to lay down any so strict a law as should banish from our regard the flights of historical genius; but we must stipulate in Church history for literal truth and verbal exactness, —so far, of course, as we can possibly hope to attain it,—unquestionably to the exclusion of putting any words into the mouths of persons who *might* have spoken them, or of transferring the sentiments of many into the speech of one; and in a word, all those rhetorical contrivances with which bookmakers are conversant, are insufferable in a history of the Church. The profane daring of Milton in his Paradise Lost, venturing to put words into the mouth of the Most High, is of course a greater offence than that we are treating of,—but it is the same in kind. The interest at stake, the matter in hand of ecclesiastical history, is far too serious, and involves too much of the realities of our being, to be made the subject of mere literary effusions; and the credit of the Church historian should be no less sacred in all that he puts his hand unto, than the inviolable signature of men engaged in commerce. . . . . There is another point in some degree connected with the foregoing, wherein Mr. Carwithen has, it seems, incurred a slight degree of censure from a nearly contemporary author, to which we feel bound to make some allusion. Dr. Vowler Short, at the time he wrote it Rector of King's Worthy, and now Bishop of St. Asaph, says in his Preface to his Sketch of the History of the Church of England, 'Mr. Carwithen has given a very faithful description 'of the country through which he has passed, but he has not 'sufficiently pointed out the more striking features to which the 'attention of the traveller must be directed, if he wishes to

'obtain an idea of the whole territory.' We conclude, not unfairly, we think, that Dr. Short has, in his own version of the same history, made up for those deficiencies he had observed in his predecessor,—though we cannot for our parts repress a smile at the naïve simplicity, with which he undertakes to improve upon what is so immeasurably a superior production to his own. But in good truth, it is precisely one among many reasons that we cannot praise Dr. Short's history, that he lectures one at every turn, and presses upon you his honest, no doubt, but undemanded opinions. And, to show that we are not unsupported in our judgment of the true office of a historian, we will quote a passage from Lord Bacon's Advancement of Learning (Book II.) to this point: 'it is the true office of history to 'represent the events themselves together with the counsels, 'and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the 'liberty and faculty of every man's judgment: but mixtures 'are things irregular, whereof no man can define.' We enter our protest, by the way, against the prevailing taste for historical disquisitions, to the exclusion, we fear, of sound historical knowledge. We believe there is much danger from the adoption of general views by students of history, at the hands of lecturers and essayists, without deriving them for themselves from an induction of facts, and as a result of their own labours. How ready the young are to fancy themselves masters of a subject, it is quite unnecessary to say, or to point out how open they are to feel the fascination of theory, and to take up brilliant views: —this is, however, altogether apart from what we have to say respecting Dr. Short's history. Everybody knows that this estimable man is what is called a liberal in politics: *e. g.* in § 817, we are told:—'The Constitution of the Church of England as 'settled at the Revolution, was that of an authorized and paid 'establishment, which was not allowed to persecute those who 'dissented from it.' Is the Church of England prepared to allow that the House of Commons may re-distribute or appropriate to other purposes the tithe of God's Church? Let the government resume the lay-impropriations, and try the temper of men's minds upon that point first. Again, in note (a) § 676, we may see what alterations in our Liturgy would be in accordance with Dr. Short's wishes—of which all we can say is, that we pray fervently that he may have no hand in any revision of it; and in a note to § 591, in speaking of excommunication he says, 'some good may arise from it in preventing scandal: but 'very little with regard to the offending party.' Excommunication is a punishment of Apostolic, we might even say, of Divine appointment: See 1 Cor. v. 3, 4: and S. Matt. xviii. 17; and for the express purpose 'that the spirit may be saved in the day

of the Lord :' . . . These few instances of Dr. Short's off-hand way of treating serious matters we bring forward for the truth's sake, and without forgetting his great private worth, or his present official dignity.

We must now bring these observations towards a conclusion. There are, however, one or two more respecting Mr. Carwithen's history that should not be overlooked altogether. It must be borne in mind, that this work was composed and published twenty years ago; and consequently, that the stirring questions which have so greatly and so unhappily disturbed the Church of England during that period, are many of them left untouched; some introduced as having interest historically alone, all being treated without any of the excitement of a present controversy. This we believe to be a favourable position for the work to occupy now in some respects—in others not so. One instance we shall take from what our author says of Psalmody. In Chap. x. is an account of the alterations effected at the Reformation in this portion of our services: expressions are to be found in the first edition respecting S. Athanasius, and his directions for intoning prayers, that we are glad to see omitted in the present: as also a mistake respecting the substitution of anthems for the introit;—we join the author in lamenting the discontinuance of the latter,—but he ought to have said that the anthem, varying every day, is introduced after the second lesson. Again, a trustworthy account of the powers of convocation and of the taxation of the Clergy, may be gathered from the several passages to which the index will direct a student, and such of course as is wholly independent of the events of the present day. Again, we cannot think, that if Mr. Carwithen had lived to see what we see, he would have put forward in a note, (I. 105,) a passage from a Charge by Dr. Balguy, of somewhat Erastian tendency; nor that he would have paraded in large capitals the celebrated dictum of Chillingworth:—to this, however, the editor has attached an antidote, gathered out of the wordy labours of Chillingworth himself; much less can we admit that so sound a Churchman on the whole as our author is, is either consistent with himself, or justified, in perpetuating the charge of bigotry against Archbishop Laud, a murdered, if not a martyred hero of the Church. These are some of our exceptions to the praise to which we believe this history to be justly entitled; and every one who can look back to the period when it was written, and is able to form an estimate of the salutary and extensive change that, in spite of all reverses, has been effected in the minds of our countrymen since then,—we do not say of those only who are attached conscientiously to our Church, but likewise indi-

rectly and unobserved by themselves, of those who tolerate her doctrine and practice in order to preach to her congregations,—must, we feel sure, be surprised that they are so few and of so little weight. The devoted labours, the extraordinary endowments, and the earnest prayers of a faithful band of brothers, have not been altogether in vain towards rousing a slumbering and self-satisfied Church; and though feelings of the acutest pain will mingle themselves, at a retrospect of these eventful years, we must still rejoice to find that such as we were taught from earliest youth the Church of this land to be, such as her faithful historians represented her,—the same in tenets, and in spiritual privileges has the fiercest controversy of the age proved that she remains to the present day.

ART. II.—1. *The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation. By* CHARLES MAITLAND. London: Longman, Brown & Co. 1849.

2. *Prophetic Outlines of the Christian Church and the Antichristian Power, as traced in the Visions of Daniel and S. John; in Twelve Lectures preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, on the Foundation of Bishop Warburton. By* BENJAMIN HARRISON, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1849.

3 *Lectures on the Apocalypse. By* CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D. London: Rivingtons. 1849.

IT is no uncommon error in the choice of studies, to fix on those in which we imagine that we can become knowing at a small expenditure of time and attention. Indeed it is not long since that really abstruse and difficult branch of biblical interpretation which relates to unfulfilled or partially fulfilled prophecy was pursued by many with this vain hope. Innumerable schemes, exposed by failures as innumerable, have somewhat damped the ardour of the religious public for the lighter prophetical literature, and it has now come to be pretty generally acknowledged that the study is one of the severest labour and most untiring patience; one in which even the adept, if any can be so called, must submit to uncertainty, and in which the novice must either be silent, or speak with the utmost caution and modesty.

This is, however, no bad sign for the future, as we shall see if we well consider the ordinary laws of the progress of knowledge among mankind, which have their operation, though under limits, even in the case of sacred and revealed learning. The individual man is incomplete in himself, and cannot work out his own ideas without the assistance of the age. Plutarch could suggest that the moon was retained in its orbit by the force of gravity, but he did not live in an age of weighing and measuring. He was incapable of calculating the force he was able to imagine, and his true conjecture remained a solitary and barren thought for centuries. The same thought in the mind of Newton, who added to his singular genius the acquirements of a mathematically mechanical age, has opened to us the whole architecture of the universe. Only those who have studied the progress of science are aware how near mankind had approached to the Newtonian theory before it flashed upon their consciousness through the effort of a master mind. Many steps had been taken similar to those achieved by our great

countryman, though less gigantic, and much ground made sure before he could take his stand firmly on the data of Copernicus and the laws of Kepler.

And if sacred studies admit less of conjecture and discovery, they are even therefore the more open to the operation of this general law. We stand in them upon what our fathers have done for us, and if we would advance beyond them we must not despise them. In the case of prophecy, indeed, though we do not look for fresh revelations, we may well expect that the course of events will be not a little instructive. And we may even rather look for the chief advancing steps in knowledge from the development of the scheme of Providence, than from the felicity of human conjecture. It is true that in this way he that increaseth knowledge is likely to increase sorrow, for the events that bring great things to light are apt to be themselves terrible, and the cheering light of prophecy is cast upon the darkest stages of the Church's history. Cheering, we may say, it is, even when it foretells trouble; for trouble foretold is trouble measured and limited, and those to whom it is foretold are the objects of a special Providence. But let every man think well before he wishes that his own lot may fall on the days of the fulfilment of prophecy, and count the cost, and learn to live above the world. For on those that eat and drink, buy and sell, marry and are given in marriage, those days will come full of astonishment and dread.

There is, however, a stage in the general apprehension of prophetic truth short of that full understanding which results from a striking and recent fulfilment, and which comes more within the range of the ordinary laws of human thought, although doubtless in great measure brought about by the silent suggestions of the Spirit and the illuminations of grace. There is a certain state of expectation and preparedness, that comes before the cardinal changes of the Divine dispensations, and contemplates them dimly as they approach, so as to receive them the more devoutly when they come, and to work with them in will and in moral attitude before they are distinctly imaged in the intellect. This state is most fully and clearly depicted in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; and what we there read is most valuable to us in this way amongst others —that it shows us the true state and temper of the children of God when they have to wait His time for promised mercies, and to live upon hopes which they are not able to comprehend. And this imperfect yet not fallacious apprehension is most especially the inheritance of the Church, and is to be nourished by communion with her universal thought and feeling, as well as with those supernatural sources from which all that is truly and

generically hers must descend. We know not how long may be the period of these 'last days,' but we are distinctly taught to cultivate that spirit of expectation which looks beyond the present,—not in vain hope of amelioration of outward circumstances, but in the sure prospect of final deliverance,—combined with preparation for severe trial, and thankfulness if we are spared any that is too much for our strength, or aided to endure that which is allotted us. In thus realizing our own responsibility, in connexion with a deep conviction that we are in the hands of our heavenly Father, and are at once fulfilling His purposes and provided for in them, we are raised above the temptations of vain curiosity, and cautioned against the presumption of making hasty affirmations. And it is in casting ourselves unreservedly upon a personal faith in Him who is the only Revealer of secrets, that we are most sure to attain those true, though perhaps indistinct, impressions of the nature and meaning of His predictions which will enable us to discern the signs of the times, and to prepare for the future, and meet each coming crisis as He has willed. Human theories of systematic perfection may be as tempting and as deceptive to us now as were notions of temporal monarchy and worldly prosperity to the carnal Jews. Nor are special antipathies less likely to prove fertile sources of error, if we are weak enough to allow ourselves too readily to apply the denunciations of prophecy to what we happen ourselves to disapprove; or to see in its emblems of warning those parties or systems to which we happen to be opposed.

Indeed, we might be inclined to wonder that the trumpet of Divine prediction should not give a more certain sound, and that we should so often be unable to discern the real bearing and direction of its utterances. But surely this is in great measure the consequence of our own sins and worldly dispositions, which set us wrongly and unreasonably against one another. And a partial remedy, at least, may be found in carrying on our investigations in a Catholic and humble spirit, and expecting such notices of coming events as may concern and edify the whole Church of God, while we leave the exact nature of what is to come in the same kind of obscurity in which it appears to have been involved in those ancient times, in which men waited for the consolation of Israel much as we have now to wait. Their doubts were solved by events, and remained doubts up to the very instant of their becoming aware of signal fulfilments of prophecy. It is true, they had no occasion to write books on the subject as we do; though indeed some of the Jewish commentaries before the Christian era are not to be despised in respect of their prophetic interpretation. In general, it was

a matter of private devotional thought, or familiar converse with wife and friends, not so much of preaching or publication. But we must have something to say, some account to be given to others, who are anxious and expectant like ourselves, but who have less means of knowledge, or who wish to compare their thoughts with ours. It is not an unreasonable feeling, nor is it unreasonable to expect that there will be some right and suitable means provided for its indulgence within due limits, since it probably has not been given us in vain. And some scope, at least, is given to it through the multifarious character of modern thought and composition, and the variety of aspects under which it views all beings and events. Again, the very multitude of erroneous views in circulation at once afford exercise of thought and speech in discovering and applying their correction, and indirectly conduce to the strengthening and clearing of right impressions. When you have learned that such and such a prophecy does not mean this, which such an one has said it means, you have made no inconsiderable advance towards understanding what it does mean, although the true explanation may yet be withheld from you. Again, the practical lessons of prophecy may be clear, where the interpretation remains under inextricable doubt, since it is not always material toward the practical conclusions of faith whether the objects presented to its vision are near or distant, provided that they are foreseen as certainly future.

Thus, however small may be the 'vindemiatio' of our students of prophecy, it is not right to stigmatise their labours as unprofitable and futile. If they were wise, they scarcely ever began with the expectation of being enabled to prophesy for themselves; and if they ever entertained so bold a thought, and then found it disappointed, it was not therefore time to desist. If prophecy were never to be studied till we could give an accurate system of its application, its volumes might remain closed till antichrist had grasped the sceptre of the world; and the faithful would have at once to learn the prediction and to meet the event in days that might perchance make both study and communication difficult, and might call for determination more suddenly than to allow time for informing the judgment.

It is the more seasonable to take a view thus tending to encourage at least some attention to this great field of thought and inquiry, when we have writers coming forward, whose calmness, whose critical power, whose zeal for truth, whose range of thought, or whose sound principles of investigation cannot but command our respect. And the three who are named at the head of this article have each their claims for a careful perusal, and those claims by no means contemptible. The diligent

comparison and patient thought that appear everywhere in Archdeacon Harrison's Lectures, are at least likely to have fixed some points in fulfilled prophecy to their true application, and this he seems to have done in fact successfully in some cases, in correction of the bold and able, but sometimes rather too destructive criticism of Dr. Todd. The very title of Dr. Maitland's book seems to announce a fact almost startling to ears that have been used to a succession of novelties. Has there been all along an 'Apostolic school of prophetic interpretation?' Where have we been, then, these thousand years and more, searching far and wide for what was to be found near home? There may, however, be some difference of opinion, after reading the evidence, how far the Apostolic certainty descends, and where some suspicions of fallible tradition must be allowed to creep in. Still, the work is not altogether unworthy of its title,—no mean praise, when the title connects it with the highest authority, and seems to promise satisfaction, where the very greatest intellects have been in doubt or error. Dr. Wordsworth has the claims of a diligent and critical student of the Apocalypse, an edition of which enters into the plan of his work, and of an orthodox and practical divine. His controversial tendencies are so strong as to form something of a drawback; but his views are at least well thought out, and carefully compared with their groundwork, and strikingly carried on to their practical results.

The Apostles undoubtedly claim our first hearing, and on their account Dr. Maitland must be admitted to speak for himself, even on a *primâ facie* claim to be their representative. And he is at least worth hearing, although it may be possible, in some cases, to set up a counter-claim. Dr. Wordsworth has attempted this, on a point which appears to be, in Dr. Maitland's view, by no means indifferent; but, after all the deductions we have to make, it must be owned that Dr. Maitland's array of evidence is somewhat the stronger of the two. Dr. Maitland is a (moderate and reasonable) Millenarian, and has a strong bias in favour of the literal interpretation of those portions of prophecy which appear to indicate a millennium. In reckoning up his witnesses on that side, he fearlessly cites among the first S. John himself, and may thus, of course, be accused of begging the question. And an impartial reader will undoubtedly, in judging between him and an opponent, leave out of the evidence, so far as weighing names is concerned, the very persons whose words are to be interpreted. Such a reader will also see, if he keeps his eyes equally open in another quarter, that Dr. Wordsworth, who is as decidedly anti-millenarian, has more than once blinked the distinction between *a* millennium, and a *carnal* millennium, and has unfairly cited the English Church as con-

demning the very notion of a millennium as a heresy, when she never meant to censure anything but the wild and detestable extravagances of certain 'Latter-day Saints,' who were about as respectable as the Mormonites. As the world goes at present, we must put up with a little partisanship, and if we must have it, certainly the good-humoured and somewhat pressing advocacy of Dr. Maitland is more tolerable than the solemn over-reaching of such an attempt at 'prescription' as Dr. Wordsworth has made in this instance. Its manifest unfairness ought to be a warning to him in future dealings with controversy.

In spite of this prejudice in favour of 'the millennial hope,' Dr. Maitland's is a real attempt to ascertain the evidence of an apostolic school of interpretation, and one that cannot be pronounced a failure. He has availed himself of the materials already generally known, with no small diligence, and has, farther, pressed into the service a host of writers known only in fragments recently brought to light. The Catenæ, which had been awaked from the slumbers of the Vatican by the industry of a Maii, still needed a living expositor to make them known and appreciated by the Church of the nineteenth century; and they have found one able and laborious enough to introduce them effectually into notice. They do not, however, bear so much upon the particular question of the millennium as upon some others. It may be worth while to place his summary on this point in comparison with the statements of Dr. Wordsworth, who also professes a certain deference to ancient authority, though he does not distinctly maintain the theory of an original tradition of the true interpretation of prophecy, of which traces are still to be found.

'Before dismissing the primitive writers, we should notice accurately the amount of agreement prevailing among them in reference to, 1st. the thousand years of S. John, and 2d, the last half week of Daniel.

"Those who have recorded their opinion for or against the millennium may thus be classed:—

FOR.	AGAINST.
S. Barnabas.	
Papias.	
Justin.	
Irenæus.	
Tertullian,	
Hippolytus.	
Nepos.	
	Origen.
Cyprian.	
	Dionysius.
Victorinus.	
Lactantius.	

but on which side shall we range S. John? Were he uninspired, nothing l be more decisive than his statement:—"They lived and reigned with

Christ a thousand years." Have we at length come to this, that because we reckon him inspired, the plain sense of his words is to go for nothing?

'The two writers who appear in opposition to the doctrine, are not altogether unexceptionable. The system by which Origen contrived to get rid of the millennium was soon branded with the name of Origenism, having been found to interfere with the belief in the literal resurrection of the flesh. Nor can Dionysius be justified in his method of dealing with the Apocalypse: for, not daring to revile it in his own name, he repeats with satisfaction the saying of "certain persons," that the book itself is devoid of sense and reason: also, that its title is utterly false, since it is neither written by S. John, nor does it, covered as it is with a thick and dense veil of ignorance, deserve the title of a Revelation.'—*Maitland*, pp. 201, 202.

'A.D. circ. 150.

'The defence of Christianity was next taken up by Justin the Martyr. A point at issue between Jews and Christians was the Millennium, on which subject Justin thus states the belief of the Church:—

'"With all perfectly orthodox Christians, I acknowledge the future resurrection of the flesh. Now the thousand years in Jerusalem, when it shall be built up, adorned, and enlarged, are declared by the prophets Ezekiel, Esaias, and others. For thus did Esaias speak of that thousand years: There shall be a new heaven and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind, &c. . . .

'"We know also the saying, that a day of the Lord is as a thousand years. Moreover, one of our own people, named John, an Apostle of Christ, prophesied in the Apocalypse that for those who believe in our Christ there will be a thousand years in Jerusalem; and afterwards there will come the catholic, or universal and simultaneous, resurrection and judgment of all men."

'In this matter of the millennium the Jews and the Christians appear to have changed sides: for the doctrine, first maintained by the Church against the Jews, was soon discarded by the Church as a fiction of Jewish origin. The following slight sketch of the controversy will illustrate the change:—

'A.D.

'75. Barnabas teaches the millennium.

'96. S. John also.

'150. Justin Martyr supports it against the Jews.

'400. Jerome styles it a Jewish fiction.

'450. Ammonius launches out against the Jews for expecting another Christ to bring about their millennium: "Vainly do they imagine they will reign with Antichrist a thousand years: he will not flourish longer than three and a half."

'1,000. The book Zoar teaches the millennium; also most of the Rabbinical works.'—*Maitland*, pp. 137, 138.

'So deeply rooted was this expectation of a temporal reign, even in the hearts of the Apostles, at the very close of Christ's ministry, that the last question which they are recorded in Scripture to have addressed to Him was, —"Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" Again, this literal mode of interpretation produced another misapprehension concerning S. John himself. "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" said our Blessed Lord of him. "Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die." They understood *literally* what our Lord had spoken *figuratively*. It was for S. Peter to *follow* Christ to the cross, but for S. John to *tarry till Christ came*, and took Him to himself by a natural death: and, in a higher spiritual sense, S. John was to *tarry* in the world, in his Gospel and in his Apocalypse, which reveals the history of

the Church even to the end; and thus S. John tarries with us till Christ comes.

'Still further: It is well known that an opinion was entertained by many of the Jewish Rabbis, from whom it was borrowed by some early Christian teachers, that as the world was created in six days, which were succeeded by a seventh of rest, so it would endure for six millenary periods, to be followed by a Sabbatical Millennium. It will appear, from these considerations, that many of the primitive Christians, especially those of Jewish extraction, were *predisposed* to misunderstand, in a carnal sense, the prophecies concerning the Second Advent: and we shall not be surprised that such an exposition of the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse should have been adopted by Cerinthus, who is called by the Fathers *half a Jew;* or by Papias, who was more eminent for zeal than for some other qualities which are requisite in an interpreter of Scripture; or by others, however learned, who passed from the Synagogue into the Church.

'Such, then, was the origin of the doctrine of the Millennium.

'Papias, by reason of his piety and antiquity, exercised great influence. Eusebius expressly testifies that the propagation of this dogma was mainly due to him. We need not wonder that it should have been embraced by Tertullian, whose Montanistic bias prepossessed him in its favour; nor that it should have been, *in some respects*, sanctioned by Justin Martyr, when we recollect his Jewish extraction, and his Platonic training; nor that it should have been adopted by Lactantius, who appears to have derived it from the Sibylline oracles; nor even that it should have found, *to a certain extent*, an advocate in Irenæus, paying, as he himself informs us, a tribute of respect to Papias, the companion of Polycarp, the scholar of S. John.

'Let us pause here to observe two facts.

'First; that no doubt was entertained by any of these parties, to whom we have now referred, concerning the *genuineness* and *inspiration* of the Apocalypse. They all received it as a work of the Apostle and Evangelist, S. John. And to speak only of *one* of them, Papias. Whatever may be thought of his authority with respect to a question of *doctrine*, yet it must be regarded as high, concerning this matter of *fact*. He might easily, from previous impression, or from defect of judgment, or insufficient care, be deceived as to the *meaning* of a particular passage in such a book as the Apocalypse. But, living as he did at Hierapolis, in Asia, the country to which the Apocalypse was first sent, and within a few years after it was written, he *could not* easily have been mistaken with regard to the *fact of its authorship*. And when we remember that his evidence on this fact is corroborated, as we shall show hereafter, by other witnesses of the same country and age, his testimony appears to prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that the author of the Apocalypse was S. John.

'The second circumstance to which I refer is this: No sooner were Millenarian doctrines imputed to the Apocalypse, than the Apocalypse itself declined in repute.

'I do not say that it was rejected. But it was felt that these Millenarian doctrines were inconsistent with the *general teaching* of Holy Scripture; and hence many in the Church began to show symptoms of restlessness and perplexity concerning the Apocalypse, to which these doctrines were ascribed. And it may be added, that the feeling of distrust and anxiety, produced by the same causes, still lingers in the minds of some, even to this day, and operates to the prejudice of this divine book.

'The case of the Apocalypse in this respect is similar to that of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Both these books were received as divine *as soon* as they were *written*. But doctrines, inconsistent with the plain drift of Scripture taken as a whole, were imputed by some to them both. For example, the *Novatian* heretics fixed on the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the

Hebrews. Here they entrenched themselves, and planted the standard of their heterodoxy. So the Millenarians thought themselves impregnable in the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse.

'And what was the consequence?

'*Both* these books of Scripture, being thus misinterpreted, were in danger of being discredited, and were rejected by some even otherwise *orthodox* writers. Instead of examining whether these two books *did* or *did not teach* the erroneous doctrines ascribed to them, the persons to whom I now refer, were unhappily over-reached by the bold assertions of their opponents, and cut short the matter by surrendering these books as apocryphal. Thus, for instance, Caius, a celebrated Roman Presbyter at the commencement of the third century, in his controversy with Proclus, a follower of Montanus, abandoned the Epistle to the Hebrews. And it is remarkable that the Montanists, who built their stern unrelenting discipline of penance on the sixth chapter of that Epistle, based their Millenarian doctrines on the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse; and that this same Roman Presbyter, who gave up the Epistle to the Hebrews, not only surrendered the Apocalypse, but even was carried so far, in his hatred of the Millenarian doctrines imputed to it, as to ascribe it, either in whole or in part, to the Judaizing heretic, Cerinthus.

'For such reasons as these, doubts were entertained in the Church of Rome concerning these books. And let us observe, in passing, that if the Church of Rome had really been, as she professes to be, the sole *Guardian* of *Scripture*, and if Scripture *depended* upon her for its authority, as she pretends, then Christendom would have been in great danger of losing two Books of the New Testament,—the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse.

'Next, let us remark the subtlety of the Arch-Enemy of man in his aggressions against the Word of God. He not only inspired heretics to compose *false books*, and to propagate *them* as Scripture, but he tempted them to *pervert* Scripture by *false interpretations;* and thus he made Scripture itself appear to be heretical. Nor was this all: he tempted even such pious men as Papias unwittingly to abet their artifices by an overweening zeal for oral tradition; and he tempted such learned men as Caius to abandon portions of Scripture, because they had been perverted by heretics! Let us observe, also, the striking fact, that this very chapter—the twentieth of the Apocalypse—in which Satan is represented as a captive, bound by the chain in the hand of Christ, and as cast by Him into the bottomless pit, was perverted by Satan into an occasion of triumph to himself against the Church, in causing thereby the temporary and partial rejection of the book in which the prophecy of his own doom is contained.

'Behold here, my beloved brethren, a most striking proof of Satan's craft and of human weakness!

'But, now, mark the glorious operation of God's Providence in vindicating His own Word!

'The manner in which the Epistle to the Hebrews was retrieved has engaged our attention in a former Lecture. We speak now of the Apocalypse.

'The same person was employed by Almighty God in maintaining the inspiration and genuineness of both these Sacred Books—the learned teacher of Alexandria, Origen. He showed that the Apocalypse had been misinterpreted. He gave its *true* exposition, and so restored it to the Church.

'The school of Origen gave birth to Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, one of the greatest Doctors of the Church, in the third century; distinguished alike by learning and charity.

'It appears, that in his age Millenarian doctrines had spread themselves widely in Africa. Inspired with zeal for the souls committed to his care,

he repaired in person to the Churches in which these opinions prevailed, and summoned the Clergy of his diocese to a conference, at which many of the laity also were present. A book, in which those tenets were promulged, was made the subject of patient discussion for three days. The Bishop tested each of its propositions by Scripture, and carefully examined the allegations of the Millenarians. The result was most gratifying. The Clergy thankfully acknowledged the benefit they had derived from their Bishop's fatherly care; and the principal champion of Millenarianism among them ingenuously retracted his opinions, and acknowledged that they had no foundation in the Word of God.'—*Wordsworth*, pp. 8—17.

He proceeds to quote S. Jerome and S. Augustine—

'Perhaps no more valuable commentary on any portion of Scripture, certainly no more interesting one, can be found, than that which was written on the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse, amid the storm of arms, by the aged Bishop of Hippo. It will be found in the twentieth book of his work on the City of God. Let me commend it to your careful perusal.

'In it S. Augustine taught, as Origen, Dionysius and Jerome had done before him, that the Apocalypse is the Word of God; and that the doctrine of the Millennium is not in the Apocalypse.

'The question *seemed* now at rest. It was generally regarded as heretical, either to reject the Apocalypse, or to believe a Millennium.

'And such *was* the case for a thousand years from that time. But, alas! after their expiration, amid the many extravagances which marred the beauty, and crippled the power, and damaged the success, of the Reformation of Religion in certain parts of Europe, in the sixteenth century, the doctrine of the Millennium was *revived*. It soon bore its fruits. It showed itself not only in religious fanaticism, but also in civil licentiousness. Some who held it in that age, and in the next century, affirmed that the era of a fifth Monarchy had now dawned on the world; that all other governments must be overthrown to make way for the reign of the Elect; and that they *themselves* were the Saints, the glories of whose Millennial reign were predicted in such glowing colours by S. John in the Apocalypse.'—Pp. 20—22.

Of course this subject occupies so large a place in both works, that it would be hardly possible to give a full view of the arguments and testimony on both sides. While, however, it must be confessed that we can have no certainty of an actual apostolic tradition on the subject; nor, indeed, of the fact of the Apostles having understood their own prophecies and visions beyond the very words and symbols they have transmitted; some weight must still be allowed to the absence of any appearance of an anti-literal *tradition* in this matter, and the early prevalence of a literal interpretation. It is true there are anti-literal conclusions, and those brought out by men of weight, in opposition to the extravagances of certain carnal literalists. But these would not be solitary instances if we were to suppose them to have been over-refinements, ably devised to meet a particular error, but not really necessary to the defence of truth. The writings, even of great Fathers, abound in such statements, which any tolerable judgment can discern from their actual delivery of doctrine, as handed down to them in the Church by uniform and undoubted tradition.

It is true Dr. Wordsworth has one real argument on his side, that presents a serious difficulty for Millenarians to explain. It is the occurrence of a resurrection before the Millennium. His own view of it he gives at p. 52:—

'"And I saw Thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them. And I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first Resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first Resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years."[1]

'Let us now consider these words.

'First, let us observe that they are *not* spoken of the *bodies* of the saints, but of their *souls*. "I saw the souls of them who had been beheaded for the witness of Jesus." This must be carefully borne in mind, because the error of the Millenarians is mainly due to neglect of this distinction. They have imagined a *bodily*[2] resurrection, whereas S. John is speaking of a *spiritual* one.[3]

'Secondly. It is not said that these souls lived *again*, but simply that they *lived*,[4] *and reigned with Christ.*

'It is clear, then, that what is here said, is spoken not of a *corporeal*, but of a *spiritual Resurrection.*

'Thirdly. Let us recollect, that such is the nearness and dearness of all faithful Christians to Christ, that *His* exaltation is represented in Scripture as *theirs*. Christ said to Saul, when persecuting the members of His Church, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?"[5] And He says to us, "Inasmuch as ye do it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye do it unto Me"[6] And as Christ suffers with His members on earth, so are they glorified with Him in heaven. He is persecuted in them; and they *reign* with Him.'—Pp. 52—54.

This is perhaps as difficult to receive in interpretation of the prophecy, as some notion of the resurrection spoken of being *actually corporeal* and *external*, but not *visible to men in this mortal state*. Without affirming this to be the meaning, it may at least be suggested as a conceivable answer to a seemingly formidable objection. And it may be remembered, that such

[1] 'Rev. xx. 4—6.'

[2] 'Compare Lightfoot, Harmony of New Test. and Rev. xx. "Here is a Resurrection, but not of *bodies*, but of *souls*. The *souls* of those that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus lived and reigned; and this is called the *first* resurrection." He observes that there is some figurative language in Ezekiel xxxvii.; the latter part of which book resembles the latter part of the Apocalypse. There is a *spiritual* resurrection; Gog and Magog; and a new Jerusalem in both. Many of the Jews erroneously understood Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones literally, as many Christians interpret the first Resurrection in a like sense. It may be added, that the second death is a phrase used by the Jews. Onkelos renders Deut. xxxiii. 6, thus: "Let Reuben live, and not die; i.e. the second death." See Lightfoot in Rev. xx.'

[3] 'S. Aug. in C. D. xx. 7. De duabus resurrectionibus Joannes Evangelista in Apocalypsi eo modo locutus est, ut earum *prima* a quibusdam nostris *non intellecta* insuper etiam in quasdam *ridiculas fabulas verteretur*.'

[4] '*καὶ ἔζησαν*, Rev. xx. 5.' [5] 'Acts ix. 4.' [6] 'Matt. xxv. 40.'

inconsistencies are to be expected in prophecy, from the examples given in the predictions relating to our Saviour himself, such as that He should be the Son, and yet the Lord of David. These seeming inconsistencies are the great keys of prophecy, when its fulfilment is sufficiently advanced to enable us to make use of them. Till then, their effect ought to be to restrain our presumption and self-confidence, and keep us patiently waiting for what it may please God to reveal by the course of His providence. Still they may be quoted in connexion or contradiction of a false exposition, provided that we always bear in mind, that the Divine purpose may yet have new combinations in store, and that we are almost sure to be unable perfectly to anticipate the very next phase of revelation, though we may be equally sure that it is really foreshadowed.

The general prevalence of a literal interpretation in early times is not a sufficient proof of its truth. We do not easily realize the Jewish state, and the extent of the influence of national feeling on the minds of the Apostles themselves. There are those, indeed, who would overrate this, and pretend to measure the movements of those who were certainly in a supernatural state by the elements and forces of nature. But these are to be met, not by a denial of those influences which were most certainly in action, but by admitting all that is true or reasonable, while we maintain that the supernatural graces and illuminations of the Gospel are not therefore rendered either improbable, *a priori*, or impossible to be traced in fact.

The predictive discourse of our Lord on the sight of the buildings of the Temple, rightly viewed, conveys this lesson with much force. The condescension to national feelings and carnal apprehensions is evident, yet the purpose of elevating the mind to more distant and spiritual objects is no less discernible, and the deliberate intention of making a partial and not a complete revelation is most manifest. It may be worth while to point out one important expression which is very likely to escape the English reader, and which has, in fact, escaped the attention of some who have given real thought to the exposition of the prophecy. A Greek writer, on the other hand, would be likely to pass it over from its very obviousness, and to assume that no reader could help perceiving it. Our translators appear to have intended to mark it by the new paragraph:—

Matt. xxiv. 34. 'Verily I say unto you, This generation shall 'not pass, till all *these* things be fulfilled.

'35 Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall 'not pass away.

'36 ¶ But of *that* day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the 'angels of heaven, but my Father only.'

The English reader might easily imagine that *that* day meant the day when *these* things should take place. But the distinction of the Greek pronouns, here imperfectly represented by the emphasis of italics, renders a different meaning by far the more natural, and points clearly to a distinction between the different parts of the foregoing prophecy, and an indefinite interval of time between them. Archdeacon Harrison has touched on this point in a note to his eighth lecture :—

'It appears to me, that these words of our Blessed Lord will not admit of any interpretation, other than that which would refer them to the generation then living. The words, as they stand in S. Matthew, are Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, [ὅτι, Mark and Luke] οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη ἕως ἂν [μέχρις οὗ, Mark] πάντα ταῦτα γένηται [ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται, Luke]. The concluding verb is, perhaps, best rendered in our version, in S. Mark's Gospel, "till all these things be *done*." I cannot think that ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη can be understood of the Jewish nation, through many generations, or of the human race. It would appear that, down to this point in His prophecy, our Blessed Lord is answering His disciples' question as to "the sign of" His "coming," and then proceeds to speak of that other day of His *final* coming, and "of the end of the world." And upon this, it would seem, He enters in the following verse, in which it is said, "But of that day and hour knoweth no man," &c.'—Pp. 424, 425.

It must be admitted, however, and may be admitted simply as a fact, and without the slightest disparagement to the prophecy, which was given according to the dispensation of Him who gave it, that the point of division is not marked with perfect clearness. In fact, there is a difference of opinion to this day as to the application of that part of it which relates to the 'abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet.' Dr. Maitland lays stress on the flight of the Christians of Jerusalem to Pella, and not to the mountains, as an evidence that the Roman invasion was not the calamity intended. In Matt. xxiv. 16, however, it is not those in Jerusalem, but those in Judæa, that are bid fly to the mountains; and this may have been intended to give a warning even prior to the final siege. But S. Cyril, of Jerusalem, (Maitland, p. 213,) supposes the abomination yet to come, and such is the opinion of Dr. Maitland himself:—

'The New Testament writers, even when delivering fresh predictions, sometimes take occasion to expound Old Testament prophecies. These inspired expositions, being the basis of all true understanding of the subject, must be first examined.

'A.D. 29.

'The phrase, "the abomination of desolation," though several times paraphrased in the Septuagint Daniel, occurs in that precise form twice only: once in chap. xi. 31, and again in chap. xii.: "The abomination of the desolation shall be given for 1,290 days." From our Lord's manner of quoting Daniel, "the abomination of the desolation, *the* spoken of by Daniel," (Gr.) it appears that all these abominations are one, though

admitting of a secondary fulfilment. This calamity, as it appears from Dan. xii., will befal the Jewish nation in the end of the world: the Saviour's exposition makes the certainty doubly sure; for thus speaks He who hath the key of David: "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains;" and as for the period at which this is to happen, it is added, that "immediately" after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven.

'This abomination is to stand "in the holy place," and, "where it ought not." These expressions, though plain enough to a Jew, throw us back upon Daniel for explanation. In the ninth chapter, according to the Seventy, it stands thus: "In the *temple* shall be the abomination of desolations." (v. 27.)

'S. Luke reports another saying having reference to the same event: "When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies." This siege is described at length in Zechariah xiv.: "I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle, and the city shall be taken, and the houses rifled." A comparison of the two passages shows that the New Testament prediction, though capable of a passing application to Titus or Adrian, refers to the siege in Zechariah. For, after it, says the Jewish prophet, the Lord shall go forth to fight with those nations: after that tribulation, says the Divine Teacher, shall the Son of man be seen. And, for the *times* of the Gentiles (left indefinite in S. Luke), we have to consult the Apocalypse, where it is said that the Gentiles shall tread under foot the holy city forty and two months. From this point the collation of the prophecies runs on smoothly: the standing on the mount of Olives, the great earthquake, and the mourning of the tribes, all these, when read by the New Testament light, become plain in their order and connexion.

'A.D. circ. 50.

'The famous conversation in Thessalonica, from the casual manner in which it is referred to, seems to have been an exposition of old prophecies rather than a formal delivery of new. If we take as the text the version of the Seventy, the passages commented on will appear to be the following:—

OLD TESTAMENT.	ST. PAUL.
'He shall have intelligence with them, because they have forsaken the holy covenant. (Dan. xii.)	'There shall come first the apostasy.
'And behold, eyes like man's eyes. (Dan. vii.)	'That Man of Sin shall be revealed.
'And the other king shall arise after them. (Dan. vii.)	
'He shall speak words against the Most High. (Ch. vii.)	'Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God.
'And the king shall be exalted above every God. (Ch. xi.)	
'He shall pitch his tent upon the mountain of the will of the Holy One. (Ch. xi.)	'So that he sitteth in the temple of God.
'In the temple shall be the abomination of desolation. (Ch. ix.)	
'The fourth kingdom . . . and ten kings shall arise . . . and after them the other. (Ch. vii.)	'And now ye know what withholdeth.

'He shall smite the earth with the word of his mouth, and with the spirit of his lips he shall destroy that Wicked One. (Isaiah xi.)

'And then shall that Wicked One be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth.

'A.D. 64.

'At this time Rome is first called Babylon by St. Peter, who thus prepares his readers for the coming transfer of Old Testament prophecies in the Apocalypse. This use of the name is so entirely in conformity with the usual style of Rabbinical disguise, that the Apostle's meaning was never doubted till the fifteenth century.

'A.D. circ. 80.

'About this time the name Antichrist began to be applied to the Man of Sin. From S. John's method of introducing the word, it seems to have been already familiar to the Church: "Ye have heard that the Antichrist shall come." S. Paul's word, *Antikeimenos*, is the nearest approach to it in older writings.

'The Apostles, as it cannot fail to be remarked by the most hasty reader, uniformly describe the day of the Lord as close at hand; but, let any one misunderstand them, so as to *reckon* upon it coming in a few years, or within any given time, and at once they hasten to correct the mistake, and to explain their true meaning. Happily for *our* instruction, they were, even during their own lifetime, so far misunderstood by some, as to find it needful to lay down the principles of a more sober calculation:—That God's reckoning differs from man's in the proportion of a day to a thousand years; that what some men call slackness is with Him long-suffering: and yet that the last day, when it does come, shall come quickly, that is, suddenly, and like a thief in the night. Where the Saviour reveals one obstacle to His speedy coming, S. Paul adds two besides: not only must the Gospel be preached everywhere, but the letting power must be first removed, and the Man of Sin must next appear. Moreover, adds the Apostle, let none tell you, as if he had learnt it from me, that the last day is at hand; let none think that I meant it in my epistle; let no man deceive you by any means.

'Thus the Apostles, secure in the infallibility of their inspiration, so treated the subject as to convey precisely the same impression that their Master had left before them: for He, who said "Surely I come quickly," said also, "The end is not yet." To all, therefore, they say, Be ready; to the over-anxious, Be not troubled. Let no fond and frustrated hopes give a handle to the scoffer; but, above all, let no unexpected arrival of death or of judgment peril your eternal safety.'—Pp. 103—107.

Archdeacon Harrison, partly from his extreme caution, is less distinct:—

'But the description, in our Lord's prophecy, of the coming of the Son of man and the signs attending it, is still further carried on, in imagery strongly resembling that which, in the vision before us, follows immediately at the beginning of the next chapter upon the scene of terror revealed under the sixth seal. "And then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn," is the language of our Lord's prophecy already cited, "and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory. And He shall send His angels," the prophecy continues, "with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together His elect from one end of heaven to the other." Or, as it is in S. Mark, "And then shall He send His angels, and shall gather together His elect from the four

winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven." Let us compare with this the language of S. John's vision. "And after these things I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree. And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads. And I heard the number of them which were sealed: and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel." "The elect," spoken of by our Blessed Lord are, undoubtedly, the same with those "elect" for whose sake the days of tribulation should be shortened; that "remnant" of whom the prophet Joel had spoken, "whom the Lord" should "call;" "the remnant according to the election of grace," of whom the Apostle S. Paul speaks, comparing them with the seven thousand in the days of Elias; and who had obtained the salvation promised to Israel, when the great body of the nation of "Israel after the flesh" were cast away. Though the number of Israel were as the sand of the sea, a remnant only, as the prophet Isaiah had spoken, were to be saved; when the Almighty should "finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness," bringing to pass the "consumption, even determined, in the midst of all the land,"—"the consummation and that determined," as Daniel also had described it, to "be poured upon the desolate." A remnant was to be saved; a certain number, designated here as "a hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel;" twelve thousand from every tribe (for so is the manner of Scripture to use definite numbers for indefinite), marking a certain election, a predetermined order and law of the Divine procedure in the mingled dispensation of mercy and judgment.

'And, looking to historical fact, we see that in that great assembly on the day of Pentecost, which formed the first-fruits of the Christian Church, there were "Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven." Again, when S. Paul was at Jerusalem, at another feast of Pentecost, some seven and twenty years afterwards, we find S. James, the "brother of our Lord," the first bishop of Jerusalem, and the elders of the Church there, telling him "how many thousands"—or rather, "myriads," tens of thousands—of Jews there were that believed: and the same S. James addresses his general Epistle "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad." S. Peter also, in like manner, writes "to the elect strangers of the dispersion throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia;" and sends to them the salutation of "the Church which" was "at Babylon, elected together with" them. In these Epistles, as also in that of S. Paul to the Hebrews, the faithful remnant are addressed as those, who having themselves been called to undergo severe trials and persecutions, were to be preserved through days of vengeance which were coming on the disobedient, while the kingdom of Christ was drawing near in the more full manifestation of its power and glory. "Who are kept," says S. Peter, "by the power of God through faith unto salvation (which is) ready to be revealed in the last time." "The end of all things is at hand; be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer." "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you..... For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God; and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the Gospel of God?" And S. James in like manner, in a passage which seems graphically descriptive of the latter days of the Jewish history. "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you.... Ye have heaped treasure together

for the last days. . . . Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you. Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain. Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh."'—Pp. 237—241.

'Before, however, we conclude the examination of the sixth seal, it may be well to advert to the opinion of those interpreters who have explained it as describing the overthrow of Paganism, followed by the establishment of Christianity on the throne of the Roman Empire, the freedom thereby obtained for the Christian worship, and the accession of converts to the new religion. It must be observed, however, as a difficulty in the way of this interpretation, that, even if it were granted that these events would sufficiently correspond with a description of peace and purity which seems to belong rather to apostolic times, and to the days of persecution, when the Christian converts were seen to come "out of the great tribulation," our view is fixed upon the earlier period by that prophecy of our Blessed Lord, which, if it has been rightly applied in the interpretation of His disciple's vision, would specially refer it to the time when, by the destruction of the Jewish polity, and the winding up of the preparatory dispensation, His kingdom came with power. It may at the same time be observed that, in the view of Prophetic Inspiration, which looks upon things not in their mere chronological relations, but as they are essentially connected one with another in the order of the Divine counsels, at that crisis when the Jewish dispensation was drawing to an end, Paganism was, in fact, tottering to its fall; and the kings of the earth, and its rich men, its chief captains and mighty men, might well be described as looking with awe and amazement at the things which were coming on the earth, when a new kingdom was thus brought in, before which all earthly pride and power were destined in due time to fall. And the beginning of this new order of things, as our Lord had Himself declared, in words which solemnly conclude that portion of His Divine prophecy which we have been considering, was to be while some of those who heard Him were yet living on the earth. "Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass until all these things be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away."

'In applying, however, to the events of that period imagery like that which we find in the vision before us, it must be constantly borne in mind what it is which constitutes the peculiar propriety of the imagery so employed. We must remember that it is not merely, or mainly, the occurrence of scenes of destruction and slaughter, of suffering and distress, such as mark the last days of Jerusalem's history,—fearful indeed and harrowing as is that tale of misery, as their own historian has told it,—but rather the winding up, in awful judgment, of a dispensation which had been established at the first by solemn sanctions of Heaven, and which was now to give place to another, still more Divine and glorious, a new dispensation to be brought in, amid signs and wonders, by HIS power who had said, "Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven." And therefore it is that the coming in of this kingdom, and the preparation made for it, by the sweeping away of that earlier and temporary dispensation which through a long course of ages had witnessed to the greater glory of this which was to follow it, is described in terms inferior only, in dignity and awfulness, to those which are employed to shadow out the final consummation of all things.

'The two scenes, as I have endeavoured to show, are distinct in the visions of the Apocalypse, as they are also in the prophetic discourse of

our Lord. The former we have contemplated, as depicted in the twenty-fourth chapter of the Gospel of S. Matthew, where we read of "the sign of the Son of man" appearing "in heaven," and of "the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." The latter we find foretold in the following chapter, the twenty-fifth, where the scene is described of that final judgment of the righteous and the wicked which shall then take place, "when the Son of man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him," and He "shall sit upon the throne of His glory; and before Him shall be gathered all nations: and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats;" and the wicked "shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." And these two periods in the history of the new kingdom are still more clearly exhibited, in their distinctness, where our Lord, on another occasion, passes immediately from the mention of the one to the other. In the sixteenth chapter of the same Gospel, we find Him first warning His followers of the danger of losing the soul, by reminding them of the awful realities of the day of Judgment, and then going on, it would seem, to speak of a nearer manifestation of power, the pledge and foretaste of that which was to come. "For the Son of man shall come in the glory of His Father, with His angels; and then shall He reward every man according to his works. Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here which shall not taste death, till they see the Son of man coming in His kingdom;" or, as it is in S. Luke, "till they see the kingdom of God;" or, in S. Mark, "till they see the kingdom of God come with power." And it came, in very deed, visibly with power, from the time when, amid the wrath which was poured on His enemies, the elder dispensation was brought to its end, and the everlasting kingdom, the "kingdom which cannot be moved," was set up in the midst of the earth —the kingdom of Him whom Daniel "saw in the night visions," and He "came with the clouds of heaven and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him; and there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."—Pp. 250—253.

What he wants, however, in vividness of impression the careful reader will find that he compensates by calmness in judgment, carefulness in criticism, and abstinence from arbitrary assumption.

With respect to the vision of the image in Daniel, and that of the four beasts, the Archdeacon's criticism and Dr. Maitland's authorities concur in maintaining the old exposition of the 'five empires,' against the somewhat over-refining objections of Dr. Todd.

'To avoid repetition, the current exposition of the four empires is here amalgamated into a continuous form; and, as most of the paraphrase is the common property of many writers, both Christian and Jewish, the names of authors are omitted, except where any have made the subject peculiarly their own.

'And first, for the repetition of the prophecy, and the different aspects under which the same empires are revealed to king and prophet. The conqueror and the captive, beholding the same objects from opposite points of view, require to be taught different lessons. To the one it must be shown that what seems brightest shall fade: to the other, that what is

most proud and cruel shall yet be subdued. But on this subject the men of old shall show forth wisdom:

'"To the monarch, deluded with the unsubstantial image of the world, and admiring the beauty of things visible, as the colours of a painting spread before him,—to this monarch there is fitly shown, under the figure of a great image, the universal history of man: but the prophet, in a great sea, beholds the great and manifold tossings of human life. Again, to the monarch, admiring that which is precious in the sight of men,—the gold, the silver, the brass, and the iron—there are shown, under the figure of these metals, the empires successively dominant in the history of man: but to the prophet, the same kingdoms appear in the shape of beasts corresponding to their imperial style.

'"Lastly, to the monarch, thinking, as it appears, great things of himself, and proudly boasting his ancestral sway, there is shown a change in the state of things, and the end of earthly rule: and this, to bring down his pride, and to teach him that nothing among men shall stand securely, save only God's final and universal kingdom. . . . . These four empires, and these only, were shown to the king as well as to the prophet; I suppose because the Jewish nation was to be enslaved by those only, from the prophet's time downwards."—*Eusebius.*[1]

'I. The kingdom of Babylon represented by Nebuchadnezzar its head: Thou art this head of gold; "that is," says Theodoret, "thy kingdom." And this point he argues well: "For after Nebuchadnezzar's decease Evil-Merodach reigned in Babylon, and after him Belshazzar. If, then, we make the individual king to be the head of gold, how shall we take this:—after thee shall arise another kingdom, inferior to thee? for this means, not the kingdom of his sons, but of the Persians. Therefore the head of gold is not Nebuchadnezzar himself, but the entire kingdom of the Assyrians or Babylonians."[2] Eudoxius makes a stand for the verbal sense: "The head represents the Assyrians, especially the Assyrians' noblest king."

'And who so golden, so superb as he who, in the extravagance of oriental splendour, raised a statue of gold ninety feet in height? "Thy greatness," says Daniel, "reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth." In the second vision the gold is replaced by a royal compound[3] of beast and bird:—a lion with eagle's wings. But, while Daniel looks on, a cloud obscures his master's splendour: the eagle's wings are plucked. The monarch is seven years (Septuagint) among the beasts; his fit place, for a beast's heart is given to him.

'And as Daniel watches, he beholds once more in vision what he had before witnessed in history, the beast is set upon its feet as a man, and a man's heart is given to it. No longer seeking heaven on wings of pride, he knows himself to be but man,—with barbaric mouth he honours and extols the God of heaven, no longer foolish and ignorant, and as a beast before him.

'In this way, during some eighteen centuries, the Church has by conjecture expounded the symbol; but now, so late in history, the key has been brought to light. A British traveller, scouring the Assyrian plains,

---

[1] 'This passage, lost for fourteen centuries, has been recovered by Mai. It was quoted from Eusebius by Apollinarius, and from his work copied again into the Greek chain on Daniel.—*Mai's Vet. Script.* tom. i. p. 173.'

[2] 'Theodoret in Danielem, in locum.'

[3] 'So Chrysostom: "two royal emblems." And Polychronius: "the most royal of beasts." Also Eudoxius: "the most royal of quadrupeds; the swiftest and most royal of birds."'

lights upon the palaces of heroes and the monuments of kings. Among these is found a colossal sculpture;—a lion with eagle's wings, and a man's head has been given to it.'[1]—*Maitland*, pp. 88—90.

'III. Alexander and the Greeks. Says Josephus: "Another will come from the West, sheathed in brass." The sound recalls Homer and his brass-clad heroes. This brazen kingdom was to bear rule over all the earth; and so, in the usual way of speaking, it did. For it is affirmed, upon authority not to be despised in what concerns ordinary modes of speech, even a nursery tale, supported by a *consensus* of babes and sucklings, that Alexander, when he had conquered all the world, sat down and wept. As Hyrcanus words it, "The earth was still before him."

'The third kingdom is also, like the rest, compared to a beast. "He desires," says Chrysostom, "to show something rapid, unrestrained, and destructive; therefore he calls up a pard." The leopard is used in comparisons on account of its swiftness: "Their horses," it is said, "are swifter than leopards." Moreover, to make this leopard swifter, it has four wings: for in twelve years Alexander rose from the government of a province to universal empire. In the next vision, therefore, the king of Grecia comes from the West, not touching the ground. History has something to say of this also.

'A young Roman once shed tears before the statue of Alexander, when he remembered that at an age when he himself had done nothing, the Macedonian had conquered the world. And yet that young Roman is no sluggard in conquest, for it is early manhood with him yet: he will one day write home to the senate that he also came, and saw, and conquered. Alexander's empire has one more mark, the four heads. This is fully explained in the next vision: the first king of Grecia being broken, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation; and in another vision, his kingdom is said to be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity.

'It fell heavily upon the Christian Greeks, when their empire had been vanquished and disarmed, that they seemed to have lost, with their brass, their place in the prophecy; but Greece, conquered in all besides, still boasted, excepting while Cicero was living, supremacy in eloquence. Now eloquence had been compared, by St. Paul, to sounding brass, as the most resonant and clear-toned of metals. The expositors, therefore, deprived of the substantial character of the metal, fell back upon its sound. Titus Bostrensis first gave out that the brass of the third kingdom represents its eloquence. Eudoxius, also a Greek, remarks that the hard iron of the Romans conquered the precious gold, the resplendent silver, and the sonorous brass.[2]

'IV. The Roman Empire, described as an iron kingdom, and represented by a nameless beast with teeth of iron. This kingdom also was to rule the whole earth: so the Cæsars begin by issuing a decree that all the world shall be taxed. Yet their "whole earth" was limited: they never ruled beyond the Euphrates.

---

[1] 'Layard's Nineveh, vol. i. pp. 68—70: "I ascertained by the end of March (1845), the existence of a second pair of winged human-headed lions." See at p. 70, first edition, a drawing of the bas relief.

'So complete had been the break up of the oriental world, that even Nisibenus, living on the borders of the Assyrian empire, knew nothing of its earlier customs. Being thus forced to seek an explanation within the prophecy itself, he turned to the parallel passage in chap. ii. Finding that Nebuchadnezzar was there styled ruler of beasts and birds, he thought this a sufficient explanation of the king of beasts and the king of birds, composing the symbol. Sermon 5.'

[2] 'Greek chain on Daniel. Mai, tom. i. in locum.'

'The interpretation of the fourth kingdom graduàlly passed through a complete history of its own. At first, Josephus confines his exposition to the iron, the clay finding no counterpart in the kingdom of Vespasian. Hippolytus stops short at the teeth of iron, exclaiming, "This we ourselves have seen, and we give God the glory." Thus far the clay had been lying dormant. Eusebius shows himself no wiser about it than his predecessors. Apollinarius, Jerome's master, recognises the iron, but has nothing to say about the clay. His pupil knew better: under the tuition of the Goths, the Church had made rapid progress in mastering that part of the vision. Sulpitius found the incongruous mixture abundantly plain: Theodoret was but too happy to discover that the mixture would remain, and that the iron would not altogether disappear. Eudoxius next proposes to use the condition of the empire as a measure of the times: "The weaker you see the Roman empire, the nearer you may suppose the end." In this state the interpretation still remains.

'Next in order comes the mysterious stone, which Josephus leaves untouched, as if conscious that to him it must prove a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence; but the Christians gladly accept the subject, hailing that stone as the Headstone of the corner. And, for the mystery, "cut out, yet without hands," since Josephus is silent, Victor of Antioch shall speak: "The being born of a virgin was above nature; the union of substance a paradox. It is therefore called a mystery, not as unknown, but as incomprehensible. For the plan of the Cross exceeds all human understanding; how the Sufferer achieved salvation, and how the Dying rose; how the Dishonoured conferred glory, and how the Crucified removed the curse."'[1]—Pp. 93—95.

S. Jerome's sad experience, and his application of it to the exposition of prophecy, are also noticed by Archdeacon Harrison. One slight correction has been introduced into his translation of the passage.

'That the ten horns were to be ten kingdoms which were to rise out of the ruins of the Roman empire, was, as we have already seen, the consentient belief of early times. But we may observe still further—and it is an important point in the evidence—St. Jerome, who, as we saw on a former occasion, himself living in the beginning of the fifth century, witnessed the growing weakness of that empire, the mixing of the iron with the clay, in describing, in one of his epistles, the calamities of the times, has enumerated an assemblage of barbarous nations who were then ravaging Gaul, as if he thought he saw them now rising into dominion, and ready to make way for the dreaded power of the little horn. "Innumerable and most savage nations," he says, "have taken possession of the whole of Gaul. The Quadian, the Vandal, the Sarmatian, the Alani, the Gepidæ, the Heruli, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Alemanni, and, oh! our mournful state! the Pannonians"—it will be observed, he has enumerated ten—"have ravaged the whole country between the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Ocean and the Rhine."[2] In the overthrow which he thus beheld, he

[1] 'This Victor of Antioch, a Greek writer, flourished about 380. Mai, vol. i. p. 177.'

[2] 'I do not quote this passage as proving that S. Jerome identified these nations with the ten horns of the beast, for three of these horns he undoubtedly supposed to be those mentioned in Dan. xi. 43 (Egypt, the Lybians, and the Ethiopians). I quote it as showing that he watched the fate of the Roman empire in the West, and especially of the city of Rome itself, as the scene on which the Antichristian

recognised the removal, as now to all appearance begun, of that Roman power which had hitherto stood in the way; and he looked, accordingly, for "that wicked one" soon to be revealed in his season. "He which letteth," he had said just before, "is being taken out of the way, and yet we fail to understand that Antichrist is approaching." '—*Harrison*, pp. 77, 78.

On the question of 'the year-day system' they are at variance; the Archdeacon inclining to accept it, Dr. Maitland rejecting it wholly, as novel and untenable. Either of them is far more likely to be right than Dr. Wordsworth.

'To proceed to facts.

'Three years and a half, or forty-two months, or 1260 days, are, as we have seen, the time of the pilgrimage of the Woman in the Wilderness, that is, of the Church in her trials.[1] This number[2] *forty-two* connects her with the history of the Israelitish Church in the Wilderness. Its haltings are enumerated in the Book of Numbers,[3] and they are forty-two. "And all these things" (says S. Paul) "happened to them as types of us."[4] They foreshadow the history of the Christian Church in her pilgrimage through the wilderness of this world to the promised land of heaven.

'Again: "I tell you of a truth, says our Blessed Lord, many widows were in Israel in the days of Elias, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land."[5] And S. James says, "Elias prayed it might not rain; and it rained not on the earth by the space of three years and six months."[6]

'It also pleased God to strengthen the type, if we may so speak, by assigning precisely the same duration of *three years and a half* to the great persecution of the Church of Israel by Antiochus Epiphanes, the figure of Antichrist.

'S. John's precursor,[7] Daniel, had named that period as the duration of that persecution. He had also identified it with the future time of the trials of the *Christian* Church, which are more fully described by St. John.[8]

'Thus the very mention of *three years and a half* to the ear of an Israelite had an ominous sound. It was the chronological symbol of suffering.

'And to us Christians there is another reason why it should be identified with a time of trial, if, as some ancient writers[9] assure us, and there is good reason to believe,[10] this period of three years and a half[11] was the duration of the earthly ministry of Him, the great PROPHET, the Divine WITNESS of the truth, "Who was a man of sorrows and acquainted with

---

power was in due time to be revealed. The date assigned to this epistle is A.D. 409.'

[1] 'Primasius ad loc. Numerus XLII Mansionum Christianitatis omne tempus designat.'

[2] 'By Haymo in Apoc. lib. ii. iv. and Aquinas, p. 323.'

[3] 'Num. xxxiii. 1—50.' [4] '1 Cor. x. 6—11.' [5] 'Luke iv. 25.' [6] 'James v. 17.'

[7] 'See Josephus, B. J. i. c. 1. Lowth on Dan. xii. 7. Usher's Annals, pt. ii. Prideaux, Connexion, ad A.D. 168, 165.'

[8] 'See Lowth on Dan. vii. 25.'

[9] 'Eus eb. i. 10. Theodoret, ii. p. 1250, ed. Hal. Cf. Melito ap. Routh. R. S. i. 136.'

[10] 'See Hengstenberg's Christology on Dan. ix. 27.'

[11] 'Some of the Fathers also supposed that this was the duration of the "flight in Egypt" of the Virgin Mother and her Divine Child. See Catena Cramer, p. 358, 366.'

grief;[1] and who, as Daniel prophesied, caused the sacrifice of the temple to cease in the midst of a week by his own oblation on the cross.[2]

'Hence this period of three years and a half, forty-two months, or 1260 days, is employed in the Apocalypse as a typical exponent of an idea; just as the numbers twelve and twelve times twelve do not represent a precise sum, but a well defined principle.[3]—*Wordsworth*, pp. 266—269.

His authorities have been given, to relieve him of the responsibility at least of inventing such an interpretation.[4] Prophecy, however obscure, is not so definite as here in expression when it is indefinite in meaning. Indeed it is scarcely consistent with our respect for the sacred character and authority of its documents so to take it. Even although we might bear with an indefinite millenium, it were certainly a strange and violent exposition to make a period repeatedly announced, not in a round number, but in several different forms, with all the circumstances of exactness, significant merely through the historical instances of that period's occurrence, and not in the way of actual duration. Nor is there any sufficient reason for this vagueness, or any difficulty whatever in supposing the literal fulfilment. In the year-day system there is certainly a difficulty, and one which may possibly have inclined an expositor to prefer an indefinite interpretation. For if the papal power holds the place in prophecy which Dr. Wordsworth would assign to it, the period of its rise is so little defined, that it is by no means easy to suppose it *can* be bounded by a limit so exact. There may, however, be more reason for its being assigned if, as some authors mentioned by Archdeacon Harrison, and appa-

---

[1] 'Isa. liii. 3.'

[2] 'Dan. ix. 27. Lightfoot Harm. N. T. ad cap. xi. "The forty-two months," "1260 days," and a "time, times, and a half time," are but borrowed phrases from Daniel, who so expresses the three and a half years of Antiochus' persecution (Dan. xii. 7); and they mean times of trouble, and are used to express that, and *not any fixed time*. The *Jews* have learned to make the same *construction of it*: and this also, that comfort might stand up against mercy, was the time of our Saviour's ministry. Christ preached three and a half years in trouble. So the Two Witnesses in sackcloth. He having finished his ministry was slain; so they. He revived and ascended; so they likewise. Their case is parallel with Christ's, their Master's. See also Vitringa, pp. 449, 463. 1 Macc. xiii. 50, 51.'

[3] 'Haymo in loc. Dies 1260.] In hoc tempore Ecclesiâ in solitudine a curis temporalium rerum quiescente, pascunt eam Doctores exemplo et doctrinâ per Epistolas, Evangelium et expositiones librorum pabulo divini sermonis. Sicut Antichristus 1260 diebus regnabat, ita et Christus 1260 diebus, i.e. tribus annis et dimidio prædicavit, ideoque totum præsens tempus possumus accipere per hoc numerum a quo divina prædicatio cœpit. Desertum populi ex Ægypto egressi significabat hanc vitam, in quâ pascimur vero Manna, id est, corpore Christi; adsunt quoque igniti serpentes, &c. See also Aquinas.'

[4] The Clavis of S. Melito, Bishop of Sardis in the second century, also mentions the connexion of the number 42 with the stations of the wilderness. This is not his Commentary on the Apocalypse, but a kind of Dictionary of Scripture Symbols. It has never yet been published, but will appear in the 'Spicilegium Solesmiense,' a collection of Inedita shortly to be published by Dom Pitra, a Benedictine of the Abbey of Solesmes, near Angers.

rently without disapprobation, suppose, there is also a literal fulfilment to be expected, in the reign of antichrist for three and a half years, symbolically connected with 1260 years of the Church's trial under another and an openly hostile power.

In identifying Rome with Babylon, all these writers are agreed, and with them a goodly array of ancient authorities,[1] and a chain reaching down even to modern Roman Catholics and Jesuits. It is not only the Franciscan school of reformers in the latter Middle Ages, but men who would not be disposed to admit anything unfavourable to the eternal city that was not forced upon them by irresistible conviction, that fix this prophetic seat of corruption on the seven hills. Prophecy itself is indeed so clear on this point that the conclusion cannot be escaped without some disparagement to its perfection. And even the advocate of Rome is in a better position if he admits than if he obstinately fights against this manifest truth. Let Rome now be what she will, (with fear and trembling, and in the grief of earnest charity be it spoken), she is doomed to a fall that shall astonish the world. Whether the Church of Rome, as now understood, which is indeed almost independent of the locality, although hitherto so closely linked to it, is to share or escape the doom of the devoted city, there it is that the pride and pomp of this world shall meet a signal overthrow, and the spirit of old Babylon shall be quelled and broken. The circumstances which seem to be foretold as attending this overthrow are strange and significant, and have attracted the attention of ancient as well as of some modern expositors. The dream which united in the one abstraction of popery all the monstrous forms of prophetic abomination, and made the present Roman hierarchy at once Babylon and Antichrist, could not do otherwise than vanish at the first breath of fresh and wakeful air. But its disappearance leaves the field of thought at once clearer in prospect, and beset with strange and lowering terrors, which though vague in form show fearful signs of reality. Rome is there still, and a spirit of pride and worldliness, of unholy traffic and abominable deception is its tenant. But the Antichrist, though seated on a throne exalted one step above the present chair of S. Peter, and more like the ideal pontiff of 'Young Italy' than any other conception as yet historically imagined, is without her walls. He is, according to a multitude of expositors, and no slight indications in prophecy itself, her destroyer; himself, after a short reign, to fall in direct contest with the true Messiah.

---

[1] S. Melito has, among the names of places in his 'Clavis,' 'Babylon—Mundus aut Roma in Apocalypsi.'

'The new school of interpreters had gone on to say that Rome was the seat of the Beast; and here Bellarmine once more falls back upon the Apocalypse. Chytræus, he complains, takes no notice of the words, "Where also their Lord was crucified." Moreover Antichrist is to destroy Rome, not to reign in it. "The ten kings who will share among them the Roman empire, and in whose reign Antichrist will come,—these will hate the purple-bearing harlot, that is, Rome, and will make her desolate, and burn her with fire. How, therefore, can she be the seat of Antichrist, if at that very time she is to be overthrown and burnt?"

'Bellarmine allows that Rome is meant by Babylon: but Rome future, not Rome present. This future falling away of Rome seems to be incompatible with the infallibility of the Roman see: but Bellarmine judges otherwise; "It matters not," he argues, "that in the time of Antichrist Rome seems to be destined to be wasted and burnt, as appears from Apoc. xvii.: for this will not happen till the end of the world; and moreover at that time the Pope will be styled, and will in truth be, Pope of Rome, although not living in Rome: for so it happened in the time of Totila, king of the Goths." The case of Bellarmine makes it probable that even in the hour of Babylon's destruction by Antichrist, there will be Papists so infatuated as to be planning how to retain the title of Roman; that, deaf to the voice which cries "Come out of her," they will be fondly looking back to the accursed city. If such there be, will they, like Lot's wife, suffer a separate ruin? or will they be permitted to escape to those that cast dust upon their heads, and cry, "Alas, alas, that great city?"

'A. D. 1592.

'The suggestion of the anonymous homilist was next carried out by Ribera. The power and learning of the Jesuits enabled them to hold out the menace to Rome, that she would one day fall away from the faith, and, despite her boast of perpetual purity, become the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.

'On ground so dangerous Ribera treads lightly: he seems to fear even the sound of his own footsteps. "It may be," he suggests, "that some Christians not conspicuous for holiness may at some time be suffered to live in Rome." The state of corruption prevailing in Rome early in the sixteenth century helps to bring this supposition within the range of possibility. But Ribera will allow nothing to the discredit of Rome in her present papal character:—

'"Babylon whose fall is here predicted, Babylon the empurpled harlot, Babylon the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, she that has made all nations to drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, this is indeed Rome; but not Rome Christian, not Rome obedient to the Pope, not Rome retaining and preserving within herself the see of the apostle Peter; for this is not the mother either of abominations or of filthiness, but the mother of piety, the pillar of the Catholic faith, the mistress of sanctity. On the contrary, it is Rome the author and preserver of superstitions, the head of idolatry, the sink of all iniquity, the most bitter enemy of the Christian name, the murderer and slaughterer of the saints, such as she once was under heathen emperors, and such as she will be in the end of the world, after she has fallen away from the Pope." (Num. 39.)

'Ribera lays it down that when Rome again becomes Babylon, "there will be in her the greatest idolatry." As the fathers of Trent have sanctioned the decrees of the second Nicene council, it is difficult to imagine more gross idolatry than that which the Church of Rome now supports. With better effect he replies to those who would make Rome in the end of the world, to suffer merely for the sins of Rome ancient and Pagan:—

'"Great Babylon came into remembrance. Because Babylon's old sins

are to be visited upon her together with the new, our Apostle speaks as of a thing done long ago,—Great Babylon came into remembrance before God, to give her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of His wrath. She came into remembrance, because her old sins had been already consigned to oblivion on account of the faith which she had embraced; but when fresh and similar offences are added, the former also come into the memory of God:—For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

'"Now Jerusalem would not have been laid waste by the Romans on account of her old sins, unless she had afterwards heaped upon them new and very heavy offences, not knowing the time of her visitation, as the Lord said, but killing Him through whom she was to be saved. And so Rome, after the worship of so many idols, after incredible superstitions, and after shedding the blood of so many martyrs, might yet remain till the end of the world, having become the seat of Christ's vicar, were it not that she will equal her former impiety with new sins and horrible wickedness.

'"Therefore not for her former sins alone will she burn with so great a burning, as was said before, but also on account of those which she will commit in the last times; and this we learn so distinctly from the words of the Apocalypse, that the greatest fool cannot deny it."'—*Maitland*, pp. 376—379.

This view has the advantage of placing the whole question in a state in which it can be investigated, without assuming anything that at once shocks our moral apprehension. To identify the whole communion centred in Rome through the Middle Ages with the very powers antagonist to God, is simply impossible to one who knows the lives of those holy men who succeeded one another in unbroken lines through the darkest periods, and the manner in which the hierarchy, with all its faults, co-operated with their designs for the glory of God and the good of man. But as 'that woman Jezebel' was not the Church of Thyatira, and yet that Church might be rebuked and might suffer for her presence, so may the harlot Babylon be severed in her life and being, and in her sin and punishment, from the true and spiritual Church of her very seat of empire. What can be said to identify her with the very *Church* of Rome, may be found in Dr. Wordsworth, Lecture XII.

It is difficult to read S. Paul without a deep impression that a future apostasy of Rome, from the very faith itself, is indicated, or the 24th of S. Matthew without a similar thought respecting the first see of Christendom. The idea is a strong and haunting one, and links itself to an unbroken analogy of the past, an analogy not seldom hinted at in the warnings of the New Testament. Yet all this may refer, and some of it must refer, to facts as yet future, and to a condition of the Christian world that we have not yet seen. Whether it has any bearing upon the past history or present state of the Church of Rome, is a matter left open for inquiry. Yet so palpable is the resemblance, so pointed, to all appearance, the prophetic allusion to many particulars in the mediæval condition and history of the

Roman hierarchy, that it is difficult, even with the wish, to maintain a doubt of the fact, that its Babylonish pride, luxury, and corruption, were foreseen and intended in the predictions of S. John. The place, the influence over the Roman world, the very apparel and costume, (see Maitland, p. 367,) are added to the acknowledged notes of wickedness and venality, and seem unquestionably to single out the society as well as the spot in which their fulfilment is to be witnessed. And if facts on the one hand compel us to acknowledge that many of the elect have been, and yet are, to the best of human judgment, in the Roman communion; if we feel sure that the faith, with whatever additions, there remains entire, and has been kept with fidelity; if we know that vast exertions have been made and are making for the spread and maintenance of truth and holiness; and if we therefore have strong and apparently conclusive reasons for not applying to the Roman Church in herself the accursed name of Babylon; we cannot yet resist the inference on the other side, that she has suffered the evil spirit of Babylon to win a hold upon her, and so to move and wield for a time her outward actions, that we must view with caution everything that is presented to us as coming from a source so nearly allied to the 'mother of abominations and harlotries.'

Could we only place ourselves fairly in the position of persons living in the palmy days of pontifical domination, when the scandals of a most venal and profligate Court were fresh in all mouths, how much more telling would be the impression of their enormity than in the stereotyped pages of history! Truly it is no wonder that men forsook not Rome only, but the Church and the faith of Christ. And if some of our writers have magnified abuses and acts of presumption, and have even turned what is in itself right and reasonable into a ground for mistaken charges, this must not deter us from realizing the fact, that in the very predicted spot there arose a system stigmatized and rebuked by those holy men who obeyed the power with which it was connected,[1] indisputably corrupt and corrupting, tempting the rulers of the world to barter gain for the sanction or toleration of wickedness, fruitful of lying superstitions, veiling the most atrocious vices under the mantle of sacred office, and even under the cowl of holy austerity. 'By their works ye shall know them' is not a test to be hastily applied; but when wickedness descends from generation to generation, multiplying as it goes, men cannot but apply it;

[1] See S. Bernard, De Consideratione, and IV. ii. 4, 'Whom can you show me in the whole of that vast city who has received you for Pope without the inducement of gain (pretio), or the hope of gain?' See also book iii. chap. iii.—v. and many other passages.

and if the communion of Rome is redeemed from its fatal application by her Borromeos and her Neris, still her hierarchy remains responsible not merely for the occasional interference in its line of succession, but for the long prevailing domination of unholy pride and venal craftiness. Many pastors have been worldly and ungodly men, but it would be hard to name those who have so astounded the world by their wickedness and malversation in their sacred office as did for some time the supreme Pontiffs of Rome. Let not this fact have *more* than its due weight. There is no reasonable doubt but that even gross and open wickedness is consistent with the possession of a Divine authority to rule and teach. The fact of such authority and commission may be so clear as to supersede any farther test, and leave only subordinate questions to be decided by the character of individuals. But the Papal power is one of those mixed developments of human and divine institutions, whose place must be adjudged by their character. Its credentials from Holy Scripture and Christian antiquity are not of that unquestionable kind that forbids criticism. The single hint (if such it be) of the permanency of S. Peter's primacy is linked to a no less significant indication of its fall, and the renunciations of S. Gregory cover no small portion of the assumptions of the modern popedom. Its maintainers cannot dispense with arguments from general necessity and from history; and if they resort to these, they have difficult facts to deal with. They cannot show why their hierarchy may not, like the Jewish, have maintained the faith, but added to it human traditions and corrupt practices. They cannot honestly deny that if Babylon be the spirit of worldliness, she has already had her seat in the Roman court.

There are points, however, in the history of the Apocalyptic Babylon which involve some difficulty; for instance, her relation to the beast on which she sits, coupled with the circumstances of her overthrow; for it is by the ten kings, in league with Antichrist, that the city of Babylon is finally destroyed and burnt. Some have imagined her the 'Church carnal,' mistaken by Antichrist and his followers for the true Church of God, and destroyed by them as though they would destroy Christianity. But perhaps it is more likely that some new and portentous combination of error and wickedness is yet in store; for if we read S. Paul aright,[1] the fall of Rome is a fall from Christian faith, and her haughty mind is but its prelude. But however the periods may be calculated, the fall of Babylon appears too late to be identified (as in some Roman writers)

[1] Rom. xi. 18—22.

with the overthrow of ancient Rome by the Barbarians. Whether we incline to the more consecutive plan of Archdeacon Harrison, or to the principle of 'Recapitulation from the sixth,' which is asserted by several writers, and that with strong appearances of probability, this event is one of the nearest to the final conflict between the revealed majesty of our Lord and his assembled enemies. The Beast on which she appears seated must, it seems, be concerned in her destruction, being so closely allied to the former Beast, with seven heads and ten horns. This last is regarded by all but a very few as representing the Roman Empire. And it may be observed, that at first the Dragon gives it power, and is therefore worshipped. This may, perhaps, be taken to signify the connexion of the Roman power with the worship of devils, so clearly brought out by S. Augustine in his work on the City of God, which indeed was written to prove that its fall was not the consequence of the offence given to heathen deities by the establishment of Christianity. Rome was supposed to derive her greatness from Jupiter, and Jupiter to manifest his own supreme majesty in Rome. In the many thousand divinities of her Pantheon, the Dragon had a very surfeit of human worship. The revival of the Imperial power by the Papal, which made the empire of Charlemagne and his successors a visible 'image' of that of the Cæsars, is supposed by Archdeacon Harrison to be intended in the office assigned to the second Beast, as exercising the power of the first Beast before him, and 'making the inhabitants of the earth worship the Beast whose deadly wound was healed.' Yet the attributes of the Beast seem so monstrous, and its history so awful, as to incline one rather to look for it in the shape of some future infidel apparition, connected with the short reign of the 'ten kings,' that receive dominion 'one hour' with the Beast.

Dr. Wordsworth, however, has found the number and mark of the Beast, as he supposes, distinctly, and reads in the cross keys, arranged as in a common device of the Pontifical coinage, the number XΞΣT, which is equivalent to the number of Antichrist, as commonly printed in our Greek Testaments, χξϛ. This is at least ingenious. Yet after all that has been lately insisted on of the apparent unity of this Beast with the very Antichrist, and the evident infidel character of that personage, one is inclined to hope that if this be the true reading, the badge will be perpetuated or resumed for the use of a Pope or Antipope, who, if he cannot exceed some of his predecessors in profligacy, does so at least in open blasphemy. The attempt to fix on Papal Rome, as it is, every denunciation and warning of prophecy, proves too much.

Indeed 'proving too much' is a common fault with Dr. Wordsworth. He proves too much about the Bible, (though his application of the seven Thunders to the canon of the New Testament sealed by S. John is not to be lightly rejected[1]); too much about the Pope; too much about the Millennium, and too much about the indefiniteness of the Apocalyptic periods and symbols. He seems to place us at once in the Millennial state, in the conflict of Armageddon, and in the 1260 days. The four Angels bound by the river Euphrates are most unaccountably turned into Evangelists, the river Euphrates as the river of Babylon (not quite so extravagantly), becomes European. There is no need of cautioning the reader against following him throughout; if he is a real student of the Apocalypse, he will hardly be able to do so. At least, it is scarcely probable that any number of minds should be found so fitted to one another in their idiosyncrasies as to go through so many interpretations, several of them by no means probable, with an equal concurrence in all. His good practical inferences, and his controversial vigour exerted in a popular direction, may carry the more cursory reader smoothly through.

He is most in his element, perhaps, in discoursing on the genuineness and inspiration of the Apocalypse, and accordingly in his third lecture he acquits himself well. The second also, with much that is questionable, contains passages of an elevated character, and powerful statements of what is true in itself, whether rightly applied by him or not. When he would prove that the Millennial state is what we have already experienced, he writes admirably on the Christian state and its privileges.

'This is the first Resurrection.

'Behold its glorious privileges. How great is the happiness of those who are indeed "crucified to the world, and are risen with Christ, and who walk with Him in newness of life!" Such is their intimate union with Christ, that Almighty God deigns to say that they are partakers of His blessedness and exaltation. They are joint heirs with Him. Wherever the head is, there is the body also. "Of His fulness they have all received." As the Apostle says, "When we were dead in sins, God hath quickened us together with Christ, and hath raised us up together, and hath made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." "They," says S. Paul, "which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ." "To him," says Christ, "that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in His throne." And the true children of the Church on earth "are caught up to God and His throne." Hence to them who die in the Lord there is no death; they have passed from death unto life; their life is "hid with Christ in God." The saints who are dead do not cease to be members of Christ. No: "Christ," (says S. Paul) "died, to be Lord both of the dead and living." They do not taste of death. "Death hath

[1] S. Melito. 'Tonitrua—Evangelii voces.'

no dominion over them." How blessed a thing it is to reflect that our fathers and brethren, who have fallen asleep in Christ, and have departed in God's holy faith and fear, are *not* dead; that "they rest from their labours," and "their works do follow them." They are with the saints of old,—with martyrs, evangelists, apostles, prophets, and patriarchs; they are with Christ, "and they have come unto mount Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant." These all live in Christ; and by virtue of *His* judicial and sacerdotal and royal power, they too, as members of Christ, and as dwelling in Him and He in them, are—in a certain, ineffable sense, not as yet to be grasped by our weak intellects—"a chosen generation, a royal Priesthood; they are made unto God kings and priests."

'"I saw thrones, and they sate upon them, and judgment was given them." Our blessed Lord expressly says, that the judgment of Satan was already begun at His own incarnation. "Now is the judgment of this world." "Now is the Prince of this world judged," And now, even now the Saints of Christ judge the world; yea, according to S. Paul's words "they judge angels," the angels of Satan. The saints of God *prove*, by *their* faith and holiness and steadfastness, that the fall of Satan and of his angels was due to their own sin: they show, by their virtues, that God is good, and that His grace is sufficient for all those who pray to Him, trust in Him, and obey Him; and that "it is made perfect in their weakness, and that His commandments are not grievous; and having been tortured, tempted, afflicted, tormented, and having resisted even unto blood, and having come forth more than conquerors," they judge the world. They condemn it of blind infatuation, and of base ingratitude to God. The life and death of the saints is the judgment of the world.

'Again; in another sense, the Church of Christ now judges the world. She has received from Christ the power of *the keys;* the power of *binding and loosing;* and whatever she does on earth, orderly and rightly, in the ministry of remitting or retaining sins, is ratified by CHRIST *in heaven.* Thus, *even now*, the Saints of God sit upon *thrones*, and "to them judgment is given."

'Yet more; in another manner the saints of God are even now seated upon thrones, and judge the world.

'In the precepts of the law, in the revelations of prophets, in the melody of Psalms, in the instruction of Proverbs, in the Old Testament, the twenty-four books of which were believed to be represented by the twenty-four elders sitting enthroned in heaven; and in the four Gospels typified by the four living cherubim on which the throne of God is set; and in the "Royal Law" of the letters of the apostles, whom God has "made princes in all lands;"—which books, be it remembered, have been placed on thrones in the great council-halls of Christendom, and have been delivered as a law to anointed kings at their solemn enthronization; yes, taken from that very altar, and placed in the hands of the most august monarchs of the world, in this national temple, at their coronation; and whose sanctity is proclaimed by solemn adjurations in courts of justice; and which are delivered to bishops and priests at their ordination, as the royal code of their teaching, and the Divine charter of their ministry; and which sound forth daily from pulpits and the steps of Altars—as it were, from Christian thrones and tribunals—in every part of the world: thus, I say, they whom God has employed to declare His will to men, are now, even now, seen by the eye of faith "sitting upon thrones; and to them judgment is given."

'In this manner, we see that the souls of the saints, by virtue of their spiritual incorporation and indwelling in Christ, have risen from the dead

with Christ; that in Christ they live; that they ascend with Him, and sit with Him in heavenly places; that they are priests of God and Christ; that they reign together with Him; and that with Him they judge the world. Therefore,—"Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection."'—*Wordsworth*, pp. 58—63.

But all things have their place, and we may very well receive all that he has here advanced, without believing that it is exactly what was intended in the prediction.

His edition of the Apocalypse is certainly a real contribution to our Biblical literature, and a help toward the critical study of that Holy Book. He has made some advances upon the collations of Scholz, and has given the text separately from the three oldest MSS., to which he attaches somewhat more authority than earlier critics have done. This text is very much nearer to that of Scholz than to that formerly received, which was grounded on less adequate materials than that of the rest of the New Testament. In a few places the sense varies considerably from our version, and either that of Scholz, or that of the three MSS., the Alexandrine, the Vatican, and the Palimpsest of Ephraim Syrus, is certainly more clear and beautiful in language than that of our old Greek Testaments. It is not to be understood that these MSS. agree absolutely with each other. They have their variations, like any other independent copies, but still agree in many readings in opposition to such as are more recent. The volume affords an interesting specimen to the reader who is commencing Biblical criticism, but it cannot be called indispensable to the student of the Apocalypse considered as a prophetic book. It contains, however, some interesting extracts from former commentaries, in an appendix. That of John Olivi, a Franciscan, and that of Andrewes in answer to Bellarmine, are among the chief of these; there is also a notice of that of Bossuet, which must be admitted to go lame in some important particulars. Dr. Wordsworth's own 'Harmony of the Apocalypse,' which is placed immediately after the text, is a valuable help, but one which, perhaps, the studeut would do better to construct for himself than to receive at second hand.

And now, perhaps, a reader may be inclined to ask what he has learned, and to be ill-content that he cannot be supplied with a clear account and solution of all these mysteries. The fact is, that it is better to leave him where he is than to delude him with plausible uncertainties. And if a few suggestions have been thrown out that may possibly lead to a careful and right judgment in the more evident and settled particulars, it is as much as can be fairly expected. The prophetic symbols are not, indeed, arbitrary, they have certain objects generally cor-

responding to them; yet there is enough of ambiguity to render interpretation uncertain until events supply the needful key; and a very large portion of the Apocalypse seems so closely connected with the final apostasy and the accompanying time of trouble, that it is but reasonable to expect that it will remain in obscurity until that time draws near. If, with Dr. Maitland, we take the '1260 days,' the 'time, times, and a half,' the 'forty and two months' to be everywhere literal, it will follow that we must understand the flight of the sun-clothed woman into the wilderness, of something yet future. Such an assumption will of course draw with it other portions of the prophecy. Again, if we take the flight into the wilderness for departure from the Jewish polity and nation, the period of nurture in the wilderness becomes indefinite. If we take it of retirement from the secular life, it becomes very difficult to fix limits to the period during which it can be said (if ever it can be said: for surely God has had His people, among the simple poor at least, in secular life,) that piety dwelt only in monasteries and hermitages. And yet it goes against all sense and reason to take a period so often named with precision for an indefinite one. And though heathen persecution or barbarian invasion may supply a somewhat plausible exponent of the flood cast forth by the dragon, still there is no difficulty in supposing a fulfilment so much more definite and complete in all its parts, as to cast anything that has hitherto passed into the shade. Rather, is not the course of human society taking such a turn, and passing through such phases, as may seem to indicate that the Church certainly must and will be driven out of the pale of civil existence, and that she will be found so 'clean contrary' to the men of the world that they will see no possible resource but in her destruction, or at least her elimination from social life?

Nor is there any difficulty in supposing that a very large portion of her history is omitted, or but cursorily noticed in the pages of prophecy. So it was in the old times, though not in the same degree. The succession of prophets did indeed foretell changes as they approached, because God's people were then under a temporal government, the acts of which required to be explained from above. But were it otherwise, the Church of the New Testament has never suffered such an eclipse as the ancient people underwent in the days of Antiochus; and though she has suffered trials in particular places and countries which might well have place in prophecy, yet we can scarcely say that they were greater than might well be borne by those who had a general anticipation of 'great tribulation.' We may therefore very well conceive that after an introductory view of the rise and establishment of the Church in the succession of riders

that go forth on the opening of the seals, the vision may pass on to the events that belong to the end, and may be occupied with them even to the exclusion of very important intervening occurrences and changes. And Dr. Maitland is bold enough to set down 'the historical school' in a mass as followers of a delusive imagination. Certainly their variations, which may be seen in Mr. Elliott's appendix, are more than a match for those of Protestantism.

It would, perhaps, be unfair to Archdeacon Harrison to omit a passage in which he gives a lively picture of what he thinks may be a historical fulfilment bearing on mediæval and modern times.

'But another form of craft and power was revealed in the vision, co-operating with the former, and ministering to it. "I beheld," says S. John, "another wild beast coming up out of the earth,"—or more properly "the land," as distinguished from "the sea,"—"and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him,"—that is, before his eyes, and in his presence, as his servant and minister,—"and causeth the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first beast whose deadly wound was healed." This second power was to arise out of the "land;" which, in contradistinction from the "sea," we have already had occasion to observe, seems to denote the original heritage of the people and Church of God, as distinguished from the Gentile nations—the East as distinguished from the West. And this point in the description may be designed, perhaps, to mark the growth of error in Eastern Christendom, which became subsidiary and ministrative to that complex form of secular and spiritual dominion combined, which arose out of the violence and commotions of Western Europe. The power here represented as the beast out of the land, is elsewhere designated as "the false prophet;" his character as an Antichrist being marked by the "two horns like a lamb," while yet "he spake as a dragon." And he is described as working the signs of a false prophet. "He doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, which had the wound by the sword and did live."

'We can hardly fail to identify the power here described, or that to which it ministered, with S. Paul's delineation, in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, of him "whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved; for which cause God" would "send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie." The manifestation of that wicked one foretold by the Apostle was to be hindered for a time by a certain withholding power; obscurely referred to, but known, as it would seem, by those to whom he wrote, and which was generally supposed in early times, as I have before had occasion to observe, to be the then existing Empire of Rome. It was, moreover, the general belief in the primitive ages, "that before the appearance of Antichrist the Roman Empire was to be dissolved, and broken up into ten different parts; yet by his contrivance was to be reunited, and restored to its pristine integrity under him." And looking to the actual history, when we find that, after

such division of the Roman Empire by Barbarian nations, that empire, or its image at least, was in a strange manner restored, or revived, by the immediate agency of a power bearing on it such marks as those which distinguish the papal see, there is, I think, no interpretation so probable of a difficult point in the vision before us, as that which would recognise at least its precursive and partial fulfilment, in an event so important in its influence on the fortunes of modern Europe, and occupying accordingly so prominent a place in the view of secular history. "The conferring of the imperial crown on Charlemagne," the Romanist writer before quoted will tell us, "was that which deserved to be ranked as the characteristic event, not only of the royal visit" of the king of the Franks to Rome, in the year 800, but "of the age itself." "Up to that instant nothing but chaos," he says, "had prevailed among the tribes that had overturned pagan Rome and its empire." "Europe, or rather its embryo, was struggling, nevertheless, and travailing, though with abortive efforts, to emerge from this state. . . . . The fragments of those mighty structures,—aqueducts, towns, bridges, highways, the ruins of marble cities, villas, and temples,—amongst which they pastured their flocks and herds, disposed their ambuscades in war, or pursued the pleasures of the chase, all these memorials were haunted, even for them, with certain vague imaginings, perhaps of admiration and wonder, concerning the order of things to which they had belonged. The same might be said of the relics of Roman society, and of its shattered institutions. The very name of the empire, the recollections of this grand and glorious society, agitated the memories of men. . . . . Even the conquerors themselves were attached to similar reminiscences by their most darling passions. *The image of its greatness,*" the same writer continues, "was often brought before their excited imaginations, while they listened to the bards, who were wont to celebrate, amidst the carousal, the achievements and the prowess of their sires, who had figured in its wars, in its triumphs, but, above all, in its destruction. The consequence was inevitable. By thus frequently contemplating the *image* of this august order of things,"—I am still continuing the quotation,—"their understandings, rude as they were, could not fail to be struck with the glaring defects and inferiority of their own condition. They became sensible that, belonging to the empire among the ruins of which they found themselves, there was a something which they had need to *imitate*, to *reproduce*. Hence the effect of *that stroke of policy which revived the Empire of the West.* On the barbarian world its effect was *magical.* Those dull instincts and imaginings, so abortive hitherto, and so wide of any definite aim, became, on the instant, so many powerful and concordant rudiments of stability. The idea, the project, that had been harassing the breasts of all, like a nightmare vision, but which no one had power to realize, was recognised and hailed by all with acclamations, the moment it was presented to them, in the person of their mighty hero, 'crowned of God, the great and pacific *emperor of the Romans.*'

'"From that hour," says the same writer, "the barbarian tribes acquired a new relation,—one that attached them all, simultaneously to a grand idea of general and permanent association. This," he observes, "was the beginning of modern Europe;" and "such were the advantages which the Providence, that had already turned to so much account whatever belonged to the pagan empire of Rome, knew how to derive from its very name, and the *shadow of its former greatness.*" Doubtless, indeed, every tongue of man must own that the whole course of events in the world's history, in its relation to the Church of God, has been overruled and ordered, in a marvellous manner, throughout, by his Allwise and Almighty Providence, and most signally in the present instance; but the visions of

prophecy, which so wonderfully teach this lesson, have at the same time assigned to the different agencies which have been the unconscious instruments of that Divine Providence, a place in the great drama, and stamped upon them a character, far different, oftentimes, from that which human discernment might have given them; and have exhibited, behind the veil of earthly things, principles and agents of the world unseen. And, be it recollected, it was the question of the worship of images in the Christian Church, as is observed by the historian of Rome's Decline and Fall, that "produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the Popes, and the restoration of the Roman Empire in the West."

'The relations between the spiritual and temporal powers, bound together as they were so strangely, and interwoven so closely, in the system of papal Europe, may perhaps be traced in the further description of the agency revealed in the vision. "And he had power to give life"—or more literally "breath—to the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed. And he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name." The persecuting character of the Church of Rome is, unhappily, too notorious to need pointing out: and, though she wielded not the sword with her own hand, nor gave directly from herself the command for the execution of her sentence; yet would she give her victims over to the secular power, and make kings and princes inflict the punishment which she pronounced on the guilty. And among the instances of the infliction, by temporal sovereigns, of penalties of the very kind specified in the prophecy, reference has been made by expositors to that which is recorded of the Norman Conqueror, "that he would not permit any one under his power to *buy or sell* any thing, whom he found disobedient to the apostolic see." But in regard to this whole portion of the prophecy, and especially the image of the wild beast, its compulsory worship, its mark, and name, and number, there is a difficulty and a mystery, the existence of which is sufficiently proved by the diversity of interpretations proposed by expositors; and which would lead us to the conclusion that it is reserved for the still unrevealed future, in the destinies, perhaps, of modern Europe, perhaps of the East, as well as the West, to remove the obscurity which envelopes the vision.

'And with regard particularly to the mystic number,—declared to be a mystery by the inspired Authority which hath propounded it for the thoughtful consideration of "him that hath understanding,"—amidst the variety of conjectures which have been offered, (some regarding it as a chronological date, others, and those the greater number, as composing a word, or title,) I know nothing better than to repeat the cautions of Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of S. John, reproving those who hastily endeavoured to interpret it, and saying that it is safer to await the event of the prophecy, than to attempt to conjecture and divine the import of the name. I may add, however, that if a preference is to be given to any one interpretation, rather than another, especially of those which have sanction from antiquity, the strongest claim, perhaps, may be asserted in behalf of one of those which Irenæus has enumerated, and which (though himself, it would seem, inclining rather to a different one) he thinks to be very probable, as being the name of the last of the four empires, the *Latin*. But all seems uncertain conjecture.'—*Harrison*, pp. 350—357.

This conclusion is characteristic, and he is not the less to be

respected because such is his conclusion on many points. Uncertain as he confesses his results to be, he will repay a thoughtful reader. His exposition of the four living creatures, as connected in some mysterious way with the great monarchies, is worthy of attention, though it may be too much to say that it is established. Several writers have noticed that they seem to acknowledge the benefit of redemption as their own. His familiarity with the Hebrew prophets leads him to a more frequent reference to the earlier prophecies than is customary with expounders of the Apocalypse, and he is at least suggestive and thoughtful on the subject of the general interpretation of prophetic imagery. But it seems that we must still leave much to the great teacher, time, and do our best so to apprehend the general bearing of the predictions that have been given us, as neither to be too confident of what will, nor unprepared for what may, come upon us.

The student who would commence inquiry, if not discouraged by all this uncertainty, may be recommended to begin with a careful perusal of the Book of Daniel, not neglecting the Septuagint.[1] After this he should read the Apocalypse also carefully in Greek, and make an analysis, with parallelisms exhibiting the apparently connected prophecies and coincident events. And throughout he should take pains to note the habitual application of particular symbols and expressions, especially in cases where their meaning can be decisively determined, either in these or other portions of Holy Writ. By doing this, if he will but abstain from hasty conclusions, as he would find himself forced to do if he were pursuing a chemical analysis, or a geological theory, he will at least place himself in a position to know what may be known on this mysterious subject. It would be out of place here to homilize on the reverence and devotion befitting such an inquiry: but it may suffice to say, that the model for an expositor of prophecy is the prophet Daniel. Faithful in Babylon, abstinent in a luxurious court, patient in a long life of exile, fearless in bearing testimony, humbled for his people's sins, constant in devotion, a 'man greatly beloved' was he who 'understood by books' the time of his people's return from captivity, and to whom was revealed the time of a still greater deliverance.

[1] The ordinary Greek may be of use as illustrating the New Testament, but the *true Septuagint* version of the Book of Daniel has only lately been brought to light; and though printed at Rome in the latter part of the last century, is not found in the common editions of the Septuagint. See Maitland, p. 26, note.

ART. III.—*Ettore Fieramosca, o La Disfida di Barletta, racconto di* MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO. Parigi: Baudry, Libreria Europea, 1848.

IN our July number, 1848, we called the attention of our readers to the Italian novels, and to those of D'Azeglio in particular, and we are tempted to resume the subject. Our reason is this; we consider the best of them to embody, more than any with which we are acquainted, our conception of what a perfect novel should be. We have always agreed with those, who rank the novel of character as the highest achievement in the department of fiction. In the luxury of the deepest seclusion, without any acute perception of the springs of human action, and, above all, without any minute observation of the manifold changes which they exhibit in the outward frame-work of society, an imaginative mind may dream a series of adventures, which shall chain us for a time in rapt attention, or hurry us on in breathless suspense till the catastrophe has broken the charm. But to such works we rarely return; we do not seek in them the lessons of wisdom and experience. They neither teach us to observe, nor, for any beneficial purpose, to feel. In fact they are mere creations of the fancy. They have no hold upon the heart.

It was doubtless the sense of this defect which gave rise to what may be called the novel of analysis, whose principal aim is a keen and minute dissection of the feelings and motives of the heart. These are, from time to time, laid open with consummate skill in a series of metaphysical disquisitions, but they have little to do with the world as it is. Such novels have little action and no manners. The characters, if characters they may be called, have no individuality. They are described, not shown. If their actions tell, their conversations never do. Commonly, indeed, such works, like the poems of Byron, are but the reflex of the writer's individual mind—a mind often anomalous in its texture, and distorted still more by erroneous opinions and diseased feeling. We would instance, as a case in point, such novels as those of Godwin and Mrs. Shelley. We do not here refer to the false principles and mischievous tendency of those works, but to their artistic merit. As compositions they seem to us a failure. Of course we do not deny the imaginative power shown in such novels as Frankenstein and the Last Man, Fleetwood and St. Leon, but they do not show us man as he is. We do

not go to them as the text-book of human life. They are at best only a stern and awful vision which sometimes haunts our slumbers, a kind of mental night-mare from which we are glad to awake to the reality of our daily existence. In one work only, his terrible Caleb Williams, has Godwin shown himself a master of his art. The impression of that romance is indelible. To say nothing of the withering effect of the story, the principal characters are strongly and individually marked. But, even here, it is the all but supernatural grasp, with which Falkland holds his victim, which gives to Caleb Williams its surpassing charm. If written now, its effect might have been heightened to an extent which it is almost frightful to think of. Railroad communication, and above all the wonders of the electric telegraph, might easily have given to Falkland the appearance of ubiquity, and led his victim to feel as if, in contending with him, he was contending with omnipotence.

But, while we give to the novel of character precedence over the novel of analysis, as well as the novel of mere incident, we do not think that all, who have devoted themselves to the highest department of fiction, have fully succeeded in their attempt. Some have attempted more than they could accomplish. Some have succeeded perfectly, but have not attempted enough. The failure of Richardson—we mean of course in attaining perfection, for in many respects he is unrivalled—arose from his ignorance of conventional manners. All the springs of passion, all the strength and weakness of the human heart, were opened up to him and by him, but he knew nothing of the manners which he undertook to paint. Of the tone of good society he was as ignorant as if he had lived all his life at Otaheite; and the defect is painfully felt by the reader of his interminable works, in spite of the graphic power of some of his descriptions, and the overwhelming pathos of others. The novels of Smollett and even Fielding have, we think, been somewhat over-rated as novels of character, independent of their moral tendency. The former, in particular, seem to us often simply disgusting, and we cannot understand how a pure and cultivated taste can take pleasure in scenes and characters, which we trust are no longer true to life, and from which, if real, we should shrink with instinctive abhorrence. We must not take our readers again through the catalogue of those writers of fiction, who have more or less enriched our literature with such delineations of character and manners, as both taste and principle may approve. In our notice of the novels of the authoress of Emilia Wyndham, herself a high example of the style of writing to which we refer, this has been already done; but to what we then said of Jane Austen, whose works as far as they go we think unrivalled, we have one

remark to add. The authoress of Emma, Mansfield Park, and Persuasion, achieved perfectly what she attempted, but she attempted too little. Whether this arose from distrust of her own powers, or from a deficiency in her aim, the fact is undeniable. The consequence is, in the first place, a detraction from her usefulness. One is not made much better by her works. One admires the consummate skill of the plan, the perfect finish of the details, the matchless delineation of the characters, and the exquisite perception of the failings and weaknesses by which they are distinguished; but one looks in vain for the lofty impulses and deep emotions which 'purify the soul by pity and terror.' There is no intenseness of purpose. We may read her works again and again, and who is there that does not? but they leave us much as we were before. She is a perfect painter, but she belongs to an inferior school. Hence her want of high moral influence. Who is made much better by the matchless truth of a picture of Teniers or Ostade; but who can stand before a Madonna of Raphael, and not imbibe, for a time at least, some portion of its purity and submission? But, in the second place, as a mere artist, Jane Austen suffers from the narrowness of her range. Even to this day she is not fully appreciated by many. Nay, it would not be difficult to find really clear, and even tasteful persons, who see little or nothing in her. The fact is that it requires patient investigation to enter completely into her merit. Every sentence, almost every word, tells. It will never do to read Jane Austen, as most people read novels, merely to get at the story. Her peculiar excellence is in the detail, and a detail so fine in its elaboration, as to escape the insight of all but the acute observer. They who write thus must take the consequence. The fault is partly with their readers, but it is partly with themselves. They paint life truly, but they paint it only in its more ordinary features. They tell the truth, but not the whole truth. Far from it. Life is not the prosaic thing they would make it. It has more stirring events, sterner passions, loftier conceptions, higher aims. There is great artistic skill in writing a book, which shall tell only of what happens any day in every body's house, and yet charm down hours to moments; but still 'there are greater things than these,' and Jane Austen has eschewed them.

Now it is their intenseness of purpose which gives their high tone to the Italian novels, and makes us desire to call the attention of our readers again to the subject. They breathe the same truthfulness which charms so much in compositions of an inferior tone, but united with a higher and nobler purpose. Love of liberty, love of man, love of God, self-sacrifice, all that is good, and true, and noble, are the component parts. The Italian

novels seem, indeed, to unite the peculiar merit of the novel of passion and religious enthusiasm, (we use the word in its best sense), with that of the novel of romance and chivalry, and thus to be a happy compound of the deep impressiveness of the one and the gorgeous magnificence of the other.

But it is not merely as novels of character, passion, or chivalry, that the Italian works of fiction have reached the eminence on which they stand. They are all this, but they are more. They have, as we have said, an intense specific purpose. Before we can fully appreciate the works in question, we must, therefore, inquire what that purpose is. This has been stated by Alfieri, who, in spite of the grievous delinquencies of his moral conduct, springing from the absence of religious belief, embodied in his own person the character which he had conceived. In fact the religion of Alfieri was the love of his country, a burning desire to prove, and stir up his compatriots to prove, that a nation, endowed with high capabilities and rich in the recollections of the past, but enslaved, divided, superstitious, and ignorant, might yet be freed from its oppressors, united and ennobled, by men of learning and intelligence, and above all of a true Italian heart. And he felt the influence which the literature of such men might exercise over the public mind. While he visited, with the bitterness of his scorn—and few men could scorn like Alfieri—the hireling poetasters, who, in the pay of some petty court, followed, though with unequal footsteps, the Marini and Guarini of a servile and effeminate school, he felt the sacred vocation of the true poet, the resurrection of Italian literature and Italian patriotism. This was his own aim, and he sought to instil it into others. In all his writings, and particularly in his translation of Sallust and his letters to the literati of his time, he never ceased to magnify their lofty mission,—the union of Italy and its independence. And the seed sown by him, brought forth an abundant harvest. Such of his contemporaries, or of his successors, as admired his talents and reverenced his patriotism, were proud of treading in the footsteps of so great a man, especially as the human mind became more and more developed, and the bonds of prescription and authority were loosened.

Alfieri, therefore, though not a writer of romance himself, may be considered the germ of those stirring compositions, which, in the present day, we class under the title of the Italian novels. Of these, many are known to the English reader only by their names in the catalogue. Even with the most celebrated, Manzoni, D'Azeglio, Grossi, Cantu, and Guerazzi, we are but slightly acquainted. I Promessi Sposi, it is true, has been among us for a considerable time, in an English dress, but its in-

fluence has been slight, perhaps from the imperfect and tasteless manner in which the translation has been executed. And yet it merits all attention. Manzoni led the way to a higher development of the Italian mind. After the example of his master and predecessor Beccaria, whose sterling treatise on 'Crimes and Punishments' is well known and highly valued both at home and abroad, endowed with the finest genius and the deepest feeling, he devoted all the powers of his mind and heart to the great work of the Revival. In his romance, distinguished alike by language of rare felicity, brilliancy of imagination, nature, and elegance, he proposed to himself a nobler object than Alfieri had conceived. He has the same hatred of oppression, the same love of truth and freedom, but he has purer yearnings. The element of his mind, as pourtrayed in his writings, is essentially religious and devout. He venerates the unseen and the spiritual. In an age of egotism, self-seeking, and infidelity, he kneels before the cross. This required no small moral courage. The Italians had drunk deeply of the doctrines of Voltaire, and had graduated in the mocking school of which he was the founder. They had themselves become 'mockers,' despising all internal belief and all external worship, caring only for material enjoyment, and as bad citizens in their social, as they were bad Catholics in their religious, capacity. In the face of this wide-spreading contempt for holy things, or at least this disbelief of their truth and reality, Manzoni dared to conceive and embody the noble and touching character of Fra Cristoforo, and bring into prominent light the evangelical virtues of the saint-like archbishop. And the execution is as judicious as the conception is true. Without giving the least umbrage to the more questionable usages of the Romish system, he looks above them, substitutes charity for bigotry, and the piety of the heart for the merely formal observances of the ritual. In the historical portions of his work, he has thrown so much light upon the gloomy epocha of the 16th century, during which, by their ignorance and barbarism, the Spaniards lost the richest of their conquests, that Rossini, in his Monaca di Monza, and Grossi, in his Marco Visconti, had little more to do than work with his materials.

The Monaca di Monza, it is well known, is professedly a supplement to I Promessi Sposi; but, upon the whole, the work seems to us a failure. Rossini is not without merit; his style is pure, but he is deficient in imagination. He who opens the Monaca di Monza in the hope of finding a finished portrait from the terrible sketch of Manzoni, will be grievously disappointed. He will find instead, a catalogue raisonné of the curiosities of Italy (and very wonderful, almost incredible, some of them at that time must have been), in which the awful Geltrude is as

much out of place as a skeleton in an ornamental flower-garden. All that really belongs to her history, does not take up fifty pages. Ugolino, a more recent publication by the same author, pleases, however, universally. Independent of the interest attached to the subject, which is full of historical associations, it has some descriptions of surpassing merit. There is a falcon chase in particular, of rare beauty; and it would be difficult to find a sweeter character than that of Bianca, rich as it is in purity and goodness. We have spoken elsewhere of Marco Visconti; and have said of these compositions generally, that they breathe throughout a high and healthful tone of Christian principle. But we should have excepted the novels of Guerazzi. He wars, not against the abuses of religion, but against religion itself. We know but imperfectly how the Romish system works in countries most avowedly under its control; but we can conceive abuses, of the confessional in particular, which may rouse the indignation of those who do not look beneath the surface. Of such abuses, real or pretended, in his Siege of Florence, and his Isabella Orsini, Guerazzi has been the pitiless unmasker. The Duke of Bresciano, husband of Isabella Medici, confesses his own wife, in the disguise of a friar, and having learnt her terrible secret, strangles her the next day. But the abuse of a system proves nothing against the system itself. The fact is, that, as far as religion is concerned, Guerazzi has drawn his sword and thrown away the scabbard. One laments this sadly. No Italian has ever written more finely than he has done. His style is full of energy, breathing the nerve of Dante himself, free alike from weakness and constraint, and proving to foreigners, if proof were necessary, that the beautiful language of Italy is somewhat more than the language of music and love.

But our business is with D'Azeglio, a man of far different character; and it may not be out of place to take a rapid survey of his political and literary career, before we proceed to comment on the work, which is the immediate subject of this article. D'Azeglio then, like most of the Italians who had placed the hopes of Italy on the exaltation of Pius IX. to the Pontificate, as a man of lofty genius and commensurate courage, proceeded, when that event took place, to Rome. Here he laboured assiduously in the cause which he had so much at heart, propagating his own opinions among the laity, and those of Gioberto among the clergy. The work of Pius IX, the general amnesty granted to every individual, who, on account of his political opinions or any similar misdemeanour, had incurred the displeasure of Gregory XVI, released from prison or from exile thousands of men, who had for many years been languishing in confinement at Rome, or eating

the bitter bread of dependence abroad. That the minds of these persons should, in the meantime, have been actively employed on the stirring questions which were convulsing the world, cannot be matter of surprise. Those in particular, who were scattered abroad among the other nations of Europe, would naturally form their private opinions of the different governments with which they had been brought into contact, and apply them to the existing state of their own. Unhappily for Italy, the greater number of these exiles had taken up their abode in France, and brought with them, on their return, all the frivolity, all the instability, all the impatience, and in short all the Utopian fancies, which prevailed there, and produced at a subsequent period in both countries such an abundant harvest of evil. To all this D'Azeglio was decidedly opposed. He thirsted for Italian independence, but he deprecated factions and parties; and, far from wishing to establish a Republican government in Italy, he called upon his fellow-countrymen to rally round their native princes, and make common cause against the Austrian stranger. Matters were brought to a crisis by the attack on Ferrara in 1847, when D'Azeglio left no means untried to raise the spirit of the Italians, exhorting them with all that eloquence, of which he is a consummate master, to show themselves the true and worthy descendants of *the heroes of Barletta*. Skilled himself in the art of war, he offered his services to the Pope, and by his own generous example rallied around the patriotic standard a phalanx of enthusiastic men whose watchword was the glory of Italy. The Austrian army was intimidated, and retired with disgrace and ridicule. The object of D'Azeglio then was to form and consolidate the alliance between the three States of Romagna, Tuscany, and Piedmont, of which, if he was not the inventor, he saw the indisputable utility. But the French Revolution now burst forth. Mazzini was despatched into Lombardy, with a recommendation to form a Republic at whatever cost, and a specific announcement that the *French* Republic would not approve of the aggrandizement of Charles Albert, persuaded that it had no friend in the Prince, nor in fact in any government unlike its own. Under these circumstances, D'Azeglio, who knew too well the mischief which the French had ever done to his native country, gave himself up body and soul to Charles Albert, making the memorable declaration, 'Italy will manage for itself;' and it would have done so, if there had not been discord among the Italians themselves. D'Azeglio was adjutant to General Durando in the Roman body which he commanded, and which twice covered itself with glory by the repulse of the German troops, yielding in the third encounter only to the overwhelming numbers of

the enemy. In this last battle D'Azeglio was wounded. A cry was raised in the meantime at Milan for a revolution, and plots were laid, and almost carried into execution, to dismiss from the government all those who were favourable to the union of Lombardy with Piedmont. It was then that D'Azeglio, seeing that these civil discords must in the end prove fatal to the common cause, took up his pen, and composed the three treatises which are so well known in Italy and elsewhere, 'The Struggles of Lombardy,' 'The Proposal of a Programme for the National Opinion of Italy,' and 'The Last Events of Romagna.' Their tendency seems to be to divert the Italians from a Republic, at least till a constitutional government should have been fully tried. D'Azeglio is now Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council, in Piedmont; and his object, as far as we can judge of his political career, is to plant there the roots of a truly constitutional government, which may serve as a model for other Italian States, and prepare them by the force of public opinion to attack the common enemy under better circumstances and with better success. Of the character of D'Azeglio's family we have spoken elsewhere. It is in high esteem at Turin. Though Patrician, it is by no means exclusive, but has at all times given testimony of liberal and generous sentiments. Massimo D'Azeglio himself possesses all the qualities of an excellent speaker as well as writer, and such is the affability of his manners, and the charm of his conversation, that no one can leave his company without the most pleasing impression both of his mind and heart.

In the work before us, D'Azeglio had the same object in view as his father-in-law Manzoni, the glory of Italy, and we cannot help thinking that his success has been greater. 'The challenge of Barletta' reaches the very core of the Italian heart, kindles all the martial feeling of his compatriots, and shows how great and magnanimous their warlike forefathers were, when either their own honour, or that of their country, was at stake. Of the manner in which he has executed his design we shall leave our readers to judge, as far as they *can* judge by a slight and imperfect summary of the story, and the mere translation of extracts which charm all hearts in the Italian by their matchless beauty. Perhaps no writer suffers more from translation than D'Azeglio. The rare felicity of his style, the rich colouring of his descriptions, and the point and *naïveté* of his conversations, to say nothing of his thrilling pathos, are enough to drive a translator to despair; and we can only hope to give a faint idea of the work to such as cannot read it in the original.

The scene opens with a graphic picture of the little town of Barletta at the time of the evening Ave Maria. Knots of sol-

diers in the pay of Gonsalvo, Spaniards and Italians intermingled, are giving utterance to the sadness and discouragement naturally arising from their position. Famine has begun to be felt, not only by the soldiery, but by the inhabitants themselves, for the place has been long invested by the French, and Gonsalvo is still too weak to risk the fortune of a battle. But, though invested by land, Barletta is still open to the sea, which is stretched along the fourth side of the square. Here, as the last rays of the setting sun die away upon the summit of Mount Gargano, a small boat is seen in the distance, tacking from time to time in order to catch the veering breezes of the gulf, as they crisp here and there with long streaks the surface of the sea. Feeling, however, that such an arrival as this can bring them no adequate supply, the several parties move off by degrees, and, when the hour of night sounds from the castle, all are at length dispersed, either in the hostel of Veleno situated on the sea-shore, or in the dark and narrow streets of the town. In the meantime the boat touches the strand, two men leap from it, and go straight to the hostel. Their object seems to be to escape observation, in which they partially succeed, but a soldier, seated at a distance in the common room, looking up as they enter, cannot restrain an exclamation of great wonder, followed by 'the Duke!' A glance towards the stranger, however, drives the word down his throat. Supper is ordered for the new comers, which, after many complaints of dearness and scarcity, the host prepares.

And now there is another arrival. A messenger from the town announces the return of a celebrated Spanish captain, Don Diego Garcia, from a foray, who is coming to supper with twenty or twenty-five *good swords*, and three French men-at-arms whom he has made prisoners. He has taken also cattle in abundance to relieve the necessities of the town and garrison. Veleno's guests go in a body to welcome his return. Boscherino, however, who is following with the rest, is pulled by the cloak, and, turning round, sees one of the strangers whom they had left at the hostel. He is in a fever at the sight, and asks in a voice scarcely audible: 'are you Don Michele?'—'Yes, I am. Be silent, and behave like a brave man, as you 'are.' We must quote part of what follows, as it gives a striking idea of the terrible effect produced by his extraordinary master upon those who were brought into contact with him.

'Boscherino had served with the most celebrated Italian chieftains, and had always borne himself valiantly in the wars of the times. No man ared less for danger than he did, so that when a company was formed by rder of Prospero Colonna to be led to assist Gonsalvo, he was engaged ith ample pay and held in great esteem. But firm as his courage was, he

now lost his self-command. When he heard Don Michele's words, knew that he must return, and before *whom* in a few moments he must stand, his knees trembled under him, and, if he could have had his choice, he would rather have rushed against ten swordsmen, than go where he must go. At length, having thought over all that had just taken place, he hit upon the truth, and said to himself: "It is too plain that he heard me say—*the Duke* . . The devil must have been at my tongue's end . . and yet I was a good way off, and I fancied I did not raise my voice . . But where cannot that devil incarnate reach? I wonder what mischief he is going to do here now."

'These reflections brought him to the hostel. There was nobody in the kitchen but the people of the house. The Duke had retired to his bed room, which was over that in which supper was served, and the planks, which formed the ceiling of the room below, were so loosely put together, as to leave ample space for seeing and hearing all that took place there. * * *

'Don Michele and Boscherino ascended the stairs, and reached the Duke's chamber. A bed with hangings of grey serge, a small table, and a few stools, were all the furniture of the apartment. The lamp, which was dying away before, was quite extinguished by the gust of wind occasioned by the opening of the door, and, while Don Michele went to fetch another light, Boscherino remained alone with the Duke. He stood motionless where he was, clinging close to the wall, not daring to speak, scarcely to breathe, and astonished at feeling himself *so little*, he who cared for nobody in the world. But he was in the presence of that wonderful and terrible man, and so near him, that, in the silence kept by both, he could hear his hurried breathing, and it gave him in spite of himself such a shiver that he almost wished himself dead. When Don Michele returned with the light, the Duke was seated on the side of the bed. His appearance was that of a man, to whom repose either of body or mind had never been known. Stout and well-limbed, and a little above the ordinary height, there was notwithstanding in all his movements something indescribably tremulous. He wore a dark cloak with sleeves which hung in many folds. A light dagger was stuck in his girdle, and on the table lay his sword, with a hat ornamented with a single black plume. He wore gauntlets on his hands, and on his legs heavy travelling boots. The face which he turned upon the two comers was pale, the cheeks deeply furrowed and sprinkled with livid spots, the whiskers and beard of a reddish hue, the latter rather long, and flowing down over the breast in two divisions. There was nothing in the whole world which resembled his look. He could make it at one time more piercing than that of a viper, at another as gentle as the eye of an infant, at another as terrible as the bloody pupil of the hyæna.

'He looked at Boscherino, who had doubled himself up to half his usual height, and was still standing in the same place, as if under sentence of death, but it was a look to disarm all fear. Still Boscherino knew him, and was not completely reassured.

'"Thou hast recognised me, Boscherino," he said, "and I am glad of it, for I have always held thee a good and trustworthy man. If thou hadst not come in my way, I should have sought thee out. I knew that thou wert here. Not a word to any one that thou hast seen me. Thou knowest that I can reward thy services; and that it would not do thee much good to displease me."

'The soldier knew but too well that this was true, and answered:

'"Your illustrious Excellency may dispose of me as you will: I shall be, as I have always been, your faithful servant: nor do I believe that my past life can give any proofs to the contrary: only may I beg your Excellency to permit me to speak two words?"

'The Duke having given sign of assent, he went on:

'"I have pledged my faith to you, illustrious Lord! nor shall it fail to all eternity. But some one else may have seen you, the affair be spread abroad, and I be blamed for it without any fault of mine: so that I do not see how I am to come off with honour."

'"Go," replied the Duke, "have a good will, do the duty of an honest fellow, and I will not blame thee for what thou canst not help. I only want to lie hid for a few hours: every one may then know, and say what he will. Only never let it come from *thy* mouth, as thou dost value my favour."

'To this Boscheriuo replied only by a reverential inclination of the head, putting on the look of one prompt to obey, and whose only fear is that he may not be thought obedient enough. He then took his leave, and, backing out of the room with many bows, thought it an age before he got into the street.'

As the evening advances the company assemble for the supper; and with Diego Garcia de Paredes come his prisoners the three French barons. Their conversation is detailed with much spirit, and the characters of the several guests are accurately defined and well sustained. Garcia is the hero of the evening. He is in fact in the army of Gonsalvo, what Bayard is in that of the Duke de Nemours, except that his pre-eminence rests more upon mere physical strength, than that of the 'chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.' He is a noble and generous fellow notwithstanding. On the present occasion, he treats his prisoners with distinguished courtesy, and for some time all goes on well and amicably. At length, however, the wine gets into the head of the carousers, some unfortunate observations are made by one of the Spaniards, the French arrogance breaks out, and the Italian character is grossly vilified and belied by the chief of the prisoners, La Motte. Fieramosca is not present, for his sad and retiring character keeps him as much as possible from the festivities of his fellow soldiers. Inigo, however, a Spanish chieftain and his intimate friend, accepts the Frenchman's challenge in the name of his Italian allies, gives his pledge that champions shall be forthcoming, and that the combat shall not be a mere tilting match, but fought till every man be killed, taken prisoner, or forced to quit the field. This is the celebrated *challenge of Barletta;* and it only remains that it shall be sanctioned by the chiefs of the contending armies.

But the challenge is not the only result of the conversation. During its progress, a glimpse of light is thrown, both on the attractive character of Fieramosca, and the origin of his mysterious sadness. Ginevra di Monreale, beautiful, amiable, and virtuous, had been seen by one of the French noblemen at Rome. She had become the wife of a soldier who was in their pay, more in obedience to her father, than from any affection

which she bore her husband, and had the misfortune to become known to the *Duke*, then cardinal, Valentino. Seized soon afterwards by a sudden malady, of which no one could divine the cause, and for which all the remedies used were ineffectual, she sank rapidly under it. It was not long before a singular accident revealed the infernal secret; and it was discovered that she died of poison, administered by Valentino, in revenge for her chaste rejection of his addresses. From that moment no one knew what had become of Fieramosca, till he re-appeared at Barletta in the camp of Gonsalvo, where he was received as a son by the brothers Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, who assigned a small house to him, on the sea-shore, adjoining their own apartments. We give the fine description in which he is introduced to the reader.

'It was the day after the supper: the light of early dawn had scarcely defined in the horizon the dark line of the sea so as to distinguish it from the sky, when young Fieramosca, having left the bed on which he never found tranquil repose, stepped out upon a terrace, at the foot of which the waves were dashing, slightly agitated by the morning breeze.

'Poor inhabitants of the north! Little do you know what such an hour is worth under the fine sky of the south; on the margin of the sea shore, when all nature is still asleep, and the silence is scarcely broken by the gentle gurgling of the water, which, like thought, has never been at rest since the day that it was first created, and never will be till it has ceased to exist. He who has never been alone at such an hour, never felt the wing of the twilight bat fan his face at the first beginning of the heat on the beautiful coasts of Southern Italy, does not know how far the Divine beauty of created things can go.

'Near the terrace wall grew a palm-tree. Seated on the parapet, his back resting against the trunk, his hands clasped, and supporting himself upon one knee, the young soldier enjoyed a few moments rest, and breathed the pure air which precedes the morning.

'Nature had bestowed on him the inestimable gift of an instinctive longing for all that is good, great, and noble. He was chargeable it may be with one single defect, a superabundance of the milk of human kindness. But, brought up from his earliest infancy among deeds of arms, he soon learned to know men and things; and was taught by the correctness of his judgment the limits which must be put to kindness itself lest it degenerate into weakness; while the rigidity, which grows but too often out of a life of continued peril, became, in a heart like his, only a proper firmness, the precious and appropriate portion of a manly breast.

'The father of Fieramosca had grown old in the wars which during the 15th century tore Italy in pieces, and could give nothing to Ettore but his sword, and long did the young man cherish the lesson of his infancy. He believed the occupation of arms the only one that was worthy of him, had in fact thoughts which did not rise above the times in which he lived, and held that gain and reputation were all that need be sought in deeds of arms.

'But as years advanced, understanding ripened. During the intervals of war, instead of spending his leisure time in the chase, or in jousts and other youthful pleasures, he cultivated letters; and when he became acquainted with ancient authors, and read of the time honoured deeds of those, who shed their blood, not for the sake of those who paid them

best, but for the welfare of their country, he felt the *guilt* of arms, if they are borne only to grow rich with the spoils of the rich and helpless, not from the righteous motive of self-defence. * * * *

'As the light diffused itself from the east, the last lingering stars gradually faded and were lost to the eye. The sun now illuminated the highest tops of Mount Gargano, tinging them with a rosy hue which was changed to purple in the dark clefts of the hill, while the shore beneath, curved like a half moon where it joins the sands on which Barletta is situated, gave to the eye as day advanced a pleasing and varied interchange of hills and valleys bathing themselves in the sea. * * * *

'In the inmost recesses of the gulf, on a small island connected with the land by a long and narrow bridge, arose amidst a clump of palms and cypresses a convent with its church and belfry, the whole surrounded by turrets and embattled walls to defend it against any sudden attack of Corsairs or Saracens.

'Ettore appeared to be looking at it with the deepest interest, peering through his eyelashes because the mist, which at this hour covers the lower grounds, scarcely permitted him to distinguish the outlines of the building. He caught, however, with outstretched ear, the faint sound of the bell which announced the morning *Ave Maria*, and was so absorbed that he did not hear the voice of Inigo calling him from the court below.

'"After such a day as yesterday," said Inigo, as he too stepped out upon the terrace, "I should not have expected to see thee up before sunrise."

'He, whose heart has ever been full of some one great and burning thought, can tell how pleasant it was to Fieramosca to be caught in it, and compelled to leave it. As he turned round, his countenance could not entirely hide his feeling, and even Inigo felt that he had come inopportunely. But the mind of Ettore was too just, and his heart too kind, to blame his friend for this involuntary interruption. Without giving a direct answer, he came forward to meet him, shook hands, and at length, having fully recovered himself, said quietly, "What good wind blows thee hither at this hour?"

'"The very best; and I bring thee news for which thou shouldst pay the messenger. I could not wait till daybreak, and so here I am. I have always envied thy good fortune. Thou art a lucky fellow, Ettore! Heaven has kept for thee gratis a glorious enterprise, which thou wouldst have purchased, I am quite sure, at a high price. Well! it comes to thee without trouble or expense. Thou wert born with a silver spoon in thy mouth."'

Ettore is then informed by Inigo of what had happened the evening before; his taking the part of the Italians, and the consequent challenge.

'When he came to the insolent words of La Motte, and he well knew how to give them their full force, the spirited Italian sprang to his feet, struck a table that stood near with his clenched fist, and, with eyes that sent forth sparks of proud and indignant joy, cried:

'"Miserable as we are, it is not yet come to this, that arms or swords should be wanting to drive back into this French robber's throat the words which, unhappily for him, have escaped his mouth. And God bless thee, Inigo, my dear brother!" (embracing him warmly as he spoke), "thou hast bound me to thee for ever by the care which thou hast taken of our honour; and never, either in life or death, shall I consider my debt discharged." And the caresses on the one side, and the proffers on the other, were endless. At length, the first warmth being a little abated, Fieramosca said:

'"This is a time not for talking but for doing;" and as the servant whom he hastily called was helping him to dress, he went on naming the companions who might be chosen for the enterprise, willing to make the company as large as he could. "We have many good fellows among us, but it is a case of great importance, and we must choose the best. Brancaleone—one. No French lance will make him budge an inch, with that pair of shoulders which he has at his command. Capoccio and Giovenale, all three Romans: I can tell thee that the Horatii did not hold a sword firmer in their hands than they. Three.—Let us go on. Fanfulla da Lodi, the fellow that is *possessed*—dost know him?"

'Inigo looked up, knitting his brows a little, and compressing his lips, as one does who would recall any thing to his mind.

'"Oh, thou *must* know him! The Lombard; one of Signor Fabrizio's lances. He who galloped the other day along the top of the wall of the bastion at the gate of San Baccolo—"

'"Oh, yes, yes!" replied Inigo, "now I recollect him."

'"Well, four. As long as he has any hands to use, he will use them. I will be the fifth, and, with God's help, will do my duty. Masuccio!" he cried, calling to his servant, "my shield lost its handle yesterday; see that it is set to rights, and soon: you understand. Let the long sword and the dagger be sharpened, and—what did I mean to say more?—Ah! is my Spanish armour in good condition?" The servant gave sign of assent.

'"Thou wilt have time enough," said Inigo, smiling at his impetuosity, "to put thyself in perfect trim, for the battle will not take place either to-day or to-morrow."

'But Fieramosca was not thinking of this, for he was burning with impatience, and longed to be already in the *mêlée*. Paying no attention, therefore, to what the Spaniard said, he went on tracing out more companions, for five seemed to him but a scanty number, and at length cried out—

'"And why not Romanello da Forli? Six. Lodovico Benevoli—seven. You know these fellows, Inigo. You have seen them at it. Masuccio, Mesuccio!"

'And the servant, who had gone down, ran up again.

'"Let my battle horse, Airone, the one which Signor Prospero gave me, have as much hay and corn as he will eat; and before the heat of the day trot him round for an hour, and look to his shoes."

'As he was giving these orders he went on dressing. The servant gave him his cloak; and, having put on his sword and his cap with its azure plume, he turned to Inigo and said:

'"Now I am at thy service. We must first talk to Signor Prospero, and then speak a word to Gonsalvo about the safe-conduct."'

The challenge meets with high approbation both from the Italian chieftain and the Spanish general, and Ettore is sent with Brancaleone to the French camp to propose the combat to the Duke de Nemours. On their way thither, Brancaleone ventures, on the score of ancient friendship, to question Ettore about his mysterious sadness; and, after some slight hesitation, the tale is told. At the early age of sixteen, Fieramosca, then serving under Count Bosio di Monreale, to whom the defence of the city of Capua had been entrusted, became known to his daughter Ginevra, and a mutual attachment was the consequence. There was, however, no immediate declaration. A blue scarf, with which Ettore never afterwards parted, thrown

out of Ginevra's window as her lover passed along on horseback in the early dawn, on his way to Lombardy, was the only pledge of her affection which he then received. On his return, after the lapse of a year, the intercourse of the lovers was renewed, and their affection increased. After much repressed feeling, and consequent suffering both of body and mind, Ettore at length declared his attachment, but was led, unfortunately, to believe the declaration unacceptable. Under this impression he resolved to tear himself away, and meet death in the field of battle. When the time of his departure came, and he was taking leave of the Count the evening before, a sudden glance from Ginevra, who was present, revealed the truth. It was then, however, too late, and he was gone. Wounded in a rencounter, he was afterwards laid up for two months in the neighbourhood of Rome, during which time he heard nothing of Ginevra or her father. After his recovery he proceeded to the Eternal City, which he found in great confusion, the pope and Cæsar Borgia fled, and the French troops in possession of the town. He remained but a few days at Rome, when he determined to return to Capua to learn tidings of Ginevra, and set out for that purpose. As he was passing the Coliseum, he encountered a body of French soldiers, bearing on a litter one of their officers who was sick and wounded. Ginevra was in their company, but so faded that he had nearly fallen to the earth at sight of the change. He had still however sufficient presence of mind to track them home, and with the help of a friend at Rome contrived to make himself acquainted with the fatal truth. When, after a stout resistance, Capua had been taken by storm, Claudio Graiano d'Asti, one of the besiegers, forced an entrance into the house of the Count di Monreale, who, wounded in the assault, had been carried thither to die. Ginevra in her despair threw herself at the feet of the soldier, and implored his pity for herself and her father. The Count offered him his daughter in marriage, and all her possessions, if he would preserve her honour. Ginevra could make no resistance, and two days after her father expired. One interview between Ettore and Ginevra, supposed to be their last, follows this explanation, after which they part, in spite of their misery, in some degree consoled. In the meantime, the husband's wound confined him to the house, and he was visited during his convalescence by many noblemen and prelates, and among the rest by the *Duke* Valentino, and even by Ettore himself. At length, when Graiano was once more in a condition to mount his horse, he accepted advantageous offers from the Duke, and was taken into his pay. Ettore was on the point of offering his own services, in order to follow the fortunes of Ginevra and her

husband, but a secret repugnance withheld him. He was even absent from Graiano's last circle previous to his departure, and passed the time alone, given up to a thousand anxieties and suspicions. He went however to the house next evening, when he was startled by an unusual whispering, and the appearance of a priest who came forth as from the bed of the dying. Rushing in, he was told by the servant that her mistress was in the agonies of death. She had been taken with a fainting fit after supper the evening before, but had then excited no alarm. She lay quiet till morning, but as the day wore on, and she was still insensible, a certain master Jacopo da Montebuono, who dabbled in medicine, was sent for, and found her almost cold. Instead, however, of using active remedies, he passed it all off carelessly, and told them to let her alone. Coming back later in the day, he grew frightened, said she was going, sent in a hurry for the priest, and without trying any other means for her restoration, told the disconsolate family, a little after the Ave Maria, that she was gone.

Fieramosca was saved from the immediate effects of his despair by his Roman friend, who came again to his assistance; while the accidental sight of the *blue scarf* opened the fountain of his tears, and relieved for the moment the oppression of his heart. His mind, however, was made up to die upon the coffin of Ginevra, and Franciotto had no sooner left him for a moment alone, than he took his scarf and his dagger, and departed. He had not gone far before he met the funeral, which he accompanied to the church. When the requiem had been sung, the company dispersed, and Fieramosca was left alone, and in darkness, for there was no other light but the lamp burning before the Madonna. At this moment the clock struck the hour, and the Sacristan walked down the church, shaking his bunch of keys, and preparing to lock the doors. In passing near Ettore, he was aware of his presence, and said: 'We are 'shutting up for the night.' 'And,' Ettore answered, 'I 'remain.' 'Are you the Duke's man? You are too soon . . . 'The door will be left ajar, and now that you are here, I may go 'about my business.' Ettore wondered, but was far from suspecting the truth. In the meantime, his purpose continued firm, but he resolved first to snatch a last look, and with his dagger drew out the nails of the coffin, and opened the lid. The beautiful countenance of Ginevra appeared, and he was tempted to impress on it a last kiss. The lips had a slight tremulous motion. The pulse gave a feeble sign. Ginevra lives. The Roman friend of Ettore, who had followed him to the church, and observed all his motions, now came forward, and they bear her off, still in a state of unconsciousness, to a

bark on the Tiber, belonging to Franciotto. As he goes to seek medical help, Franciotto meets the escort of Valentino, and the empty litter intended for Ginevra's abduction. Among the company was the infamous Jacopo de Montebuono. Franciotto witnessed the disappointment and rage of Valentino, when told by one of the attendants that the coffin was broken open and empty; and saw the men at arms retire with their chieftain, baffled and scorned. Jacopo was returning home alone, when Franciotto overtook him, and persuaded him to follow to the bark. Here his recognition of Ginevra, and his terror at the threats of Ettore and his friend, brought on a full confession of his past guilt, and a promise of strict silence for the future.

When Ginevra was restored to recollection, she learned that Valentino, and her husband, now completely the Duke's creature, had left Rome together, and that, even if Graiano could certainly be traced, her return to him must be full of peril, while with Ettore, she would be 'as with her mother.' With full confidence in his honour, though not without some conscientious misgivings, she consented therefore to remain under his guardianship. They passed the first two years at Messina, Ginevra taking up her residence in a convent, and Fieramosca visiting her from time to time as her brother. There is in such relationships, indeed, a divergence from ordinary law, which, without implying even an approach to impropriety, affects a reader unpleasantly: he has to keep up an explanation to himself. And this perhaps will act upon him in scenes where he would specially like to be free from any such accompaniment. In one most affecting scene, for example, which we shall come to, even the victory of a female heart over all earthly affection, will still require the accompaniment of the explanation, as regards the subject of the sacrifice. We can only say, that in the present case, the relationship is produced so unavoidably, is maintained with such actual purity, and was, whatever irregularity there is in it, atoned for by such genuine conscientious fears and distresses, that the most scrupulous reader has no real cause to complain.

On the renewal of the war between France and Spain, with the full approbation of the courageous Ginevra, Ettore joined the banner of Prospero Colonna; and on their way to Manfredonia, the head quarters of the Italian chieftain, they met with a singular adventure. They had joined a convoy of Venetian vessels, which were escorting the Queen of Cyprus to her dominions, and were following in their wake, when, at midnight, all being still, footsteps were heard on the deck of the Queen's ship, then suppressed threats, the stifled entreaties of a female voice, and a sudden plunge into the sea. This was a woman,

naked to her shift, and tied hand and foot, whom Ettore saves. The character seems intended only to excite and disappoint expectation.

'"And now, thou wilt want to know," says Ettore to his friend at the conclusion of his narrative, "who this girl is, but I cannot satisfy thee, for I do not know myself. Neither I, nor Ginevra, have ever been able to get a word from her on the subject. She was born in the Levant, and is certainly a Saracen; and a more upright, loyal, and kind-hearted creature there is not in the world; but she is at the same time bold and spirited, one whom neither arms nor blood can terrify, and who, in the presence of danger, is more a man than a woman. From that day to this she has always continued with Ginevra, and the Abbess of S. Ursula has consented to receive them both in her convent, where, from its vicinity to Barletta, I am able to visit them often."'

The narrative ended, Ettore and Brancaleone enter the French camp, where almost the first person that appears, is Graiano d'Asti, the husband of Ginevra. He is chosen by the French as one of their champions in the approaching combat, and, Italian though he be, he accepts the office. This fact, like the challenge itself, is historical. The indignation of Ettore at his baseness, is well told, but we must pass it over.

The scene now shifts to the upper chamber of the hostel, and its guests Cæsar Borgia and his tool Don Michele da Corella. The servant is worthy of his master. He had once a young and beautiful wife; and a bachelor brother was domesticated with them. He was younger than Michele, and an incestuous intrigue was the result of the arrangement. The husband vowed vengeance with all the virulence of his implacable nature, and the adulterer fled. For years Michele watched and waited in vain. At length, as a last resource, he feigned penitence, became a barefooted monk, discharged the outward duties of his religion in the most exemplary manner, and was finally raised to the Priesthood. Suspicion is now disarmed. When he has said his first mass, and is receiving, according to custom, the congratulations of his friends and relations, his brother ventures to draw near to the newly made priest, and throws himself into his arms. But he never lifts his head again. With an exclamation of triumphant joy, Michele stabs him to the heart and disappears. Sentence of death is passed on the murderer, who flies from place to place, till at last he takes refuge in Rome. There Valentino saves his life, and soon finds his value; and the infamous priest becomes in a short time the soul of all his enterprises. On the present occasion, Valentino has two objects in view, to form a secret political treaty with Gonsalvo, and re-possess himself of Ginevra, whose escape he had never either forgotten or forgiven. To accomplish this double purpose, Michele is ordered to proceed

to the castle. And fortune favours the latter enterprise. Previous to his interview with Gonsalvo, he stumbles upon the *Podesta,* or Governor of Barletta, a foolish, prating coxcomb, who gives him an insight into Ettore's position with Ginevra, and promises to bring him farther information at the hostel. Michele then paves the way for Valentino's reception at the fortress, and returns to his master with a safe conduct from the Spanish chieftain. An interview takes place, but with no immediate result; the duke, however, being installed in a suite of lower apartments looking out upon the sea, which are placed at his disposal as long as he chooses to remain at Barletta, and where he is attended by some of the confidential servants of Gonsalvo, with all the honour due to the Pope's son.

Fieramosca and Brancaleone now return with a letter from the Duke de Nemours, who accepts the challenge, but refuses a free field for the combat. This, however, is offered by Gonsalvo, who, at the same time, proclaims a truce till the combat has been fought, and invites the Duke to be present at the projected festivities, on the arrival of his daughter, Donna Elvira.

We are then introduced to the convent, and we extract an interview between Ettore and Ginevra, which seems to us full of purity and sweetness.

'The convent, built on the island between Mount Gargano and Barletta was dedicated to St. Ursula. Its walls now present to the eye only a mass of ruins, overrun with thorns and ivy; but, at the period of our history, they were in good preservation, and formed a building of severe aspect, raised by the tardy remorse of a princess of the house of Anjou, who came there to finish piously a life passed in the licentiousness of pleasure, and the tumult of ambition. A solitude more tranquil, or more pleasant, could not be desired.

'Upon a rock, about twenty yards above the level of the sea, is a platform of fertile land, fifty paces in circumference. In the angle nearest to the main land rises the church, which is entered by a beautiful portico, supported by slender pillars of gray granite. The interior, which consists of a nave and side aisles, with pointed arches resting on clustered columns, rich with carving, is lighted by long Gothic windows of painted glass, which represent the miracles of the Saint. The gallery behind the high altar is circular, and ornamented with mosaics on a gold ground.

'Being far from any human habitation, the church was nearly always empty. The nuns alone were collected in the choir at stated hours, both of the day and night, to chaunt the service. It was towards evening, and while vespers were being sung behind the high altar in the usual prolonged and monotonous tone, that a woman knelt and prayed beside a tomb of white marble discoloured by age, over which rose a canopy of the same material, adorned with foliage and animals in gothic carving, while beneath reposed the bones of the foundress of the convent.

'She was covered with a veil from head to foot of the colour of the marble, and pale and motionless as she was in the attitude of prayer, might have been mistaken for a statue placed there by the skill of the artist to embody his conception of a praying figure, if two long tresses of chestnut hair had not escaped from the veil, and if the eyelids, which were raised

from time to time, had not suffered two blue eyes to shine through them, in which might be seen the fervour of the most ardent supplication.

'Poor Ginevra, (for she it was) had need of prayer, for she was in a position in which the heart of woman needs more than its own strength in order to subdue itself. She repented, when it was too late, of her resolution to follow Fieramosca, and unite her fortunes in some degree with those of a man, whom both duty and prudence taught her in an especial manner to avoid. She repented having remained so long without inquiring whether her husband was alive or dead. Reason told her, that it might be done yet, but the heart answered, 'It is too late,' and the words sounded like an irrevocable sentence. And so the days lingered on, long, anxious, bitter, without hope of cure even by yielding to one or other of those conflicting inclinations. No wonder that her health was failing under the constant struggle.

'The morning hours, and those near mid-day, were less difficult to bear. She worked, or read, or walked in the convent garden. But alas! for the evening! Like those insects which seem multiplied at sunset, and become every moment more and more annoying, the blackest thoughts and most perplexing cares waited only for that hour to light upon her all at once. Ginevra then took refuge in the church. She did not indeed find happiness there, nor even peace, but she found at least a few moments' consolation.

'Her prayer was short, and it was one that never varied: "Most holy Virgin! make me desire not to love him;" and sometimes she added, "make me resolved to seek Graiano and desire to find him," but she had not often the heart to offer this prayer. * * *

'This particular day, by one of those natural changes of feeling from high to low which happen to us all, she seemed able to take the better part. Her failing health suggested the near approach of sickness, and the idea of dying amidst the terrors of a guilty conscience turned the scale, and made her resolve to inquire about Graiano, and return with him, if he were discovered, in any manner and at any cost. If Fieramosca had been present, she would have declared her resolution without hesitating a moment; "But," she said to herself, as she rose to leave the church, "this evening he shall know all."'

The service over, the nuns retire to their cells, and Ginevra to a building separated from the cloister, and set apart for the reception of strangers, in which she resides with Zoraide, the woman saved from drowning by Fieramosca. She finds the young Saracen embroidering a cloak of blue satin, which they were both working in silver for Ettore, and singing in a low and subdued tone one of the plaintive songs of her native country. Ginevra sighs and passes on to a balcony shaded with vines, which commands a view of Barletta.

'A dark speck, which looked almost stationary, was soon visible on that part of the sea which was nearest the opposite shore. After a quarter of an hour it approached, grew larger, and though it was scarcely possible to distinguish that it was a boat rowed by a single man, Ginevra recognised it and her heart felt oppressed. By a sudden revulsion in all her ideas, it seemed to her now impossible to say that, which a moment before she had, or fancied she had, irrevocably determined. She would have been glad to see the boat turn back, but on, on it came,—neared the island, and at last the dash of the oars was heard, as they dipped in, and rose out of the water.

'"Zoraide, he is here," she said, turning to her companion, who just raised her head in token of recognition, and then cast her eyes again upon her work. Ginevra went down to the landing-place, which she reached at the moment that Fieramosca was laying aside his oars, and fixing the prow of the boat to the rock.

'But if Ginevra's heart failed her when she would have declared her resolution, Fieramosca, who had events quite as important to reveal, had no more courage than herself.

'He had been long away from the places in which Graiano had been fighting, and had not heard any news of him for a long time. At length some soldiers from Romagna, either misinformed as to the fact, or mistaking the name, affirmed that he had been killed. It was so much the interest of Ettore to believe them, that he gave himself but little trouble to ascertain the truth. He put it off, in short, from day to day, till his own eyes made further self deception impossible. He returned to Barletta, however, still at variance with himself, doubtful whether to reveal the fact to Ginevra or not. In one case he was separated from her for ever, and in the other he was culpable, and how could he hide any thing from her who was accustomed to read all his thoughts?

'He was still halting between two opinions when he reached the island. He had resolved upon nothing, and when he came suddenly upon Ginevra, and was obliged by circumstances to decide for yes or no, he adopted the latter for the moment, saying to himself, "We will think about it afterwards."

'"I am late to-day," he said, as he ascended the steps, "but we have had a great to do this morning, and there are great news."

'"News!" replied Ginevra, "good or bad?"

'"Good: and, by God's help, in a day or two they will be still better."

'They had reached the esplanade before the church. At its extreme boundary, where the rock sank precipitately into the sea, a low wall ran along as a protection; some cypresses were arranged in a circle near, in the centre of which was a wooden cross, and around it were placed several rustic seats.

'After they had seated themselves at their ease beneath the silver light of the moon, which now overpowered the purple hue of twilight, Fieramosca began:

'"Rejoice, my Ginevra. This has been a glorious day for Italy and for us; and, if God defends the right, it will be the forerunner of still greater glory. But now is the time for thee to exercise courage: thou must show thyself an example to Italian women."

'"Speak!" she replied, looking at him fixedly, as if to study his countenance, and read there by anticipation the proof expected of her. "I am a woman, but I have courage."

'"I know it, Ginevra; and sooner could I doubt that the sun will rise to-morrow than doubt of thee." And then he told her of the challenge, and described minutely its origin, their going to the French camp, their return, and the combat which was in preparation; and how his words glowed, how the love of glory and of his country burned in every expression he uttered, and how the presence of Ginevra added fuel to the flame, *they* will understand whose hearts have beaten more quickly in speaking of generous deeds, done for the welfare of their country, to a woman capable of comprehending them.

'As Ettore went on in his explanation, and as his voice, words, gestures, grew more and more animated, Ginevra's respiration became more hurried: like a sail swollen by the wind, her bosom rose and fell under the impulse of the impetuous, conflicting passions, all however worthy of herself, by which it was agitated; and her eyes, which seemed to take their

expression from the young man's words, kindled, and almost emitted sparks of fire.

'At length, laying hold of the hilt of Fieramosca's sword with her white and delicate hand, and lifting up her face courageously, she said:

'"If I had only thy arm! If I could make this whiz, which I can scarcely hold upright! Thou shouldst not go alone. No! and I should not perhaps be doomed to hear, The Italians have conquered, but on the field there lies. . . Oh, I know it, I know it. Thou wilt never return conquered. . ." and here, overcome by the thought of the present danger, she could not help bursting into a flood of tears, some of which fell upon Fieramosca's hand.

'"Why dost thou weep, Ginevra? Wouldst thou, for anything the world can give, prevent this combat from being fought?"

'"Oh! no, Ettore: never, never! Do me not such injustice:" and drying her tears, she added anxiously: "I do not weep. . . See, it is over. . . It was only for a moment. . ." Then with a smile, which her still moistened eye-lids made more beautiful, she said:

'"I wanted to play the heroine and talk of swords and battles, but you see I am found out: I deserve it."

'"Women of thy stamp may make swords do wonders without touching them; you might turn the world upside down. . . if you knew how to set about it. I am not talking of thee, Ginevra, but of the Italian women, who are but too much unlike thee.* * *"

The meeting of Don Michele and the foolish governor of Barletta at the hostel is without effect; but the next day fortune favours them. They meet accidentally with the gardener of the convent, and learn from him the residence of Ginevra on the island, and the visits of Fieramosca. In order to work on the governor's imagination, and gain his assistance in carrying off Ginevra, Don Michele then gets up a scene in a ruined chapel, which reminds us of Dousterswivel, in the Antiquary, and must, we think, though perhaps unconsciously, have been suggested by that work. An iron box, full of florins, has been previously buried here, for the express purpose of being dug up again, while Boscherino plays the part of a spectre, who is evoked by magical incantations to discover where the treasure is deposited. So far the plot succeeds, but, at the moment when the money is poured forth at the feet of the astounded Governor, the door suddenly bursts open, and a band of ruffians seize upon him and Don Michele, while Boscherino, whom they do not observe, contrives to make his escape. Don Michele is bound hand and foot, and carried blindfold to a fortress, which guards the entrance to the island on which the convent of St. Ursula is situated. The captain who commands it, though in the pay of the Abbess, is secretly in connexion with the robbers. An interview takes place between this man and Don Michele, respecting the ransom of the latter, when the design of carrying off Ginevra is laid open, a large bribe offered, and the assistance of Martino promised. In the mean time the poor Governor has been frightened out of the few wits he had, maltreated, and

finally murdered by the captain of the banditti. Boscherino has made his way to Barletta, and returned with a strong body of the police, aided by a party of soldiers, under the command of Fieramosca and Fanfulla, who take the leader of the ruffians and his mother into custody, and bring them to the fortress of St. Ursula. They are thrown into the dungeon where Michele had passed the night, and are visited there by this miscreant, who fears that the capture of Pietraccio and his mother may hinder the execution of his project, and is anxious to contrive their escape. We extract the scene which follows.

'He took the keys, descended to the ground floor, and gently opened the door: He bent down his ear to listen: The mother and son were speaking; and, stopping on the first step of the four or five that led into that miserable hole, he contrived, by stretching out his neck, both to see and hear what the two poor wretches were about.

'The woman had been laid on the ground, her head resting on a beam in one of the angles of the dungeon, but in the feverish struggles, occasioned by the anguish of her wound, she had fallen forward on the moist and spongy earth, and had not strength to raise herself. Her son's arms had been bound so tightly to his breast that he could not move a finger, and all his efforts to help her had been in vain; so that, at last, he sunk on his knees beside her in despair, and rolled his heavy and stupid eyes, now on his mother, and now on the wall.

'The woman tried every now and then to raise her head, but was too weak to do it by herself. At length, though with much difficulty, her son contrived, during one of these efforts, to assist her with his knee, so as to place her in her first position; but the motion gave her so much pain, that, putting her hands to her head with a lengthened groan, she said:

'"Curse the bill-hook of that Calabrian villain! . . . But, if the devil will let me alone for two minutes. . . I want to tell thee, once for all, who thou art. . . What is the use of praying to God and the Saints? Little did they care for me when I prayed to them!". . . And here, raising her dim eyes to the vaulted roof, she gave utterance to blasphemies, which would have made the hair of any one but Pietraccio stand on end.—"And yet," she went on, her fierce desperation succeeded by another more mournful though equally profound, "and yet, even I once hoped for pardon! . . . When I sung with the nuns! . . . Oh cursed be the hour when I put my foot upon the threshold: . . . But what does it matter? I was the devil's before I was born. . . I tried to get away from him. . . See how I have succeeded." And then, raising her eyes to heaven again, she cried with an expression which cannot be described, "art thou satisfied?" Then, turning to her son, "But, if thou canst get away from here. . . if thou art a man. . . he, who is the cause of my death and thy ruin, if what the priests say is true, will burn with me for ever. . . That night at Rome, when I put thee beside the Bloody Tower, and bade thee kill *him*, that *gentleman*, and thou, fool as thou wert, didst cry out first, and they took thee, and made thee what thou art. . . It was Cæsar Borgia! . . . He was a student at Pisa, (I was in the Nunnery then), and he fell in love with me, and I, mad fool as I was, with him. I did not know him. . . One night he came to me. . . I had a little daughter seven years old. . . She overheard us. . . She slept in a closet near. . . She saw him stealing through the window, and began to cry out. . . woe to him if he had been caught. . . he had just been made Bishop of Pamplona. . . he heaped the pillows upon her head. . . and then with his

knees... monster! I fell to the earth... Swear to me by hell, by my death, that thou wilt kill him: make a sign that thou swearest... thou canst at least do this."

'With eyes horribly distended and gazing fixedly at his mother, the assassin nodded his head in sign of assent, and she, taking from her neck a chain which she wore under her dress, added:

'"And when thou hast struck him to the heart, bid him look at this chain... shake it before his eyes... tell him that thy mother sends it back to him... I have not done yet... Oh! one moment more! then I don't care for thee... When I recovered, I found myself stretched upon the bed... and then, thou art... Oh! I cannot tell it... by the side of poor Inez... Oh! how beautiful thou wert!... and now thou art in Paradise!... and I, I! why must I go to hell?"... These last words were accompanied with a shriek, which shook the vaulted roof. She was dead.

'Pietraccio was not much moved; but gazed with stupid look upon the convulsive struggles of his mother. When he saw that she had breathed her last, he crouched down in the farthest corner, like a wild beast, shut up in the same den with the dead body of one of its own species, which feels disgusted and turns away.

'The whole narration had been made with many interruptions, and in a kind of delirium, and had been only partially heard. The idea which struck the robber most forcibly was, that he had to revenge himself upon Cæsar Borgia for many injuries, but chiefly, in his opinion, for the horrible state of mutilation in which his barbarity had left him.

'The same narration, however, had produced a very different effect upon Valentino's bully. Any one, who had seen him at the moment, would have thought that every word she spoke carried away with it a portion of his life, so visibly did his countenance change: and when she fell lifeless on the pavement, he had nearly fallen on it himself.

'With tottering steps at length he descended the stairs, and cut with trembling hands the cords with which Pietraccio was bound: then fixing his eyes for a moment upon the chain which he had put on his own neck, said:

'"A gentleman and lady," (Fieramosca and Ginevra, who had asked and obtained permission to come to the assistance of the wounded woman,) are coming just now to visit thee. They want to set thee at liberty, but it must not seem their doing. Be wary, and, while they are busy about the woman, take to the staircase, and be off, and beware of being caught; sentence of death is out against thee."

'Having uttered these words in extreme haste, as if the place were on fire, he threw a stealthy glance of disgust on the dead woman, left his poniard in the hands of Pietraccio, and was gone.'

The scene then changes to the gorgeous cavalcade which issues from the fortress of Barletta to meet the daughter of the great captain, and give courteous and honourable reception to the Duke de Nemours. Donna Elvira is accompanied by her friend Vittoria Colonna, and the contrast is finely marked between the gay and somewhat frivolous Spanish beauty, and the noble and celebrated daughter of Fabrizio. Fieramosca, with his friends Inigo and Brancaleone, is conspicuous among the flower of the Italian and Spanish youth. He is appointed equerry to his daughter by Gonsalvo, and clad in the rich cloak of blue satin embroidered with silver, the work and gift of

Ginevra and Zoraide, charms Donna Elvira by his grace and beauty. In honour of Gonsalvo's guests, jousts and a bull-fight are appointed, and a splendid banquet is in preparation; the whole described with that consummate skill and elaborate finish which betray in D'Azeglio the eye of the painter as well as the imagination of the poet. We are reminded,indeed, in this portion of the work both of Ivanhoe and Kenilworth. Zoraide is induced, by the reports brought by the gardener of the convent, to accompany him secretly to Barletta, in order to witness the proceedings of the day. As she mingles among the spectators, she finds herself in a position, not unlike that of the Jewess Rebecca, and is placed by Fanfulla much as the Jew's beautiful and high-minded daughter is by the Templar Bois Guilbert.

We must pass over the bull-fight, in which Diego Garcia gives ample proof of his surpassing strength; and the jousts, in which the French knights, in particular, show superior skill and address; but we must notice the particular attention paid by Brancaleone to Graiano, Ginevra's husband, and, above all, the care with which he examines his armour. It is perfect, with the exception of the head-piece, which is comparatively weak. An explanation is asked for, and given. Graiano had received a wound in the head, which had never been completely healed, and could not, therefore, bear a heavier helmet. Brancaleone keeps this steadily in mind.

While these events are taking place at Barletta, Ginevra, after having passed a restless night, rises, and takes her accustomed seat in the balcony, which commands a view of the fortress. She sees the smoke of the guns, hears the ringing of bells, and the distant sound of martial music; and is saddened by the contrast with her own desolation. She then seeks Zoraide, but finds her gone, and a thousand fears and suspicions rise up in her mind. At length she passes over the bridge, and walks slowly and sadly along the shore. Here she meets the robber captain Pietraccio, in whose escape, by Michele's contrivance, she had assisted. Worn out by fatigue and hunger, he throws himself, by dumb signs, upon her mercy, and is led by her to an out-house, where she binds up his wounds, gives him food, and some straw to lie upon, and returns to the island at the moment when Zoraide and the gardener come back. Their report fills her with bitter anguish. She hears at once of Donna Elvira's beauty, the apparent admiration of Fieramosca, and the re-appearance of her husband. In the extremity of her suffering, she again has recourse to religion.

' Behind the High altar a descent of eight or ten marble steps led to a subterranean chapel, where five silver lamps were burning day and night before a picture of the mother of God, painted on the wall, as every one

believed, by S. Luke himself. The miracles wrought in this place, as fame reported, caused the building of the church and convent. The chapel was in the shape of a hexagon, and on the side opposite the staircase was the altar and the picture. At each angle rose a pillar, its capital carved in large leaves after the antique manner, which supported one of the ribs of the vaulted roof; and these were joined together in the centre by a circular stone, resembling a mill-stone, having a hole in the middle about a yard in diameter covered with an iron grating, which, in the church, issued in front of the Prie Dieu at the High altar. A thin ray of sunlight, after passing through the painted glass of an upper window, found its way by this orifice to the subterranean chapel. The ray descended visibly through the darkness, which was scarcely dispelled by the red and feeble light of the lamps, forming a streak in the air, and reflecting on the pavement the colours of the glass and the form of the grating. As Ginevra went forward to kneel at the foot of the altar, she crossed this ray, and the light reflected from her dress brightened for a moment the whole interior of the chapel, like a pale flash of lightning.

'She began to pray with her hands pressed tightly against her bosom, and her eyes fixed stedfastly on the picture, till by degrees her pulse beat less strongly, and the throbbing of her heart was calmed. Her prayers were not formed into distinct words, but rather conceived in the feelings and affections, but they restored her by degrees to composure.

'Like all the old paintings, there was in the countenance of this Madonna a divine and august sadness, which seemed to the miserable young woman to express pity for her sorrow. As she fixed her eye on it more intently, she could even fancy something life-like in the glance, which filled her with holy terror, and yet, in some degree, with comfort. "Holy and glorious Virgin!" she exclaimed at length, "Who am I, that I should deserve thy pity? And yet, who will help me, if thou dost not? Behold, I lay my sorrows at thy feet: thou seest that I cannot stand out against this trial, that I am not able to overcome it: Oh, merciful Virgin, strengthen my heart to do what I would!" And in this posture she continued for a length of time, her eyes still fixed on the picture, and her cheeks and bosom bathed in floods of tears; putting herself as it were under *her* protection, who is willing to be called the mother and comforter of the afflicted: and felt by her own experience, that when everything, even hope, is lost on earth, the heart may turn to heaven and be comforted.

'Then came back to her memory all the events of her past life, the innocent joys of infancy, the affections of youth, the first words of love that she had heard, the first remorse that she had felt, and then all the pains and sorrows that had come upon her after her marriage. She thought what these last years had been,—a constant vicissitude of few joys, and those anything but pure and lasting, much bitterness, and pungent remorse. And now, to crown all, as if she were waking from a long dream, she saw even the certainty, which she had ever cherished, that Ettore could not change, pass away. And when, shaken by these repeated blows, and wishing, but in vain, to follow the audible voice of God, it seemed impossible to resolve, the Divine will spoke out more loudly still, and she was placed as it were by force in the right path by the unexpected recovery of her husband. "Every doubt," she thought, "is now removed. As long as I could believe that he no longer existed, I might have some excuse, but now, wretch as I am, can I go on thus?"

'Here a new and unexpected obstacle arose. "But when I appear before him, and he asks me, where I have been all this time, what shall I say?"

'It was not easy to find an answer. Struck by this idea, it seemed to

her quite impossible to meet the eye of her judge, and she was half tempted to lay aside her project, and try to issue from the labyrinth by another way. But the more she thought of it, the more she felt convinced that the step which caused her so much repugnance, was the only one that she could take; and she said to herself: "Of whom can I complain? Of myself. If I had acted otherwise, and as I should have done, I should not have tasted this bitter humiliation; and the longer it is put off, the bitterer it will be."

'Ginevra's soul was firmly tempered, and therefore opposed to any long irresolution, and she said courageously: "Can I bear always such remorse as this? No: Can I give up the hopes, and extinguish the terrors, of another life? No: Then let me do my duty, and care for nothing else. Let the anguish that I am going to encounter, expiate my errors. And thou, Divine mother, wilt have pity upon me both in this world and the next. If Graiano will not pardon me, what is the worst that he can do? Kill me! My immortal soul will fly to God, offer the fruits of penitence, and merit mercy and pardon."

'After one last fervent prayer she reascended to the church with a quick and firm step, as if to give herself more courage, and went to shut herself in her room, to think in what way she should carry her design into execution. She sat, as was her wont, on the balcony which looked towards Barletta, and began to think. She could not imagine any day more easy than the present in which to rejoin her husband, being sure to find him at the festivities at the castle, whither in half an hour she might without any obstacle be conducted by sea. If, on the contrary, she were to wait till he had returned to the French camp, the difficulties would be redoubled. "Therefore," she said, "this is no time for doubting. Before to-morrow I must be with him . . . But how must I manage with Ettore? He will certainly not come here to-day. Must I wait? I cannot leave the island and forsake *him*, without even letting him know what is become of me. I owe it to *him* that I am even now alive." But here a thought sprang up worthy of a soul like hers. "If in leaving him," she said to herself, "I let him know what I feel for him at this pass, I know too well he will never have a moment's peace more; if, on the contrary, I go without giving any reason, he will think me ungrateful; wretched creature that I am, the remembrance of me will soon be erased from his heart . . ." She could not bear the thought, and said with a sigh:—

'"My sins are great, but my punishment is horrible."

'With the unquiet haste, which is the result of strong mental agitation, she arose, wiped her eyes with the back of her hand, and set herself to collect together the few things that she thought of carrying with her. In searching a box, some remnants of Fieramosca's blue cloak, and of the silver thread with which it was embroidered, came into her hands; and the reader may conceive what she felt at the sight.

'Her first impulse was to fold them up and carry them with her; but she soon left them where she found them, saying to herself: "No. . . all thought of him must be laid aside for ever: I must be satisfied here below with knowing that it is by *my* means that he is happy."

'She wrote a few lines to the abbess to thank her for her hospitality, recommended her friend to her protection, stated that an urgent motive obliged her to depart without taking leave, and that she hoped soon to be in a situation to explain herself more fully.

'This last duty fulfilled, there was no more to be done in the convent, but she would not depart till the evening. An hour of daylight still remained, and she seated herself once more at the balcony to wait patiently for the night. At such a moment, she could not have chosen a

more painful way of passing the time. If she turned her looks to the interior of the chamber, the sight of the little packet which lay on the table, and was to be the companion of her mournful journey, reminded her beforehand of its sufferings. If she cast her eyes on the bed, re-made as usual by a lay sister, she reflected that she had slept on it the night before for the last time, and God alone knew where she should sleep the night that was coming. Outside the balcony it was still worse. There was the tract of sea which separated her from the fortress of Barletta, and she remembered how often with straining eyes she had descried, like a dark spot upon the waters, the boat rowed by Fieramosca. And now, *she* had to pass over the same space, to go she knew not whither.'

From his hiding place, Pietraccio, the robber chief, overhears a conversation between Boscherino and his accomplice, in which the projected attack upon Ginevra is arranged, and discovers that their employer is Cæsar Borgia. He determines if possible to frustrate the plan, and revenge himself at the same time upon Valentino; and, having escaped from the island, makes his way in all haste to Barletta. Meanwhile the preparations for a splendid banquet are going on at the fortress, and a scene of much comic effect is given, in which, as at the bull fight, Don Diego Garcia cuts a very distinguished figure. The company then return from the Tournament, and take their place at the table. Fieramosca is still in close attendance on Donna Elvira, who behaves to him with distinguished courtesy, and, mistaking the cause of his silence and abstraction, believes that she has made an impression on his heart. A theatrical representation follows, which is succeeded by a ball. Donna Elvira dances with Fieramosca, for whom her inclination is sufficiently shewn to excite his own regret, and the jealousy of the bold and reckless Fanfulla. The latter feeling is increased by a whisper which he overhears, that, when the dance is over, Elvira would speak with Ettore on the terrace. Fieramosca, however, fully engrossed by his love for Ginevra, is far too noble to trifle with the affections of another, and, the dance ended, feigns a headache and retires. He is about to put on his cloak, which he had laid aside for the ball, when he feels a gentle tap on the shoulder, and the next moment a paper pellet falls at his feet. It contains these words, in a vulgar and almost unintelligible hand, 'Madonna Ginevra is to be carried off from St. Ursula, by order of Duke Valentino, when the clock strikes three. He, who gives you this warning, is waiting for you with three companions at the great gate of the castle, and will have a javelin in his hand.' Ettore rushes without cap or cloak to the place appointed, and is followed by Inigo and Brancaleone. They seize a boat, and with Pietraccio and his three companions put off to sea. They strain every nerve to reach the island in time, but, before they have passed the clock tower of the fortress, the fatal hour sounds.

Fanfulla, in the meantime, is seeking his revenge. He puts on the cap and cloak, which Fieramosca in his haste had left behind, steps out upon the moon-lit terrace, and sees Elvira sitting in a pensive attitude with her elbow resting on the balcony. He seizes the moment when a cloud is passing over the moon to drop on one knee, take her hand, and cover it with kisses. Suddenly, however, the brightness returns, the glittering dresses of Elvira and Fanfulla are distinctly seen, and, startled by a piercing female shriek, which seems to rise from the foot of the balcony, they return by separate ways to the saloon. Another shriek follows, but more feeble, and as if it died away in the throat that uttered it. Then might have been heard the dead weight of a human body falling to the bottom of a boat, but the balcony was now deserted, and there was no one to hear or help.

Ettore and his companions row on with all speed towards the island. On their way they descry a boat at a short distance, but see as they are turning towards it, that it only contains a single person, who is proceeding slowly in the direction of Barletta. Inigo, notwithstanding, would have hailed this boat in order to gain information, but the appointed time was past, and Ettore hurried on. The boat contained Ginevra.

At length, as the convent of S. Ursula grows upon them, a long boat, lying low in the water, and shooting forward like a swallow, is visible at the distance of two musket shots. The combat then begins, and after a sharp contest, victory, such as it is, decides for Fieramosca and his companions. The lady is rescued, but it is Zoraide, who has been carried off by mistake instead of Ginevra, who had already departed. Michele returns to Barletta to tell Valentino of his supposed ill success, taking with him Pietraccio, who had been stunned by the blow of an oar at the beginning of the fray, and had fallen into the enemy's boat; while Fieramosca, wounded by a poisoned dagger in the hand of Valentino's emissary, goes on to the convent, where he not only suffers the anguish occasioned by the loss of Ginevra, but also by that of his honour, all hope of his being able to combat at Barletta seeming now at an end.

We return to the secret apartments of Valentino in the fortress. His negotiation with Gonsalvo had failed, but his designs on Ginevra were near their completion. That business over, he had made up his mind to depart. We introduce him at the moment when a letter has just been received from the Pope, in which the murderous designs of the infamous Alexander are detailed, and a small golden ball enclosed, containing the Host, consecrated by his own apostolical hands, as a safeguard against impending danger.

'He thought within himself that Don Michele and his men must soon return; and putting the golden ball into his bosom, with the careless air of one who says, "what will come, must come," he began to arrange his papers and such other other things as he meant to take with him.

'In a few minutes every thing was in order; and, as he sate down again, not knowing what to do, he drew the ball from his bosom, began to look at and examine it, let it fall from one hand into another, and thought of the sacrament which it contained, and of him who had sent it. Then, passing on from one idea to another he came to the religion of which that man was the head; the articles of faith which he himself had once believed; the splendid position which, thanks to the subjection of the people to pontifical authority, he enjoyed; and, after having ridiculed in his heart the credulity of the multitude, he thought, "I at least turn it to good account in spite of every thing." But then, a still small voice, which issued from beneath this edifice of pride, violence, and irreligion, whispered. "And suppose it should be true?"

'The Duke would not listen to it, but it would not be silenced. He got up in anger, paced the room, and did what he could to distract his attention. All was in vain. "Suppose it should be true?" trod upon his heels, pestered him, and took from him, if one may venture to say it, all taste for the honours, power, and advantages which he possessed. He threw himself on the bed, buried his face furiously in the pillows, called himself a fool and madman, and by degress grew calmer. His eyes at length were heavy, he closed them, and slept.

'But in sleep the course of his ideas continuing the same, he seemed to be at Rome, in the street which leads from Castello to St. Peter's. Heaven and earth were turned upside down. All was different, all was full of darkness and lamentation. He strove to press forward to take refuge in St. Peter's, but he could not, and panted under his painful efforts. He felt himself held back, and looked around him. There were all those whom he had betrayed, stabbed, poisoned; and they held him by the hair of his head, and even by the flesh of his body, with a long and desperate cry.

'Then, without knowing how, he was in St. Peter's, an unspeakable chaos all around him, dark, full of lamentations, amidst the shaking of walls, the opening of tombs, the wandering of spectres, and he, still torn and jeered at by his victims, as they cried aloud "God's justice!" "This then," he thought, "is the judgment that I would not believe in."

'And then he struggled desperately to rush forward, and seek refuge near the pope, whom he saw in the distance on his throne, surrounded by a pale and feeble light. But on one side, his brother, the Duke of Candia, held him back, and from his wound instead of blood a putrid moisture distilled, and his form was swollen and foul, like that of a carcase long sweltering beneath the water; on the other, the Duke of Biselli, and Astorre Manfredi, and women, and children, all weeping, and holding out their hands to the pope, and crying, "Justice and vengeance!" The pope was wrapped in a large black cope, with the tiara on his head. The fat, flabby countenance of Alexander VI. was as yellow as a corpse. He raised himself slowly and gradually, as if he were about to stand up; and the shrieks and lamentations were drowned by a burst of infernal laughter from the pontiff's mouth as he uttered the words, "Christ, faith, popes—all imposture," and the last word sounded beneath the vaulted roof of the church like a protracted howl.

'The Duke's ears still rang with it, though his eyes were open, and he was seated on the bed awake.

"For a moment he felt terrified, but upon the whole the dream confirmed his wicked opinion that he might commit any crime without fear of punishment in another life.'

He is comforting himself with the thought, and listening to the indistinct hum of the crowds in the rooms above, and the sounds of music and cries of merriment, which come down to the apartments on the ground floor weakened by the thickness of the vaulted roofs, when he hears the same shriek which had startled Donna Elvira and Fanfulla. To him, however, it sounds much nearer, and as if it came from behind the outer door, which opens upon a level of dry sand, between the sea and the foundations of the castle. He goes out to reconnoitre, but finds only an empty boat, the prow of which has made a furrow in the sand, and remains firmly fixed on the shore. No one appears either on the terrace or at the windows, and Valentino is on the point of returning, when he is prompted by curiosity to look first into the boat. A woman is lying at full length at the bottom, her face hid in her hands, and uttering from time to time sounds of lamentation. After the first moment of surprise, he lifts her up in his arms, carries her half dead as she is into the chamber, and lays her on the bed. He then brings a light to examine the countenance, and, to his utter astonishment recognises Ginevra. The face is too deeply impressed in his mind ever to be mistaken, but he cannot understand by what strange accident she has thus fallen alone into his hands, after having, as it should seem, escaped Don Michele. He agrees, however, henceforth to believe at least that there is a devil, since he could not have been served so effectually, unless the devil were his friend.

We shrink from translating, or even describing, the scene which follows. It is, perhaps, as powerful as any in the whole work, but it is very painful, and, we think, even revolting. Pollution should not have been suffered to approach Ginevra, though that pollution is involuntary. We have always thought this a defect in Richardson's magnificent composition. The heart suffers a painful revulsion when the purity of a Clarissa, or a Ginevra, is stained, though the stain is unaccompanied with even the shadow of guilt. And we see no necessity for wounding thus cruelly the moral sense of the reader. The catastrophe in both cases might surely have been so managed, that the victims might have gone down to the grave as pure in body as they were spotless in soul. We give the conclusion of the chapter, when, the crime having been perpetrated, Ginevra is borne back to her boat in a state of insensibility, and Valentino with Michele and the rest of his myrmidons have left the fortress behind them.

'The Duke sat at the stern, Michele standing before him. He knew now why his master cared so little for his late discomfiture, but he still persisted in telling the reason of his returning empty handed, describing

minutely how it happened, and how, assailed by superior numbers, they could with difficulty defend themselves, while the woman was taken from them.

'"It went ill, however, with one of them," he added, pointing behind him to Pietraccio, who, as we have seen, had been struck by an oar on the head, and falling down stunned in the boat, had remained a prisoner. He had now, however, recovered, and was seated about two arms length from the Duke; but believing him to be more dead than alive, or at least unable to escape from their hands, they had let him alone.

'"This ruffian," pursued Don Michele, "leapt into our boat like a fury, but Rosso gave him a knock on the head which floored him. I thought he was dead, but I see he is coming to life again."

'Some words in Don Michele's relation had satisfied Pietraccio that he was in the presence of the man whom he had been searching for that evening in vain. Valentino perceived that the wounded robber looked at him doggedly, and with a countenance which portended mischief, and was on the point of ordering him to be thrown to the fishes. Don Michele also, who if the reader recollects, had heard in the dungeon of St. Ursula the last words of the assassin's mother, and her charge that he should seek to revenge himself upon Cæsar Borgia, was well aware, as he stealthily observed him, that he was about to attempt some desperate act. But though he served the Duke because he made a good thing of it, he would not have been sorry to make him pay for an old grudge if he could do it without compromising himself. The reader may imagine his feeling towards his master, when he is told that the woman who died in the tower in Don Michele's presence was his own wife. * * *

'The opportunity seemed now to present itself, and all things to favour his design. In fact, the last words uttered by Don Michele were succeeded by a momentary silence, which gave the young man time to execute his desperate purpose. He arose from the place where he was sitting, and passing Don Michele, who pretended to stop him, but let him escape from his hands, rushed upon Valentino like a furious wild beast, thinking to tear him in pieces with his teeth and nails. The Duke however was on his guard and ready to receive him, and Don Michele had scarcely time to seize Pietraccio by the shoulder before he fell dead from his hand, transfixed by the poniard which the Duke wore at his girdle, and of which he contrived to make use at the moment with incredible swiftness.

'The thing was done so instantaneously that all was over before the rowers had turned round at the noise, and while they were yet in suspense, they saw Valentino replace the dagger in its sheath, and heard him give orders, as he kicked the still palpitating body from him, that it should be thrown into the sea.

'"Madman! ruffian!" exclaimed Don Michele, pretending both alarm and regret at the danger which the Duke had run. "Nobody, however, shall persuade me that he was not a different man from what he seemed . . . I met with him a few days since in the dungeon of the convent, where he was shut up with his mother, both having been taken prisoners by the police in company with a band of ruffians. The mother died of the wounds she had received in defending herself, and before she breathed her last, gave her son a necklace, telling him some tale which I forget—Oh! now I recollect—telling him that she had it from a lover of hers at Pisa.—Stop, Rosso, before he is thrown into the sea let me see if it is still round his neck. The gold at least had better not go to feed the fishes."

'As he said this he opened the young man's doublet and found the chain, which he took in his hands and showed the Duke, who was listening to him with deep attention.

'Valentino had not sufficient self-command to hide the sudden emotion which the sight of the necklace occasioned. He remained for a moment deep in thought, and his hands, which had laid hold of the jewel attached to the chain, fell down upon his thighs as if all their strength was gone. Then, resuming his former seat, with a broken voice he gave orders a second time that the body should be thrown into the sea. As he turned his head away, he knew that he was promptly obeyed, by the heavy plunge which he heard in the water, and the spray which dashed into the boat. He then threw the chain to a distance, and resting his head upon one of his hands, was silent.

'Don Michele, pretending to respect the thoughts which occupied the Duke, retired and took his place among the rowers, and all was still, no sound being heard but the light dripping of the oars, as they were lifted up from the sea. Valentino's bully had taken such a revenge upon this extraordinary man, as no one perhaps had ever done before, He had awakened recollections in his heart almost akin to remorse, but it was that remorse which is without hope or consolation, and which resembles the despair of hell. It was a great triumph for Don Michele; and he knew how to appreciate its worth, and taste it fully.'

The ball is not yet over, when Brancaleone and Inigo return, enquire for Gonsalvo, and relate to him the events of the evening. Gonsalvo knows Valentino to be capable of any villainy, and leads them to the secret apartments which he had recently occupied. They are found deserted and in the utmost disorder. Inigo then steps out upon the platform to see if any vessel can be descried in the distance, observes the boat, and finds Ginevra in a state of insensibility where Valentino had left her. We must give the scene which ensues without curtailment, for it is certainly the very finest in the book, and may well bear a comparison with the noble scene of the chapel in Niccolò de' Lapi. It may, perhaps, contain less of moral grandeur, but it has more of tenderness and human pathos, mixed up, notwithstanding, with all that is most deep and holy in Christian feeling.

'They bore her as carefully and tenderly as they could to the Duke's bed, which they found in strange confusion, but re-arranged it as well as the time permitted, while Gonsalvo, full of pity for the unfortunate young woman, who was all over bruises, her face scratched, her hair torn and dishevelled, and even spots of blood visible here and there, went up in haste to procure for her some female attendance. Unwilling to reveal what had taken place, quite in the dark as he still was, he thought of Vittoria Colonna, whose matured prudence was well known to him. Having entered the ball room therefore, and found the daughter of Fabrizio, he led her quietly to Ginevra's bed, telling her as they went along what had happened, and how much her kindness was needed in this emergency for the unhappy stranger. The noble heart of Vittoria Colonna accepted the office with eagerness and gratitude; and when she reached the young woman's bed, and had looked for a moment at her countenance, she set herself to adjust the bed, arranged the pillows better, and laid her on them more comfortably, with the anxious and sagacious pity which providence has bestowed in an especial manner upon women as the dispensers of his consolation to the afflicted.

'Ginevra was in a kind of lethargy, into which she had been thrown by

her sufferings, a total prostration of strength. Where they placed her she remained. If they moved her arm or her head, she let it be, and appeared perfectly unconscious. Her eyes were open, as in their natural state, but quite dead, and she turned them around without any consciousness. Vittoria saw that there was no time to be lost, and dismissing the men, sent for some of her women, who brought essences and cordials, and succeeded in a short time in reawakening that life in Ginevra which appeared nearly extinct.

'The first sign which she gave of having recovered the use of her senses was to look round for a moment in terror, and then throw herself impetuously from the bed, and attempt to fly; but her weakness was such that she would have fallen to the ground, if Vittoria had not caught her in her arms, and replaced her with gentle violence upon the bed.

'"Oh God!" said Ginevra then, "are you too in league with him? You seem a gentle lady; you are young and beautiful; will not even you have pity upon me?"

'"On the contrary," replied Vittoria, as she took her hand and pressed it to her lips, "we, and all who are in the fortress, are at your service. either to help or defend you. For the love of Heaven be composed, for you have no more to fear from any one."

'"Well, then, if it is so," said Ginevra, putting her feet again out of bed, "let me, let me go."

'Vittoria believing this desire to fly to be only aberration of mind, and seeing her at the same time so weak and disfigured, would have persuaded her with many kind expressions to have a few moments patience; but her horror of that place almost amounted to madness, which obstacles only tended to inflame, and she continued her efforts, saying with tears—

'"Lady! for the love of God and the most Holy Virgin, I only ask to be taken from this bed. Throw me into the sea, into the fire, but take me from this bed. I shall not trouble you much—a mouthful of water—for my inside is on fire—and let me speak four words to Fra Mariano of San Dominico.—But let us go—let me go."

'And so saying, she raised herself from the bed. Vittoria, seeing her thus resolved, offered no more opposition; and she and her women, not however without great difficulty, for she was utterly helpless, carried her up stairs and lodged her in a remote chamber, where Gonsalvo had a rude pallet hastily constructed, upon which, when she was undressed, she lay down, saying with a sigh—

'"Lady, God, who knows all things, knows that I pray to Him from my very heart to reward you for all your kindness to me. Virgin, I thank thee! And you, Lady, through whose means, I shall at least not die in despair. . . I only beg you to make haste and send for Fra Mariano. . . Tell me what is the hour. . . Is it day or night? I no longer know in what world I am?"

'"It is the fifth hour of the night," replied Vittoria, "and Fra Mariano shall be sent for, but the terror which you have upon you, makes you fear more than you need: compose yourself, be tranquil, my dear young lady, you are here in a place of safety; I will not leave you."

'"Oh no, do not leave me! If you only knew how your compassionate looks refresh my heart! Sit here, upon the bed: see, I turn a little towards the wall. . . no, no, do not be afraid of being in my way. . . I am better so." . . And then, after a few moments of apparent stupefaction, she was seized with a shuddering horror, and cried out as if quite beside herself: "If you only knew how terrible it was! . . . to be buried alive. . . stifled under a heap of dead bodies. . . to see around me those ghastly faces of the dead. . . full of horrible putridity. . . and then, their ghastly laughter! . . . Oh God! Oh God! I seem to see them still."

'And, as she said these words, she clung closer to her protectress, who

knew that it was in vain to talk to her while her mind thus wandered, and therefore only embraced, and with the kindest caresses tried to soothe her.

'"Oh Lady!" pursued Ginevra, hiding her head in her bosom, "I do not know what I am saying: I see that I am talking foolishly, but I have been cruelly, oh! too cruelly treated! . . . And I did not deserve it! What, what had I done to him that he should use me thus? . . . And the most Holy Virgin had promised to lead me to a place of safety! . . . I had prayed to her so sincerely, so fervently, from my very heart! . . . And then to forsake me! . . . It is true I have been a wretched creature. . . but more unfortunate than guilty. . . Oh, yes! much more! For I know the feelings of my heart. . . and what I have suffered no one knows but myself."

'"Yes, dear one, I believe it," replied Vittoria, "but compose yourself, and do not say that the Virgin has forsaken you: Do you not see that she has sent me to wipe away your tears and restore you to peace? See, I am with you, I will not leave you; do not fear that I will abandon you. But if your case requires other help, if he that has outraged you is to be punished, if there is any evil to be remedied, speak. . . trust to me. . . Fabrizio Colonna, my father. . . Gonsalvo. . . all in short are ready. . ."

'"Ah, Lady!" interrupted Ginevra, "all the world together could not make me feel a moment's happiness, nor take one drop from my cup of misery. In this world all is over. . . Still I thank you; Oh yes! I thank you: for I owe to you the last consolation I shall ever feel. . . Think me not ungrateful then, if I do not tell you what I have suffered. . . It is impossible. . . It cannot be told. . . And though I do not accept your offers. . . May God reward you! .. He can. . . I can only thank you. . . and kiss those dear hands, which will hold my head at the last hour, and close my eyes. . . Promise that you will not leave me till I am quite dead and cold. . ."

'Vittoria would have turned her from such sad thoughts, and persuaded her that her life was in no danger; but Ginevra would not suffer her to go on.

'"No, no, Lady! it is all in vain; I know what has happened, and I know how I feel. . . Do not, my blessed angel, deny me this last favour! you will not? . . you see, I avail myself of your kindness: you cannot call me either proud or ungrateful. . . you will promise then?"

'"Yes, yes, dear one, I promise, if it must be so."

'"Oh! then I am better satisfied: now send for Father Mariano, and then all is over here. . . give me another mouthful of water, for my heart is like a burning coal. . . If this light which dazzles me could be taken away! . . . Pardon the trouble that I am giving you, it is but for a short time."

'Having rendered her these trifling services, Vittoria seated herself upon the bed, and, not long after, Inigo, who had gone to call up Fra Mariano, made his appearance at the entrance, and asked if the Priest might come in. "Let him come, let him come," said Ginevra; and there appeared at the door a monk of tall stature, whose pale and subdued countenance was half shaded by his cowl. He approached the bed, saying: "Christ protect you, Lady." Every one else then left the room, and Ginevra and the Priest were alone.

'The very look of this monk, and still more his manner, full as it was of that ardent charity which springs from the Divine and august mission of alleviating human misery, indicated at first sight that all worldly aims, all earthly affections, had long been trodden under his feet.

'When he had sat down at the young woman's pillow, he gave her his blessing, and asked if she wished to confess.

'"Oh yes! Father," replied Ginevra, "I have no other desire in the world; and if I had not felt strength and life failing me, I should not have troubled you to come to me at this hour, but my time is short: Let us not therefore lose time, but let me die in the grace of my Lord God and the Holy Roman Church."

'"Life and death are in the hands of God," replied Fra Mariano, "and His will must be done: Do what you can on your part, and doubt not that He will help you."

'And, having made the sign of the cross, and the usual prayers, he called upon Ginevra to speak.

'In order to lay open the inmost recesses of her heart, she was obliged to take up the history of her life from the beginning, to tell of her ill-omened marriage, her supposed death, and her subsequent wanderings from land to land. Her speech was often interrupted by faintness, and sometimes unconnected, because her brain could ill bear the painful task.

'"Father!" said Ginevra at length, "I have been it is true many years near one who was not my husband, but my only fault has been exposing myself to the danger of doing ill. God, and He alone, has kept me safe. I have been negligent in seeking my husband, and finding out if he were really dead. . . Then at last I found him, and determined immediately to return to him. . . and went. . . and with the help of the Virgin I hoped to reach him safely. . . but, oh God! instead of this, into what hands did I fall?"

'And here she told Fra Mariano how, as she drew near the fortress, she saw the close conversation of Ettore and Donna Elvira, and overcome by grief fell senseless into the boat, and did not recover her recollection till she found herself in the chamber of Valentino. Then, the whole cruel occurrence having been told to the end, she burst into a convulsive and desperate passion of tears, mingled with unconnected words, which denoted but too clearly the nascent aberration of her mind.

'Touched to the very bottom of his heart, the good monk, with that discretion which the importance of the case required, used all the means in his power to bring her back to composure, and, after a long time, partly succeeded, when nature, wearied with the paroxysm, had left her more spent and exhausted than before.

'"Father!" continued Ginevra in a feeble voice, "is it then possible that God, that the Virgin, can have rejected my tears, cursed my grief? The vengeance of God has fallen upon my head like a thunder-bolt, when He seemed to promise me pity. . . the chastisement of my sins has been terrible already. . . but I fear another still more tremendous. . . I feel that I shall die despairing of pardon. . . I feel that God is hardening my heart in these last moments of my life. . . I am going, and yet I can neither forget that man. . . nor pardon *her*. . . oh! pray for me! help me! While it is yet time, speak to me of hope!"

'"Hope!" interrupted the monk, "do you not know that He, who sends me, purchased your salvation by the death of the cross; that He promises you mercy, and would promise it, if you were weighed down with the sins of the whole world? Be not so unjust to such love as this by despairing of pardon. And what does he require of you in order to deserve it, and merit the crown of glory and blessedness which will never fade? To love Him as He has loved you: to suffer a little for the love of Him, as He has suffered (and oh, how much!) for the love of you: to pardon him who has injured you, as He pardoned jeerings, stripes, outrages and death. See Him in Heaven waiting for your arrival, longing to receive you in his arms, dry your tears, and turn them into immeasurable joy! The enemy, who thought you were his own, cannot bear that you should

escape from his hands: he is trying every way to have you again: he wants to rob you of hope, but he shall not succeed. I, the minister of the Eternal," and here he stood up, and held his hands solemnly over Ginevra's head, "swear to you by His Holy Name that you are pardoned, and your eternal salvation written in His eternal book, if you can only purchase so great a reward by one single act of love. May the Divine Blood of the Lamb descend upon your soul like celestial dew, wash away all its stains; infuse into it peace, joy, grief for having ever offended Him who shed it for you; and give you strength to repel, and despise, the assaults of the enemy who seeks your ruin."

'"Oh, Father!" said Ginevra, full of veneration for the words she had heard, "God speaks by your mouth. I may then hope, and I am not utterly forsaken!"

'"No, happy soul! far from it. On the contrary, the harder the conflict, the more glorious the palm. But now that God gives you both grace and time to know your sins and His mercies, you must not turn back. Remember what he says: 'It had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them.' 'No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.' You say you cannot tear that man from your heart? See where you had fixed your hopes; from whom you looked for comfort and happiness; for whom you despised the love of your God! One, who has not even kept the worldly and sinful faith which he had pledged to you, whom a mere breath has turned towards another, and who cares for you no longer. It is thus that the world keeps its promises! And yet, for its sake, you despise the unfailing promises of the Eternal! And, when he makes you touch, and feel, and handle, the vanity of your desires, instead of falling prostrate before this miracle of Divine goodness, you almost feel indignant! . Cannot you pardon *her?* And in what has she offended you? In the first place, she does not even know you. Then, she is free, and may give way to such thoughts without a crime. Oh! you ought rather to love her, and adore in her the instrument employed by the hand of God for your salvation. I too am a sinner: I too have been so unhappy as to seek for peace of heart in the creature. But God called me; and I followed Him; at first in bitterness of soul; but afterwards, what a rich recompense did I receive from the Divine goodness for the trifling sacrifice! Oh! the tranquil pleasure of loving, with the certainty of an infinite and eternal return. Believe me, blessed soul! me, who am a greater sinner than yourself, and know it by my own experience; all is bitterness, darkness, and uncertainty, except the love and service of God, and the sure hope of His mercy."

'"Oh yes!" said Ginevra, interrupting him, and bursting into a flood of tears, you have enlightened my mind, and have conquered: Yes, I forgive her, and with all my heart, and I am ready to prove it. Let her come here: let me see her before I die, and embrace her: and may they live happily together, as I hope for happiness myself in the life to come!"

'The monk fell on his knees by the bed, and, raising his hands and eyes to heaven, said: "*Variis et miris modis vocat nos Deus!* Let us adore His work of mercy."

'And, having remained a moment longer in prayer, he arose, blessed the young woman, gave her absolution, and then resumed:

'"And are you really resolved to see her, and do this work worthy of Paradise?"

'"Yes, Father; let her come; I feel that I must die in the act of pardon.'

'"And, I say it in His own name, God has already pardoned *you*: you are *His*: this holy resolution is the pledge of your salvation."

'The monk was going for Donna Elvira, when Ginevra called him back.

'"I have one favour," she said, "still to ask of you, and, if you would have me die in peace, you must not deny me. When I am no more, go to the French camp, find out my husband, (the soldiers call him Graiano d'Asti, and he is in the pay of the Duke de Nemours,) and tell him that I asked pardon of God at my last hour, as I ask it of him, if I have ever offended him; tell him that, dying as I am, I swear that my soul departs this life as pure, as when he received me from my father. Let him not curse my memory, and let him have a mass said for my soul."

'"Bless you! . . . Be satisfied, your wish shall be complied with."

'"One more favour I would ask you," pursued Ginevra . . . "I scarcely know whether it is right or wrong . . but God, who sees my heart, knows that I speak with a good intent. . . . I would have you also find out *him*. . . . Ettore Fieramosca I mean, a lancer of Signor Prospero . . . tell him that I will pray for him, and that I forgive him . . . that is . . . no, do not say anything about forgiveness . . . and indeed I am not quite sure . . . it might have been somebody like him . . . no, no, only tell him to think of his soul. . . . I did not know how wrong we were . . . let him think of another life, for this passes away like smoke . . . *she* says it, who is at the proof, and wishes him . . . and let him think of his true happiness. And then tell him that if God, as I hope He will, receives me to His mercy, I will pray that he may conquer in the combat, and that the honour of the Italian arms may be supported."

'Fra Mariano sighed and said: "I will do this also."

'The dying woman was then for some time silent, and Zoraide, her charge, came into her mind, with whom during the last few days there had been some coolness. At length, she begged the monk to go to her in the convent of St. Ursula, and carry her a ring of hers with a last farewell, asking her to wear it for her sake. She recommended this poor outcast to his care, begging him to find her an honourable retreat, and above all try to make her a Christian. After which she added:

'"I ask, moreover, one last kindness, and I am sure you will grant it. Have me buried in the subterranean chapel of St. Ursula, dressed in the habit of the convent. It is a comfort to think that I shall sleep in peace near the image of that Virgin, who at length has listened to my prayers, and put an end to my misery."

'"Well," said Fra Mariano, who could with difficulty restrain his tears, "your will shall be obeyed in all things."

'This said, he went out, and, bringing back Vittoria Colonna, spoke to her himself, in order to spare Ginevra, whose breath was rapidly failing:

'"Lady, I pray you to seek Donna Elvira, and bring her here. This poor young woman would say one or two words to her."

'Vittoria, who did not expect this, remained a moment in suspense, and then went without any reply, while Ginevra said:

'"Pardon me the trouble I am giving you, but there is no time to be lost."

'It was nearly the fourth hour of the night, and the ball had been over but a few moments: the apartments were beginning to be emptied however; and the guests, accompanied by the Spanish nobles, were filing off down the great staircase. * * * *

'Vittoria in the meantime * * reached the chamber, to which Donna Elvira had retired, and was beginning to take off her ornaments and divest herself of her splendid dress. She was assisted in this occupation by two attendants, whose services, to judge by the petulant manner in which she treated them, did not seem to be very acceptable. She was heated, flushed, and, in appearance, anything but satisfied with her evening's amusement.

When she saw Vittoria enter, an inward misgiving, produced it may be by secret self-reproach, suggested the thought that her friend was about to speak to her in a tone, which at that moment she could ill brook. Under this idea, she received her with an appearance of surprise, which did not entirely conceal her impatience. Vittoria perceived it, but without giving any sign that she did so, begged her with great sweetness to put off going to bed for a quarter of an hour for her sake, and go with her to Ginevra who had asked to see her. She was in consequence obliged to explain how Ginevra came to be there; and the daughter of Gonsalvo, who like giddy people in general, had a good heart at the bottom, was willing to go, so much the more as she saw things taking a better turn than she expected.

'They came therefore together to Ginevra's chamber, and having entered, drew near the bed. The beauty of Donna Elvira had not shone forth so conspicuously, when her dress was more studiously arranged, as now that she appeared in disorder, with her long golden tresses floating loose over her neck and shoulders. Fra Mariano cast down his eyes, and poor Ginevra, when she saw her, felt an inward shudder, and uttered a sigh, which the good monk could not help pitying. The three young women were silent for some minutes, when Ginevra, raising herself upon her elbow, said:

'"Lady! you will be surprised at my boldness in disturbing you, since I neither know you, nor am known to you: but everything is excusable in one who is in my condition. Before however I speak more openly, I must ask your leave: May I then say two words to you freely? Your answer, whatever it may be, will soon be buried with me in the grave. But may I speak to you in the presence of this lady, or would you wish it to be alone?"

'"Oh!" said Donna Elvira, "this is the dearest friend I have, and she loves me much more than I deserve; speak freely, therefore, my dear lady, for I am here to listen to you."

'"Since it is so, and you give me leave, the only question I would ask is. . . ."

'But here, as if to gain strength, and prepare the phrase which she did not know how to begin, she made a moment's pause. The resolution of forgiving her, who had been the occasion of such bitter grief, had been made in all sincerity of heart; but who could be so severe as to think it a crime, if at the moment of ascertaining that her eyes had not deceived her, and that it was indeed Ettore whom she had seen at the feet of Donna Elvira, the unhappy young woman felt an invincible repugnance? Who would have the heart to condemn her if she still cherished an undefined hope that she had been mistaken, and that Ettore was still the same?

'However that may be, we must confess our belief that these sentiments were not entirely extinct, and that they caused the slight hesitation which led to that moment's silence.

'At length, however, she said firmly, and in a clearer and more distinct voice:

'"Tell me then, and pardon me for asking so much . . . were you not this evening on the balcony which looks towards the sea, about the third hour of the night, and was not Ettore Fieramosca at your feet?"

'This interrogation, which was equally unexpected and direct, affected both the young women deeply, though in a different manner. Donna Elvira's face was as red as burning coal; and she could not utter a syllable, Ginevra, who was looking her stedfastly in the face, understood the whole. Her blood froze in her veins, and she resumed in an altered tone:

'"Lady! I know I am too bold, but you see I am dying, and I ask you,

by the pardon which we all hope for hereafter, not to deny me this favour: Answer me then: Was it you? . . . Was it he? . . .

'Donna Elvira thought herself in a dream: She turned a timid look towards Vittoria, who, reading in her eyes a fear of her severity, and, feeling that this was no time to shew it, embraced and re-assured her without uttering a word.

'Ginevra felt that she was dying in uncertainty; and, stretching out her trembling hands to the young girl, cried, or rather shrieked in a tone of desperation:

'"Tell me, then. . . ."

'Donna Elvira clung terrified to her friend, cast down her eyes, and replied:

'"It was. . . ."

'The countenance of the most unhappy Ginevra underwent an immediate change, and became all at once pinched and meagre: she raised herself, however, though with much difficulty, in a sitting posture upon the bed, seized Donna Elvira's hand, drew her close to her, threw her arms round her neck, and said:

'"Then, God bless you both, and make you happy!"

'But the last word was scarcely heard, and had not perhaps been completely articulated, before her soul received in Heaven the reward, due to the most arduous victory that a woman can gain over herself, the most magnanimous pardon that a human heart can grant.

'Her arms, which had been clasped round the neck of the daughter of Gonsalvo, let go their hold, and fell back with the rest of her body upon the bed, while her countenance took in a moment the look and hue of death. The young women seeing it, uttered a shriek. The monk remained some time as if he were breathless, but at length clasped his hands, and said:

'"This is a face worthy of Paradise."

'All three then knelt down, and prayed that she might have that repose, which her soul needed so much, and deserved so well. They folded her hands upon her breast, and Fra Mariano, having placed between her fingers the chaplet which he wore at his girdle, and set a light at her feet, said: "*Requiescat in pace!*" And, in his inmost soul, he now prayed for her, now asked her intercession, as a soul whom he believed already in a place of safety. Then, having led the two young women away from that fatal place, he returned to the body, and spent in prayer the hours which still remained before break of day."

We think this scene managed with consummate skill. It is perhaps almost too painful, but there is nothing in it which is revolting. One feels indeed a momentary repugnance at the fatal mistake, which does Ettore so much injustice, and causes such intense misery to Ginevra. Few writers of fiction, we believe, would have left it unexplained at the last, but we are convinced that D'Azeglio was right. His lesson is that of the Cross. He would teach us to believe that every thing is unimportant compared with the formation of the character for Heaven. It is not in this world that the highest virtue must look for its reward. In actual life, and fiction should be like actual life if it would carry out worthily its true vocation, there is much which is dark, mysterious, and inscrutable. There are dispensations from which the natural heart shrinks, but they

must be best, because they spring from unerring wisdom and unbounded love. And the time is short. All mistakes will soon cease in that world, for which this is only a preparation. We must look to the end. Clouds and tempests may be around us, but beyond and above them is the pure serene of heaven.

Inigo and Brancaleone, in the meantime, are suffering the greatest alarm and anxiety about Fieramosca. He is now unable even to stand, and the next day but one he is to meet his opponents in the field. In order to know the worst, Brancaleone returns to the island, while Inigo remains at Barletta. He finds Ettore in a profound sleep, and Zoraide seated at his pillow. She makes signs of silence and they retire together. He learns that all is going on well, and that by the next day Ettore will be as well as ever. There is, however, a mysteriousness in Zoraide's manner which he is unable to penetrate; while he also conceals from her what he yet knows respecting Ginevra. On his return to the fortress, he is made acquainted with her fate.

Prospero Colonna, meanwhile, begins to be both surprised and displeased at the absence of Ettore, but is satisfied by the assurances of Brancaleone that he is detained by urgent business, but will be at his post before the appointed time. Ettore then arrives in perfect health and strength. Anxious inquiries after Ginevra succeed; and his eagerness to go to her, and the difficulty with which he is at last persuaded that all is well, and that she is safe with Vittoria Colonna, are very graphically described. In answer to the questions of his friend respecting his wound, he drops some expressions which imply his belief, that, like the Queen of our first Edward, Zoraide had risked her own life to save his, by sucking the poison. He speaks of it, however, as of the remembrance of a dream. The friends then separate.

'Before going up into his room, Fieramosca gave a look at the stable. Having entered, he began to fondle his good battle-horse with the affection, one might almost say friendship, which every soldier feels for the companion of his dangers and fatigues. He threw his arm round the animal's neck, and patted him gently on the shoulders, while the horse put back his ears, shook his head, and playfully pretended to bite his master.

'"Eat, my poor Airone, and make good cheer while thou canst, for thou art not sure of sleeping upon this litter to-morrow night. If it were for anything else, I would take Boccanera, and thou should'st not risk thy skin: but to-morrow I have great need of having thee under me, for I am certain thou wilt not make a false step." "And then," he added, smiling as he pinched his nostril, "thou too art an Italian, and must bear the cross."

'Then, having seen that all was right, "Masuccio," he said, as he turned to his groom, "at four o'clock give him some water, and as much corn as his body will hold; and at five come to arm me."

'Having given these orders, he went up a few minutes after to his room, put out the light, and went to bed, firmly resolved to rest himself and go to sleep. At first he seemed as if he would succeed, but then came one thought, and then another and another, till he had been many hours in bed without being able to close his eyes a moment. All that related to Ginevra, about which he had been partly satisfied by Brancaleone, in whose fidelity he could venture to trust, seemed to him afresh full of darkness and suspicion. A thousand doubts and fears crowded thickly around his heart. "What," he thought, "can all this mystery mean? and I must not know even to-morrow! Can Brancaleone want to deceive me?"

'For a moment he was near cursing the challenge in his heart: but the thought was repelled with indignation before it was entirely formed.

'"Oh! shame, shame!" he cried, sitting up in the bed, "how can such baseness enter my mind? . . . Am I no longer the same? What would Ginevra say if she saw me so sadly changed? so cold to thoughts which once ran through my veins like fire?"

'And he felt such indignation against himself at the reflection, that he got up furiously and dressed himself in haste, not being able to sleep any more and feeling bed insupportable, and went out upon the terrace, where he seated himself as he was wont on the wall underneath the palm tree, and determined to wait for the dawn, which was not far off.

'The pale and waning moon was but faintly reflected in the sea. To the left, at the distance of about five hundred paces, arose the citadel, whose outlines, scarcely distinguished at such an hour, looked like one large dark mass, of which the battlements alone on the summit of the towers, were slightly defined on the sky. Ettore sighed as he looked at those walls, and thought of her whom they enclosed, and every now and then he fancied he heard the distant murmur of an alternate chant. But it was so far off that it sometimes seemed real and sometimes not. At one of the windows, which, being at the side of the castle, could only be seen askance, was a light which was not extinguished all night. He would have given his heart's blood not to see that light, and from time to time turned his eyes elsewhere, saying: "I am a fool to torment myself with such fancies," but he could not help looking again, and there the light still continued.

'With the self-deception often practised, when men are harrassed by some perplexing doubt, he tried to persuade himself, what in his inmost soul he could not quite believe, that Ginevra was well, that no misfortune had happened to her, and that all the mystery, which he saw in the business, was only his own idea, a mere imagination. And he made this effort to deceive himself, because he felt that it was indispensable. He could not turn all his thoughts, and all the powers of his mind, to the approaching combat, unless he could be certain, or at least consider it highly probable, that, what reason told him was pure illusion, was undoubted fact.

'"Oh yes, yes," he said, shaking his head, and passing his hand over his forehead and through his hair, as if to get rid of his thick-coming fancies, "let us think first of all about doing ourselves credit . . . and perhaps to-morrow at this time I shall be able to say to her, *Ginevra, we have got the victory.* . ." Then, stopping for a moment to think, "or else thou wilt see me enter Barletta upon my bier, and wilt say, *Poor Ettore, thou hast done what thou could'st.* . . And suppose this should happen? I shall have died like a brave man; and she will weep for my death: But she would not wish me to live with dishonour, and will be proud to say, *we have been friends from children* . . . yes . . . but, in the meantime, she will be here without any protection: She does not even know that her husband is in the French camp; and, even if she did, how can she present herself to him after so long a time?"

'Ettore had formed, and partly executed, the design of recommending her to the care of Brancaleone, but reflecting that he might be killed as well as himself, he resolved to write to Prospero Colonna, and direct that his little property at Capua, namely his house, a farm, together with his horses and armour, amounting to several thousand ducats, should belong to Maria Ginevra Rossi di Monreale. He re-kinded his light therefore, and in a short time wrote the letter, and then he thought he would enclose one for Ginevra, as if to take leave of her, and recommend to her care the young Saracen, to whom he had so much reason to be grateful. The cocks were beginning to crow, and in the stables below the men were already on the stir, so that time pressed, and he only wrote these few lines.

'"Ginevra, I am just about to mount, and I do not know whether I shall dismount this evening alive. If Heaven has decreed otherwise, I doubt not that, when thou hast given some tears to him, who has been so faithfully from boyhood thy friend and servant, thou wilt rejoice that I have found a death, than which one more noble and glorious cannot be imagined. Please to accept, for my sake, the little property which I can call mine; for thou knowest that I am free, and have no near relations. I only recommend to thee, and few words are necessary for that, my servant Masuccio, who, since the day when he got that wound in his shoulder at Ofanto, is little able to help himself, and would run the risk, without thy help, of being forced to beg for the love of God, which would do little honour to my memory. I have one thing more to tell thee. Thy husband is in the pay of the Duke de Nemours. I have no time to write more. I hear them on the alert in the house of the Colonna. God keep thee! I also recommend to thee Zoraide. Ettore."

The trumpet then sounds, and the thirteen champions, with Prospero Colonna and a crowd of spectators, proceed to the church, where an early mass is celebrated previous to the battle. We must extract a few passages from this graphic scene.

'The Church was an oblong with three aisles, separated from each other by columns and pointed arches, roughly executed, two transepts towards the High Altar, forming a cross with the principal body of the building. The choir for the monks, placed according to ancient usage before the altar, was of wood, the divisions of the stalls thickly carved with ornaments in relievo, to which time had given a dark and shining tint. In the middle of the choir was a bench, capable of holding thirteen persons, where the Italian men at arms took their place. Day was declining, and there was not light enough to pass through the painted glass of the narrow windows, so that the whole interior of the church was nearly in darkness, and the red glare of the few candles, which were burning before the altar, quivered only upon the cuirasses of the combatants, leaving all the other figures in deep shadow. Prospero Colonna, himself also armed, stood a little before the rest, and at his feet, to kneel upon, was a rich cushion of red velvet with the *column* embroidered in silver, brought in by two pages who now stood a few paces behind him. Mass began, said by Fra Mariano, and the hearts of such of the spectators, as were capable of high and generous sentiments, could not have contemplated with indifference these bold and courageous young men, who were bending to the earth before the God of battles, foreheads furrowed by toil, and worn by the iron of the helmet, to ask that it might be given to their swords to overcome those, who would drag the Italian name in the dust.

'Their movements and attitudes, to which the long use of arms gave

even in prayer a certain air of spirit and courage, expressed notwithstanding the religious feelings which occupied their minds. At the extremity of the bench stood Fieramosca, upright, motionless, with his arms folded on his breast. In front of him, a few paces off, the door of the Sacristy stood open, and the officers of the church were passing backwards and forwards in the exercise of their respective functions. This alone might not however have distracted his attention from the service, but he also witnessed a sight and overheard a dialogue, which at that moment were calculated more than ever to fix his thoughts on mournful subjects.

'A man, dressed in a dark and tattered cloak, with his red hair all in disorder and a face of evil omen, was standing in the middle of the Sacristy; and turning to a Dominican Friar, who filled with his corpulence a large leathern arm chair placed between two chests, the usual furniture of such places, asked him roughly and in a hoarse voice:

'"Which am I to get ready, that for the poor, or for gentle-folks?"

'"A pretty question!" replied the friar, moving his lips, but no other part of his body, "Don't you know that Signor Gonsalvo pays the expenses? It is not one of those starvelings at Barletta, who chuse to be buried like paupers rather than pay the fees. . . . First class, I have told you all before, first class, bells, catafalque, and chaunted mass. You seem to be more stupid than usual."

'The other shrugged his shoulders, and, going to one side of the sacristy, was lost to Fieramosca's sight. A key, however, was heard to turn in the lock, and a door open, then a sound of footsteps retreating, and, for some minutes, nothing more. Soon, however, the steps returned, there was a sound as of something dragged along the pavement, and the same man at length re-appeared, and deposited in the middle of the sacristy a black bier striped with silver, having a cross at the head, and at the foot a scull, supported by two bones placed beneath in the figure of a S. Andrew's cross. Over the whole he then threw a pall of black velvet. * * * *

'It never entered Fieramosca's mind, and if it had he would have driven the suspicion from him as madness, for whom the bier was intended; but he could not take his eyes from it during the remainder of the mass. His thoughts dwelt naturally upon the idea that this might be the last day of his life, and, turning his spirit with more fervour to God, he again besought pardon for his offences. He recalled to his mind all that had passed since he took Ginevra from San Cecilia; and he seemed to have no cause for remorse except in having concealed from her the fact that Graiano was still alive. Of this, however, as of every other fault, he had made confession the evening before; and it seemed to him that he might now be easy, and meet death freely. Mass ended, the thirteen followed Prospero home, and sat down to table, that they might not go to the combat fasting.'

The combat is then described, and with such spirit, that it well deserves to be extracted entire, but we must be satisfied with briefly stating the results. They are historical. The arrogant assumption of the French is signally punished. They fight indeed, with great bravery, and at the last with great desperation, but in the end the victory of the Italians is complete. Ettore is the hero of the day, but Fanfulla and Brancaleone also distinguish themselves highly. The latter, availing himself of the well-known weakness of his helmet, cleaves the skull of Ginevra's husband, who falls dead at his feet. All hope of paving the way for Ettore's happiness was of course over, but

the traitor is sacrificed to the vengeance of his injured country. Graiano alone is killed. This is strictly in accordance with the historical accounts of the battle. The rest are made prisoners on the field, and follow their conquerors to Barletta.

'They advanced on foot, speechless, stupified, surrounded by an immense crowd, and the Italians followed them on horseback, to the sound of musical instruments, and amidst the cries of *Long live Italy! Long live the Colonna!*

'When they had reached the fortress, and entered the hall of state, the thirteen champions presented their twelve surviving captives to Gonsalvo, who surrounded by his barons was waiting their arrival. The great captain, after having given great praise to the victors, turned to the French, and said:

'"Never will I insult brave men in their ill-fortune. The fate of war is uncertain, and he who is conquered to-day may himself conquer to-morrow. I will not tell you to respect henceforth Italian valour; for, after such deeds as these, my words would be superfluous. But I *will* tell you to honour courage and noble daring wherever they may be found, remembering that God has imparted them to all men; and not made them the peculiar privilege of your nation. And, moreover, to believe that true courage is adorned by modesty, and disgraced by vain boasting.

'He then dismissed them, and all quitted the hall together, and such was the end of that glorious day. * * * *

'Fieramosca could at length think of himself and Ginevra, and withdrew quietly from his companions. * * * * At the end of one of the galleries he caught sight of Vittoria Colonna, who had been present at Gonsalvo's reception of the thirteen champions, and was returning to her own apartments, which she was on the point of entering. He no sooner saw her than he began to run, and calling her by name, made her turn and stop. A part of what had happened to Fieramosca had reached Vittoria's ears, and she guessed what he wanted to ask.

'"Oh God!" she thought, "what shall I say to him?" but she had no time to reflect, for Ettore was already close to her. His armour was covered with dust, and notched here and there with the blows which it had received. One broken feather alone was visible on his helmet, while of the rest the bare stumps only remained. The vizor was raised, and his fine features sharpened by fatigue and sprinkled with perspiration, showed at once his triumphant joy at the glory he had obtained, and his anxious desire to be again restored to *her*, whom since the death of Graiano he could at length call his own.

'As the heart of man is inclined to hope or fear according to the circumstances by which he is for the time surrounded, the discouragement, I might almost say the desperation, which he had felt the night and morning before the battle, as he thought of what might happen to Ginevra, was changed now, by the physical and moral shock which the long combat and the unspeakable joy of the victory had occasioned, into a confident hope of finding her safe and well.

'"Lady!" he said, and his breath came quick with the palpitation of his heart, "God bless and reward you! I know all . . . how you kindly received her . . . did her so much good . . . poor thing! . . . she stood in great need of it. . . . Lead me to her . . . for the love of God, let us go."

'Every word which the young man uttered was like a dagger to the heart of Vittoria, and she had not courage to tell him the mournful news. She could only contrive to compose her countenance to a half smile, and say:

'"Ginevra is again at St. Ursula: (it was too true, for, about an hour before the return of the Italians from the field, she had been carried back to the convent, Fra Mariano attending in order to bury her in the night.)

'"At St. Ursula! how, so soon? Has she not then been ill? Is she well?"

'"Yes, she is well."

'"In the fulness of his joy, Fieramosca opened his arms as if to embrace Vittoria, but, dropping on one knee instead, and taking her hand, he impressed on it kisses of gratitude worth more than a thousand words.

'Then, rising in haste like one beside himself, he was going to hurry to St. Ursula without uttering a word more, when, glancing for a moment at his breast, he stopped short and turned back.

'"Look, lady," he said with a smile, and at the same time with a kind of trepidation; "look at this blue scarf . . . *she* gave it me . . . to-day a sabre-cut, in making its way to the cuirass underneath, divided it in two."

'So saying, he loosened the knot which he had made with the two ends to keep the scarf from falling off.

'"I am too bold, I know, but would it be giving you too much trouble to ask you to mend it, that Ginevra may not see that it has been cut? Poor thing, she might think it a bad omen . . . she might say: could'st thou not have covered it with thy shield?"

'Vittoria went willingly to her room for the necessary materials, glad to escape for a moment from the young man's sight, and hide the emotion which his self-deceiving trustfulness occasioned. She returned with more composure, and began to busy herself with mending the scarf, and as she held down her head in doing so, Fieramosca did not see anything amiss.

'"One can scarcely tell," he said, smiling as she went on working, "what colour it is now . . . it has gone through many and great chances . . . it has been my companion in misfortune . . . it will be now in happiness. You do not know how many years have passed over my head, during which it has never left me . . . in how many battles I have kept it safe. . . . And now to-day! . . . when all my sorrows are turned into joy . . . that they should have spoiled it! What would any one say who believed in auguries?"

'Vittoria went on sewing without answering a word. Divided between the thought that he must be told the truth, and the invincible repugnance of being herself the bearer of such grief, she believed to reconcile all by seeking Brancaleone, as soon as Ettore had left her, and begging him to support his friend under this terrible trial.

'"A thousand thanks," said Ettore, when the work was finished, and quick as lightning he was down the great staircase, and in the court-yard. No one was there, but his servant Masuccio, holding by the bridle his master's horse covered all over with foam. The poor animal's head was hanging down, and his eye was dull and spent, while his sides panted heavily.

'"To the stable, to the stable," cried Ettore to the servant as he passed near him, "Where did'st thou learn this? . . . . a horse hot with perspiration standing in the air!" And he left the court yard to procure a boat for St. Ursula, the distance by sea being shorter. * * *

'A boat was not to be found. * * * Stamping with impatience, he then said, "I will go on horse-back: it is a little further: be it so." When he reached the stable Masuccio was taking off the bridle from Airone.

'"Leave it as it is," said Fieramosca; then, taking it from his hands and throwing it over the horse's neck, he vaulted with one leap into the saddle, and in a few moments was out of the city, and on the road which leads along the shore to the convent.

'"Poor Airone!" he said, patting his neck, while he quickened with his spur the unwilling trot of the good horse, who felt it hard after a day of so much fatigue to be denied the stable, "thou art right, but have a little more patience, and I will repay thee for all."

'Night in the meantime was closing in; the sun had set nearly half an hour; and Fieramosca, who was going towards the east, had a clear and serene sky behind him, but, in front, long dark clouds covered the face of the heavens, terminating beneath in a line which ran parallel to the horizon. From this streaks of rain, more or less dense, came down precipitately upon the line of the sea; while the summits of the mass of clouds, which ascended to the mid heavens, were tinged with a whitish hue by the lingering twilight. In the midst of the darkness, the tremulous flash of the lightning, and the hollow and distant rumble of the thunder, scarcely ceased for a moment. The sea swelled higher and higher every instant, and threatened a tempest. The tint of the waves in the centre was almost black, while on the crest alone were seen to scud minute drops of white foam. Rising and coursing one another along the whole line of coast, they finished in a thin, green, and transparent layer, which came forward like a wall of glass, till its extreme edge curling over, it fell with a crash, and inundated the dry gravel of the shore with foam.

'The gloomy aspect of the weather could not, however, at that moment disturb the happiness of the young Italian. He measured with impatient eye the length of road which separated him from St. Ursula, and the coast being level and bare, he could see it all. He imagined the delight of Ginevra's first appearance: he saw her advance to meet him with that modest turn of the eye, that motion at once so beautiful and so full of grace. He hoped to be the first to give her news of the victory, and his only perplexity was, how he should most suitably give her to understand that she was now free, and her hand at her own disposal.

'At the distance of about two gun-shots from the tower, the east wind, which was beating full in his face, brought the storm nearer. Big drops struck athwart him, rebounding from the cuirass in foam; and, at length, by little and little, came on smaller and thicker, till they became continuous. A clap of thunder followed, which seemed to make way for a cataract from heaven, and a water spout came down upon Fieramosca, which wetted him from head to foot, though it caught him only a few steps from the tower. The gate was still open; and he passed through with all speed, and was soon on the island, and close to the building occupied by strangers. Having tied his horse to an iron grating, where the roof afforded some slight shelter, in four bounds he was in the apartments of Ginevra. We need not say that he found them empty. He re-descended in haste, and his first impulse was to seek her in the church. He knew that she commonly went to pray in a small gallery above, and no sooner had he entered than he cast his eyes that way. The gallery was empty; the church also was empty and nearly quite dark; empty also was that part of the choir that was seen, but a hollow chant was heard as if it came from beneath. He went forward, and perceived that from the opening before the High Altar, which communicated with the chapel below, a ray emerged, which threw a circle of discoloured light on the vaulted roof above. As he drew near, he heard that they were reciting prayers in the subterranean chapel. He turned behind the altar and descended. The clash of his armour, and the sound of his spurs, and of the point of his sword against the steps, made the persons who formed a circle in the chapel, which they nearly filled, turn round. The circle opened. At the foot of the staircase was the bier which Fieramosca had seen in the morning in the sacristy of San Domenico. In front, beside the altar, stood Fra Mariano in his Rochet and a mourning

cloak, holding the holy water in his uplifted hand. In the centre was an open tomb. On one side were two men holding in an upright position the stone intended to cover it; on the other Zoraide kneeling, and bending over the body of Ginevra, which was already placed within, and sobbing as she arranged the veil around the face, and laid a crown of white roses upon the forehead.

'Ettore had now reached the bottom, and saw the whole. He stood motionless; without uttering a word, without making a gesture, without winking an eyelid. His countenance by degrees grew sharp, he became pale as death, and large drops of cold sweat ran from his forehead.

'Zoraide's sobs redoubled, and Fra Mariano, with a faltering voice, which showed how his heart was wrung at the sight of the young man's bitter agony, had just strength enough to say—

'"Yesterday she took her flight to heaven. God is making her more happy now than she could have been with us——"

'But even the good monk felt that tears were choking his voice, and was silent.

'The stone, replaced by the iron bars over the opening of the tomb, found its proper level, fell, and was firmly fixed.

'Ettore was still motionless. Fra Mariano went to him, took his hand which offered no resistance, embraced him, turned him round, and led him away, and Ettore obeyed. They ascended the staircase together and left the church. The flashes of lightning and the peals of thunder still continued, and the rain fell in torrents. When they drew near the stranger's apartments, Fieramosca tore himself from the arms of the monk, and before the latter could say a word, was already in the saddle, his body bending over the horse's neck, his spurs thrust into his sides, and the sound of his gallop was heard under the portico of the tower.

'Neither the friends of Fieramosca, nor any man of that generation, saw him any more from that time, either alive or dead.

'Various conjectures were formed respecting his end, but all vain and uncertain. The only one which offered any degree of verisimilitude was this.

'Some poor mountaineers of Gargano, who were busied in making charcoal, related to some of their companions, (and a long time after, when the Spanish camp had been raised, passing from mouth to mouth, the report reached Barletta), that one night during a violent tempest, there appeared to them the strange vision of an armed knight on horseback on the top of certain inaccessible rocks, whose edge fell perpendicularly into the sea. A few persons at first, then many more, and at last every body said, and set it down as an established fact, that it was S. Michael the Archangel.

'But when it came to the ears of Fra Mariano, and he compared the epochs, he conjectured that it might have been Ettore, who, quite bewildered, had urged his horse through the most difficult passes, till they had at last fallen together down some unknown precipice, or perhaps even into the sea.

'In 1616, a rocky shoal under Mount Gargano having been left dry, a fisherman discovered, wedged in between two large stones, a heap of iron almost entirely corroded by the sea water and rust, and found in the midst of it some human bones and the carcass of a horse.'

We need make no comment on the deep pathos of these concluding extracts. There is something in the scene between Ettore and Vittoria in particular, which seems to us inexpressibly touching. Perhaps it may remind the reader of the scene between Waverley and Flora M'Ivor, in which the sister is discovered making her brother's shroud, but we think it in all respects greatly superior. Of the work in general we

have already given our opinion in the notice of Niccolò de' Lapi, in our July number for 1848, and we could only repeat what we have there stated, and to which we refer our readers. At that time we had no intention of giving more than a rapid sketch of the romance before us, but we have since thought that it deserves to be known to the English reader, no less than its more dignified and elaborate successor. Though its merits are of a different character, they are of the highest order. To many minds the interest excited is deeper, and it is more gentle. There is more of human feeling. The puritanical element, which, in spite of its moral grandeur, gives a harshness to Niccolò, is in Ettore exchanged for the chivalrous. And we feel ourselves among the highly born, the noble, and the illustrious. Even the imperfection of the principal personages adds in some degree to their charm. We have not the stern and superhuman excellence which we admire, but with which we do not cordially sympathize. And yet there is deep and true principle at the bottom. The eye never loses sight of the cross. And this, we repeat, is the master key to D'Azeglio's influence over the wise and good. His works are eminently Christian. He does not merely make us conversant with high thoughts and noble aspirations, which all earnest writers in the present day almost without exception aim at, and in which they not unfrequently succeed, but he makes us feel that 'no foundation can any one lay but that which is laid.' And it is here that so many of his fellow-novelists so lamentably fail. It requires but a slight acquaintance with the imaginative literature of the day to perceive that, in spite of a professed and even real desire for truth, and goodness, and self-sacrifice, it utterly ignores 'the law and the testimony.' We except, of course, what are called 'religious novels,' in which there is a superabundance of the religious element, but so mixed up with the writer's peculiar 'views,' as to be acceptable only to the party for whom they are intended. We speak of works, not only of acknowledged talent, but of professedly universal principles. Such works either pass over the Bible and the Church altogether; or if they affect philosophy, treat them as bygone things, successive developments of the human mind in its progress towards perfection, not authoritative emanations of the Divine Will, upon which opinions are to be formed, and by which conduct is to be regulated. There is, perhaps, no one point in which the tendencies of the age are more fully shewn, than in the sense of man's responsibility. While there is scorn of selfishness, and trickery, and false seeming, and a base truckling to the rich and great; while there is an honest and enlarged desire to promote human virtue and happiness, man's physical and mental well-

being in short; and, while there are occasional glimpses of the Infinite and the Eternal, which make our hearts burn within us; there is no feeling of man's responsibility to God as a creature and a sinner. Our modern literature, like our modern monuments, is the blazonry of man's achievements, instead of the record of his fall and restoration. It is the statesman dying in the arms of his country, or the warrior on the field of his glory, or the actor standing forth in the lofty character which he embodied, not the penitent sinner, who, with closed eyes, hands crossed on his breast, or raised in the attitude of prayer, lays his virtues and his sins together at the foot of the cross. Now we think these antichristian tendencies of no small moment. Their effect upon the popular mind is great, and it is most hurtful. We doubt if even the worldly and sensual literature of a bygone age, sapped so completely the very foundations of truth. Things were called then by their right names. Virtue was virtue, and vice was vice. Men feared God, or they did not. A well-defined boundary was set, which they understood, even if they overleaped it. But now we are so confused by the mixture of truth and error, low conceptions of duty, and bursts of highly-wrought feeling, that we can scarcely recognise the ancient landmarks. We hail, therefore, any return to better things. And we find them both at home and abroad. We have some writers among ourselves who know and appreciate their high vocation, but we think that, in the works now for the first time submitted to the English reader, there is a depth and earnestness, which, united as they are with Christian submission, we do not find elsewhere. In D'Azeglio, as in his father-in-law Manzoni, there is what the old puritans were wont to call 'the root of the matter.' Bating a few Roman peculiarities, the religion which these works pourtray, is that of the Bible and of the universal Church, and we cannot form a better wish than that all readers, both here and elsewhere, may drink deeply of its spirit, and be fully prepared for its self-sacrifice.

ART. IV.—*Observations on the Social and Political State of the European People in* 1848 *and* 1849. *By* SAMUEL LAING, ESQ. London: Longman & Co. 1850.

MR. LAING is ambitious to raise the profession of a traveller above the more common level of recording the personal history of an individual with the adventures of his pilgrimage. This may be accomplished by great powers of description, or by reflection on what is seen or heard, that is, by observations on the social and political state of foreign countries. In these days of pictorial representation and advancement in every branch of that art, the province of scenery is taken away from the traveller unless he handles the pencil or brush, or otherwise is enabled to make the fine arts subservient to his purpose. This however is not Mr. Laing's object, nor his turn of mind, as we shall presently discover; therefore he has chosen the legitimate object of making all his talents aid the science of political economy. For fifty years he has been a traveller in Europe, and knew Hamburgh when its senators wore powdered wigs, velvet coats, silk breeches, gold shoe-buckles, and drove about in gilt coaches of antique shape. Peruques and the pomp of ancient days have been laid aside, and Europe presents another state of things, linked to her social life for better or for worse. The whole condition of modern Europe, as compared with England, comes in review in the course of this work, and many questions of great interest at the present time are most powerfully discussed. The conclusions which Mr. Laing arrives at are attained by a very different process in many respects from what would be followed up by a member of the English Church, but their innate truth is often a confirmation of views held by persons from whom Mr. Laing would much differ. His conclusions are radically opposed to modern government schemes, on much the same ground that the Church party would adopt; and the very fact that he is himself a presbyterian, proves that this opposition not only arises from the imaginations and dreams of a particular school, as a bold adherence to church principles still makes its defenders liable to be called; but from some fundamental error in the social philosophy of modern governments. The great questions that attract his attention are some of them remediable and still matters of choice, while others are certain visible consequences from certain past events already

too fixed to be at all matters of controversy, and the discussion of which is chiefly of use as pointing out the evils which result, in order that some of their tendencies may be checked.

Of the latter kind, is the great land question, from which Mr. Laing traces the distinctive marks of modern politics throughout the continent. During the last half century the whole land of France has passed from its original possessors, and become divided into small portions belonging to peasant proprietors. This state of things viewed in the abstract has some advantages, but many evils. Both sides of the question are fully stated in this work, but no opinion definitely expressed, as to which on the whole answers best; nor indeed is it a practical question as long as rights of property are respected; and if such rights are violated, we can hardly expect that any system will have a fair trial. England still maintains her large landed proprietors, while the continent has swept them away. It is therefore a question of great interest to trace the various results of such opposite conditions. On abstract grounds there is much to be said in favour of small holdings, but in connexion with other subjects of political interest it is found the parent of great disorder. The middle class is thereby destroyed, and there is no intervening influence between the governing power and the mass of the people; nothing to represent moral and social order as of spontaneous growth, and as the natural condition of man. The bare nakedness of physical force is clearly seen in imperial edicts, which work directly on the private habits of a people, and the foundations of tyranny are most effectually laid if a system of this kind is established. In England the whole people in their various positions and ranks of life appear to go on naturally and easily as if by themselves, only appealing to authority to correct certain crimes, and amend errors of social politics as they are discovered. Government, according to the spirit of our constitution, is a visitorial rather than a direct power; it presupposes inherent laws of moral and social life, and it is only concerned to see those laws carried out. Its power is really the greater for this unseen character of acting through a medium, and not by direct instruments. An English subject does not trace every action of daily life to an act of parliament; he has no government official always at his elbow, backed by the whole force of an imperial army; but he rests securely on abstract principles of justice, and considers it his birthright to have just cause of complaint if such principles are violated with regard to himself, by Kings, Lords, or Commons. This state of things necessarily implies a large and influential class between the governing and the governed, and the recognition of independent interests as the

immediate source of all the actions that make up our daily existence. Each individual is thus left free, and only interfered with in case he injures his neighbour. A third class is indeed necessary, under all circumstances, between the supreme power and the people; the question then is really this: shall this third, this middle body, be direct functionaries of government, or shall they be independent agents? On this depends true liberty. If every change of government affects with galvanic shock the whole fabric of a nation, it cannot be said that the people are free; we require, as it were, springs and buffers, to break the shock which would otherwise go so rudely throughout the whole train of interests. Even the representative power is nothing to the freedom from caprice which independent rights insure to the people themselves. The House of Commons indeed is chiefly of use to preserve this liberty to others, and it is not its province to assume an executive power inconsistent with such rights; yet the whole system of modern Europe, since the almost completed annihilation of the aristocracy and landed interests, is such, that this middle class is composed of paid government officers, whose daily bread depends on the smile of government. It is the Prussian system of *functionarism* that is the modern bugbear of Europe; it is this we have to resist, and it is this which forms the great point of attack in the book before us. Again and again does Mr. Laing come round to the same point. His honest indignation against this system, which eats away the vitality of human independence, is amusing from its very pertinacity. He abhors and detests a *functionary* as an evil genius of mankind. He rejects their best offers of assistance, and cares neither for protection from enemies, nor for the education of the poor, nor the stability of government, if supported and encouraged by such means, because he has no confidence in the reality of their discipline, and had rather trust to blind confusion than a hungry and servile array of placemen, servile, that is, to those above them in office, but arrogant enough to the helpless sheep driven about by these civic pastors.

In contrast to such a condition of the public service Mr. Laing appeals to England with almost too free an admiration, picturing in too high colours the prosperity and luxury of our humbler classes. He knows Prussia and France better than England; still, in the main, he is right, though partial in his home knowledge. He also excludes some other considerations that should come into the science of political economy. He is an honest presbyterian, and according to his light gives open expression to a natural shrewdness of observation and a great power of tracing social effects to their causes. His fair and

hearty love of justice compels him indeed in many instances to state results and expound views that he but faintly attempts to reconcile with sentiments elsewhere expressed. There is a poverty in his defence of the religious theory adopted by him, and a strength in his frank acknowledgments of the obligations we are under to the Church, that leave an impression by no means hostile towards one who yet totally and radically opposes every vestige of authority to a visible Church. He is consistent, and sublimates his own theories till they amount to a confession of more value to his opponents than his friends: thus he refines true Christian worship to such a spiritual and intellectual service, that he is obliged to throw over Calvin and Luther alike, as, after all, not being Apostles. The æsthetic principle he repudiates to an extent that will gain few admirers, and perhaps only suggest the consideration whether there may not be some truth in his assertion, that there is no mean between his idea of spiritual worship and a tangible belief in a visible Church, called by him indeed popery, but equally applicable to our Church according to his views of faith and practice. He damages moreover the religious argument on the æsthetic principle, by the boldness with which he casts off the influence of the fine arts generally from being of any advantage to the human race. Architecture indeed he professes to admire, but exults in the inferiority of English public buildings. Painting also he thinks good and estimable in its way, where Raphael is the artist: but any general application of taste and external beauty, as tending to elevate the mind, he discards as unworthy of any comparison with the smallest consideration of comfort, or even of being reconcileable with the habits of a people in any high state of civilisation. Music however is Mr. Laing's especial abhorrence: not even Beethoven can find a term of respect from him. 'The human animal somchow does not seem to thrive,' he says, 'upon the cup of coffee, the pipe of tobacco, the *dolce far niente*, and a sonata of Beethoven.' Even the humble attempt at music in the presbyterian Church of Scotland he condemns, consisting (and we cannot say we should much admire it ourselves) of each verse of a psalm being read and then sung without any regard to continuity of tune. Again and again he inveighs against music, and would grant but little occupation for the Hullah system if his social plans were carried out. Now this peculiar obliquity of Mr. Laing's mind arises first from his being a presbyterian, secondly from an innate deadness to any influence from external beauty himself, and thirdly from his hatred of Germans, who are musical, and otherwise given to the fine arts. We might also add that he belongs to a former school of education, when the arts were

only considered as pretty playthings for idle people, but unworthy of practical men.

With this moral deficiency apparent in all that Mr. Laing says, his whole line of argument is generally sound, and his conclusions most valuable. One element indeed is wanting, but he so far gives us the idea of himself feeling this want, of leaving a vacancy in his scheme for something to fill, and of almost suggesting the true remedy, that next to the witness of a thorough Churchman we find most truth in him, and this book we suspect will be more referred to by the Church party than by his own fellow-presbyterians.

It is time, however, that we introduce a few definite subjects on which he gives us the benefit of his observations.

The foundation and object of the present work is to trace the effect of subdivision of land on the continent; and first he dwells on the advantages of this system as witnessed in Flanders, where we may look on it as an abstract question, unconnected with any great recent spoliation of Church or nobility, the land having been thus divided for many generations.

The argument in favour of small divisions of land, under peasant-proprietors, is the superior cultivation which is thus induced:—

'Here, in Flanders, from Calais, by St. Omer, to Lisle, Belgium, and Prussia, a route as well known to English travellers as the road from London to York, the division of the land into small estates of working peasant-proprietors is painted upon the face of the country. The whole expanse is like a carpet, divided into small compartments of different shades and hues of green, according to the different crops of which each farmer has a little patch on his little estate. Two different kinds of crop may often be seen on one rig, or bed; and five or six acres together under one kind of crop, are not common. There being no hedges or inclosures, no grass fields for pasture, and no uncultivated corners or patches, the whole country looks like one vast bleach-field, covered with long webs of various colours and shades. The land is evidently divided into very small portions of property. The traveller cannot be mistaken in this observation. Now, as this state of property is of old standing here in Flanders, and not, as in the rest of France, an arrangement of recent date, what have been the results on the material condition of the people, or their agriculture, in the first place, on the amount of constant employment it affords them, on their numbers in proportion to their means of subsistence, on their food, lodging, clothing, on their moral and intellectual character? The condition of the people here must be the type of that to which the whole of Europe, excepting Great Britain, is tending, and which will be universal on the Continent in a few generations.'—P. 19.

The produce of this system is then described as follows:—

'Will any Scotch farmer, "of capital and skill," from the Lothians, venture to say that he has his farm of 200 or 300 acres in such good heart, in such a clean garden-like condition, so free from weeds, and carrying all over it such luxuriant crops, and producing so much food per

acre for man and beast, as an equal number of the acres now before me in this tract of country? Has any farmer in Scotland or England such crops of red clover, lucerne, and other green succession crops, as are now, in spring, being cut, or coming on for being cut, in succession, on these small patches of farms, for the summer stall-feeding of cattle in the house? There are no cattle in the fields, and no pasture-fields for them, in the ordinary course of husbandry, on these small estates. All are kept in-doors, in summer as well as in winter; and all the land, not in grain crops, is under green crops, for their support. The fodder is cut and carried to the cattle, fresh, twice a-day, and the cutting and carrying employs the whole family. This stall-feeding of cattle all summer in-doors, and the saving thereby of the manure, which is the object of it, during six months of the year in which the manure is positively thrown away by our system of pasturage in fields of permanent, or of second or third year's sown grass, is a husbandry scarcely known among our large farmers. It may, indeed, be reasonably doubted if it would be practicable on a large farm. To cut and carry green fodder for half a dozen cattle, by the labour of the family, is an operation very different in expense from hiring labour to cut and carry the whole summer fodder of the cattle-stock of a large farm. In gardening and husbandry, and even in trade and manufactures, there are operations which are practicable and profitable on a small scale, but which would not be so on a great scale; and many answer well on a great scale, which would not answer at all in a small way.'—Pp. 20—22.

The question which next occurs after this comparison, is the ultimate purpose of land, and its obligation to support the various classes of a social community as well as to pay rent. If land is only looked upon as paying rent, that land of course which cannot pay rent is left uncultivated, though still it might support a population without that charge upon their labours:—

'What cannot afford rent to the landlord, and profit to the tenant, as well as a subsistence to the labourer, cannot be taken into cultivation at all, until the better sort of land becomes so scarce that the inferior must be resorted to, and, from the scarcity and consequent dearness of the better, can afford a rent and profit also. This appears to be the glimmering of meaning in the foggy theory of rent given us by our great political economists. They forget that God Almighty did not create the land for the purpose of paying rents to country gentlemen, and profits to gentlemen farmers, but to subsist mankind by their labour upon it; and that a very large proportion of the land of this world, which never could be made to feed the labourers on it, and to yield besides a surplus of produce affording rent and profits to another class, could very well subsist the labourers, and in a comfortable civilised way too, if that were all it had to do. It could produce to them food, fuel, clothing, lodging, or value equivalent to these requirements of civilised subsistence, but could not produce a surplus for rent, and profit, over and above their own civilised subsistence.'—Pp. 25, 26.

Our author's freedom in discussing Caledonian virtue and wisdom is entertaining, and shall tell its own tale to our readers in the following extract:—

'What a cackling and braying, some forty years ago, at agricultural dinners, farmers' clubs, and county meetings, about Scotch farming! From Thursowater to the river Trent, the land resounded with the praises

of Scotch farming, Scotch leases, and Scotch rents. The Sir Johns and Sir Josephs of those days, with a board of agriculture at their tails, were flapping their wings and screaming with delight at the vast improvements to be effected by the Scotch system of land-letting and farming. If printed paper were as good to lay upon land as bone-dust or guano,—and probably it may,—a large proportion of the arable land of the united kingdoms might have been top-dressed with agricultural reports, transactions of the honourable board, farmers' journals, and treatises on Scotch husbandry. Improving is one thing, improvement is another; and the two do not always run together abreast, or follow each other in tandem. What has been the improvement, what the benefit to the great mass of the people of Scotland, by this improving? Rents, it will at once be answered, have been doubled, trebled, quadrupled, since it began, some sixty years ago; and as the large farmers, or tenants of adequate capital and skill, who pay those increased rents, are also making greater profits, as well as their landlords higher rents, it is evident that the land is now sending greater quantities of food to market, that there is a corresponding improvement, in short, in the productiveness of the land; and Swift or Burke has told us, that he is a benefactor of mankind, and has accomplished a great improvement for society, who makes two ears of corn grow where only one grew before. But softly. Let us examine this proposition. What is pithily said is not therefore necessarily true. One should be always on his guard against these well-said and pithily expressed sayings. Unless in mathematics and religion, there is no squeezing a general truth into the nut-shell of an axiom. Swift or Burke, or whoever said it, forgot, that unless those who raise the two ears of corn can also eat them, or enjoy, at least, a part and portion in them, it is no improvement in their condition, and they are the great mass of the population of a country, but only a benefit and improvement to the small body of landowners, and great tenants, to whom the corn belongs.'—Pp. 26, 27.

The fruits of this system are then canvassed:—

'Scotland has now enjoyed, for more than half a century, this improving process; and what is called the Scotch system of land-letting, and farming, has extended over the whole country. What has been the improvement, physical or moral, in the condition of the great mass of her population? Rents of land, it is true, have doubled, trebled, quadrupled; and the agricultural population being driven into the towns,—Glasgow, Edinburgh, Paisley, Greenock, Dundee, Aberdeen,—have doubled, trebled, quadrupled. The aggregate population of these six towns alone has risen, since 1801, from 262,274 souls, to 665,967 in 1841. Are not these towns great social excrescences in a country with only 2,620,000 inhabitants? In 1841 it was reckoned that there were only 141,243 families employed in agriculture, which, at four and a half persons for each family, would amount to an agricultural population, in all Scotland, of 636,093 persons, or somewhat less than the population of six of her towns. Is this a sound and wholesome distribution of employment and population in a country? Is it from want of land that so few families are subsisted by agricultural employment? The total area of Scotland is estimated at 20,586,880 acres, of which 9,039,930 are considered not susceptible of cultivation, being lakes, mountain-tops, rocks, &c.; and of the remaining 11,546,950 acres, 5,485,000 acres are cultivated, and 6,061,950 acres are uncultivated, the latter, however, yielding rent and profit, as sheep-farms, shooting-grounds, or deer-preserves, although not yielding employment and subsistence, as in former times, when the Highlands were a peopled country. There appears to be but one family employed in Scotland on every eighty-two

acres of the land capable of cultivation, and only one employed for every thirty-nine acres of the actually cultivated land. The great question here belongs to a higher science than political economy—to social philosophy. It is not whether more or better agricultural produce is sent to market by the one system than by the other, but whether it be a better social arrangement for the permanent well-being of a nation, that six hundred thousand only, of a population of two millions and a half, should be employed on the cultivation of the land of a country, and the rest of the mass of its working population be dependent, for the means to buy subsistence, on the manufacture and sale of cotton, iron, and other goods, for distant, foreign, and uncertain markets; or whether it would be a better arrangement of society, that the land of the country should employ and subsist the mass of its inhabitants, and only the smaller proportion be altogether dependent for employment, and food, on the sale, in the foreign or even in the home market, of the products of their work.'—Pp. 35, 36.

The moral condition of the Scotch here comes in for a few remarks, and a calculation is given of the quantity of whisky consumed during that day on which 'religious Edinburgh' allows no railway travelling, and protests against any work in the post-office. We will state this calculation in our own form; reckoning that 10,000*l.*, or thereabouts, would liberally build and tolerably endow a church not unworthy of the capital of the north; Edinburgh might do this month by month, if its inhabitants would deposit their Sunday drinking money in a fund for this purpose. The population of Scotland is 2,620,184, and consumes 5,595,186 gallons of spirits, while England with her 15,000,000, only consumes one third more.

The two systems of farming are compared with respect to the inhabitants they support, by taking an instance of a certain quantity of land in each case. It is calculated, that in East Lothian, 1600 acres would support in the first place a landed proprietor of 4,000*l.* a year: (high rent according to English notions!) then eight farmers, each of whom would employ on the whole what would amount to ten labourers, although even this with no regularity. The Flanders side of the picture is stated thus:—

'Here the whole 1600 acres must be in garden-farms of five or six acres; and it is evident that in the amount of produce from the land, in the crops of rye, wheat, barley, rape, clover, lucerne, and flax for clothing material, which are the usual crops, the 1600 acres, under such garden-culture, surpass the 1600 acres under large-farm cultivation, however good, as much as a kitchen-garden surpasses in productiveness a common field. On the 1600 acres here in Flanders, or Belgium, instead of eight farmers with their eighty farm-servants, there will be from 300 to 320 families, or from 1400 to 1600 individuals, each family working its own piece of land, and with some property in cows, sheep, pigs, utensils, and other stock in proportion to their land, and with constant employment and a secure subsistence on their own little estates.'—P. 39.

Many difficulties, however, occur to this system of division; nor is the question a practical one in the sense of having any

choice to make between one and another. And however great our author makes the advantages to be of small tenements, yet the main object of his book is to prove the evils of dispensing with the class of large landed proprietors, and otherwise shaking the established framework of society. One difficulty, however, in the abstract argument, is that evil reference for the ill-success of every thing, that great bugbear of all schemes, that great disappointment and snare to all politicians, moralists, and economists,—we mean, of course, Ireland. The division of land in Ireland certainly has not produced the happy results ascribed to it in Flanders. But it is said that in Ireland the small holdings do not give the stimulus to industry which is felt with actual proprietorship. It is time, however, to change the subject when we find ourselves immerged in a question of Irish industry, so we pass on to a difficulty that will occur even in Flanders, and it is not fully explained how, even there, the difficulty is encountered. Each generation will subdivide the paternal acres till nothing remains, or charges and mortgages will reduce the proceeds below subsistence. In France this process is rapidly taking place even since the revolution. The question thus arises, of what means there are to dispense with a surplus population, and prevent younger sons from being burdensome to the land; for every five acres would have its son and heir, and its younger members of a family, claiming jointures and re-enacting the burdens of a higher class. In truth, the state of small peasant proprietors is not a progressive social state, for this very reason, that no allowance is made for increase of numbers; it is a state of finality and leads to nothing. Each little farm does every thing for itself; makes its own food and raiment, and in so doing is isolated from any higher wants, or the more polite habits of civilized life. There is no home trade, no manufactures to absorb young men of energy and talent spared from other pursuits, and there are few occupations that supply the luxuries of life. The subdivision of land seems to operate against the subdivision of labour, and therefore against the highest amount of productiveness. The dress and manners of the people of Flanders are a striking contrast to England, who divides her labour between agriculture and manufactures more completely than any other country.

Their primitive habits are thus described:—

'Their houses, furniture, clothing, diet, utensils, and even modes of working, are fixed and regulated by ancient custom, from which no individual can deviate, without in a manner losing caste. The traveller often comes into a district in which all the inhabitants are clothed in one peculiar distinct costume, often of very antique fashion, and generally of home-made materials. He may always conclude that the district is one in which the occupancy of the land by small peasant-proprietors is of ancient stand-

ing, and predominant. These local costumes on the Continent are very interesting to the antiquary. They represent frequently the very dress, both in fashion and material, worn by the higher classes in the early part of the middle ages, before silks and fine cloths, or stuffs from Lombardy or Flanders, were generally diffused, and had driven the home-made materials of clothing, and the fashion of garments they were applied to, from the upper to the lower ranks of the people. The costume in some parts of the Continent is the same, at the present day, as the garb of noble dames and knights, represented on ancient tombstones, or in carvings, tapestry, and missals. The flower-girls at Hamburgh, from the Vierländer on the Elbe, and the females of the Probstei, a district on the Baltic coast between Kiel and Lubeck, with their bunchy jupes, or petticoats like a Highlander's philibeg, scarcely reaching below the knee, but with a profusion of folds and plaits, making up, in the ample latitude of this indispensable garment, for the alarming deficiency in its longitude, are the very figures on the brasses and sculptured monuments in ancient cathedrals. These local costumes have an interest also for the social economist: they are a standard of clothing which regulates in these several districts the expense, preparation, and labour to be bestowed upon the apparel of every individual of a class which comprehends almost the whole population. The costume is the same for all in materials, pattern, and colour, whatever may be the diversity in the wealth of the individuals. The Dutch boor in North Holland, who possesses shares in East India-men, is not distinguishable in dress from the boor who has only his house and piece of land. Costume is not confined to dress: it extends to the furniture, the household goods, the housekeeping, the diet, the farm work. A sameness and equality are deemed necessary for respectability: nor is this common standard in dress very low; ornaments of silver, such as buckles, clasps, and dangling rows of buttons to some value, are worn in some districts by all respectable peasants. Gold earrings, lace, amber necklaces, enter into the common female attire in others. In Holland, and from Groningen to Embden, and northwards to the Elbe and Eyder, in the Frisian branch of the population, every girl, to be respectably dressed even in the station of a servant-maid, must have a frontlet or thin clasp of gold across her forehead. These are checks which society forms for itself upon improvidence in marriage, or extravagance in living. A man who cannot afford those articles deemed respectable and necessary in his station, cannot marry without visible imprudence, or find a woman to marry him.'—Pp. 84, 85.

Under its best circumstances, we must confess that the small proprietor system is not progressive. Probably no class among ourselves is more ignorant than that of very small farmers, and those possessed of a few acres of land. No condition affords less spare time for the higher callings of our nature, and for intellectual pursuits. If a certain primitive character can be maintained through its means, as in Flanders, it is certainly an object of interest, but most impracticable as a model of imitation. Every nation that has adopted it is now full of its evils. But Mr. Laing gives no clue to the reason of its continuance in Flanders. He dwells on the absence of a middle class as its great mischief, and he acknowledges the Church to have supplied that middle element in former days: may not then the peculiar strength of the Church's authority in Flanders up to

this day be yet the means of counteracting some of those evils that are rampant in other places from the same causes? Does not the Belgian Church occupy the moral position of an influential landed proprietory? and is not the whole country a sort of reminiscence handed down to us of former times, from which, however, it would be difficult to take one element that constitutes its peculiarity, and transplant it to another climate or moral atmosphere?

The question of surplus population leads Mr. Laing to a disquisition on emigration, which has some truth in it, but not quite a fair statement of its merits. He is against emigration as any remedy for over-population, as any alleviation to those that remain at home, or any good to the emigrants themselves. To make up for those that go, a stimulus is given, he says, to marriage by their departure that soon supplies their number. This may be true, if emigration is merely desired as a means of keeping down the population; but its inability to do this is no argument against it, if it is the means of extending the human family in other parts of the world under circumstances of comfort and utility, at the same time allowing fresh branches to spring up in their room at home. As to the benefit enjoyed by emigrants themselves, this must rest on matters of fact rather than conclusions of any home philosopher. Mr. Laing cautions all labourers or small capitalists from being taken in by land companies. We would, of course, give the same caution against being *taken in;* but it is undeniable that emigration has bettered the condition of thousands, and is the obvious tendency of the human race from the beginning of the world. The argument, that the expense in shipping to send emigrants out is more than any value received, we must think founded on an idea inconsistent with any large view of human energy, as the means of extending the welfare of our race. There is truth in the following remarks, though by no means conclusive on the subject:—

'I will give him another cogent reason against emigration. This nation of ours is past that stage in its social condition in which a people can throw off agricultural colonies from the main body. Two hundred years ago, when the peopling of the old American colonies was going on, the great mass of the population of the mother-country was essentially agricultural; but every working-man could turn his hand to various kinds of work, as well as to the plough. He was partly a smith, carpenter, wheelwright, stone-mason, shoemaker. The useful arts were not, as now, entirely in the hands of artisans bred to no other labour but their own trade or art; very expert, skilful, and cheap producers, in that; but not used to, or quainted with, any other kind of work. This inferior stage of civilisation, which men were not co-operative to the same extent as now, but every did a little at every thing, and made a shift with his own unaided kmanship and production, was a condition of society very favourable

to emigration-enterprise, and to colonisation. It continues still in the United States, and is the main reason why their settlers in the backwoods are more handy, shift better for themselves, and thrive better than the man from this country, who has been all his life engaged in one branch of industry, and in that has had the co-operation of many trades preparing his tools and the materials for his work. Another advantage for emigration in that state of society which we in Britain have entirely outgrown, was, that the female half of the population contributed almost as much as the male half to the subsistence of a family, especially an emigrant family; and produced, by work in the household, what made or saved money. I should like to know if one emigrant father of an English family in ten thousand could say, in our days, to his wife and daughters:—"Here, my dears, I have brought you the fleeces of our score of sheep that I have been shearing this morning. You will take them and sort the wool, and card it, and spin it, and weave it, and waulk it, and dye it, and shape it, and sew it, and do all other needful operations with it, to make a coat for me, and petticoats for yourselves against winter; for it is not worth travelling a score miles to sell a few stones weight of wool to the merchant, and the price would go but a small way in buying our woollen clothing. And here, my dears, is our rig of flax just fit for pulling; you will turn to and pull it, bind it, steep it, rot it, skutch it, hackle it, spin it, weave it, bleach it; and if we have more linen than we need ourselves, we can sell a web or two of it to the town's-people." The mistress would probably reply:—"John, I never did any such work with wool or flax, and I don't know how it should be done. My grandmother, indeed, had all such work done in her family; and, besides, could brew, and bake, and make cheese, soap, candles, and a thousand things that I and my daughters never did, or saw done; because, long before my day, such house work went out of fashion in every family, high or low. Home-made cloth was too coarse for the poorest to wear, and cottons, and factory-made cloths of all kinds were finer, better, and cheaper. We can wash, sow, cook, make the beds, and sweep the house; but we never learnt to spin, or weave, or knit, or bleach, or dye, or do any work that brings in money; because the factory did all such work in England far better and cheaper than single-handed women."'—Pp. 67—69.

The answer to such reasoning should be, that if we are a race absolutely requiring each other's co-operation to obtain the comforts of life, (as it is to be hoped we are, for such is the intention of man), we should emigrate together, that is we should *colonize*. The question does not affect emigration in the abstract, but the particular mode of carrying it out. There is no reason why division of labour should not become habitual in one part of the world as well as in another. However, we again express our agreement that emigration is futile as a means of lowering the population, even if that were desired; but its value must be maintained as an important means of adding a field to human energy, and thus to human happiness. It is for those who go, not for those who remain, that we would most desire emigration, and as at present we are more concerned with discussing the social state of the old world, we shall omit further consideration of new lands and newly formed people through the instrumentality of emigration.

We return, then, to the comparison between England with

the old system still retained, of an influential body of landed proprietors, as a third moral element between the governing power and the governed, and modern Europe; with that class swept away, leaving in its place a rather harsh and grating directness of communication throughout the whole social community. The comparison instituted by Mr. Laing is sound and correct in principle, but his preference for the English system carries him into rather exaggerated statements of the happiness, the comfort and the well-being of our poor. He draws a picture of every cottage deriving the greatest advantage from the high cultivation of useful sciences among us. The class below the enjoyment of our increased facility in procuring cheap clothes and food, he makes a small minority, a few dregs at the bottom of society, to be lamented over indeed, but patiently endured with as the inevitable fate of mankind. But is it so? He carries the same argument also into the condition of English morals. Immorality and severe poverty, he considers to be prominently brought forward by writers of statistics, or by the state of London in some localities, but this he denies to be any fair criterion of the mass of the working class among us, whom he pictures as living in neatness and cleanliness, with daily advantage from all the useful arts of life. Music or taste, or such unnecessary things, he does not claim for them, but he is satisfied that their physical condition is very high.

'If we compare these civilising tastes and the means to form and gratify them, of the common labouring man in England and on the Continent, the balance appears to be considerably in favour of our social state. Look into the dwelling of the English working man, who is earning the average wages of labour in regular employment, and how many articles we see for comfort, cleanliness, and home use and enjoyment, which we miss in the dwelling of the German or French labourer! We overlook them in England, because they are so common. We miss them abroad, because they are considered indispensable in the poorest English dwelling. The labouring man in England, although more ignorant, is more civilised by his tastes, habits, and wants, than the Continental man of the same station in life. His tastes, habits, and wants, are on a higher scale. His ignorance even is principally in matters without his own sphere of action; but in matters within it, in all that regards his own craft and business, he is more clever, acute, and knowing, than the much more highly educated man of the same trade abroad. If we approach the question nearer, and examine the means of gratifying the tastes and wants of civilised life, and the burdens which press upon those means in the social condition of the Continental and of the English working man, the balance of means, as well as of tastes for a state of well-being, appears considerably in favour of the latter. It is the common theme of foreign travellers who visit England, and of many superficial observers among ourselves, that the social state of the English nation is a monstrous junction of boundless wealth, extravagance, and luxury above, and of utter destitution, misery, and suffering below. They look only at the upper and lower strata of the social mass,

and do not perceive that all between the two is densely filled up with incomes and earnings of every amount and every fractional difference, from the highest, the thousands or tens of thousands a year, down to zero. There is no vacuum in the mass between the top and the bottom, as in the social state of the Continent.'—Pp. 295, 296.

Again, on the subject of morals, he is satisfied to pass over a few apparent obstacles to his advocated excellence of England, with remarks such as the following:—

'We hear much of the vice and profligacy of London, and the theme is not altogether new. *Nemo in ea sine crimine virit*, said Richard of Devizes concerning London in the twelfth century. It is a standing-dish, like muffins and buttered toast, at the tea-table of every spinster who sits down with the curate and five serious ladies of fifty, to deplore the adulteration of Bohea and the moral depravity of mankind. The truth is, that the clergyman in his parish, the magistrate in his district, the overseer, constable, or police officer in his ward or walk, has an official propensity to describe his own circle of duty and action as among people the most vicious, depraved, and turbulent within the bills of mortality, the most difficult to be kept in order, sunk in ignorance, vice, and misery, every street teeming with thieves and abandoned women, and society only held together by his own unseen and not sufficiently apprcciated wisdom and exertions. The statistical writer, too, and the legislator in small, are nothing loth to give the interest of enormity and magnitude to their statements of the vice and profligacy of the lower orders in London; and some of them lay it pretty thick on the public credulity.'—P. 276.

We wish, indeed, the facts of our poor population could be thus easily explained. Mr. Laing is right to a certain extent, enough so for his argument, but his zeal in drawing the comparison carries him beyond what is necessary. He will have England perfect when engaged on this subject, and forgets the evil resulting from those very things which in a former part of his book he much dwells on when discussing the division of land, such as the crowding together into towns, and the economy of labour in the cultivation of land. There is truth, we say, in this favourable estimate of the general benefit of English comforts and manufactures. There is an immense class, one on which the prosperity of our land depends, and which forms the characteristic of our social condition, respectable in morals and enjoying many advantages, and realizing the following description:—

'Our middle class householder will have of household goods about him, carpets, mahogany chairs, tables, chests of drawers, curtained beds, washhand stands, crockeryware in abundance, and good cutleryware; and in his stock of wearing apparel, shirts, drawers, stockings, handkerchiefs, and such articles, whether seen or unseen, in comfortable plenty. The continental man of the same middle class and means, will often be deficient in a good stock of the unseen habiliments, but will have a shirt pin, a chain, a ring, of quite as much value as all the articles of an Englishman's wardrobe put together. In his dwelling there may be a distressing deficiency of washhand basons, ewers, chamber-pots, mugs, bowls, dishes, but there

will be an elegant vase or ornament of porcelain, which has cost as much as all that we miss of earthenware for use and comfort would have done.' —P. 122.

Large however as this class may be, and even granting that industry may almost invariably raise a working man to some participation in its privileges; yet, the numbers who cannot have the physical comforts which it is Mr. Laing's boast to make universal, are far too numerous to be passed over as the mere dregs, or to be only looked upon as objects of compassion—they being necessary elements to deal with in forming any system that would explain our social state as a nation. There is a blot in our polity, which does cause some to be very badly off indeed in the midst of great abundance. It may be necessary that such a stimulus to industry should exist as the visible misery of a careless life even to the third and fourth generation. But we have not to resign ourselves to such dispensations of Providence, as a ready excuse for want of compassion or exertion to procure relief. We must do good to others, and leave Providence to work out her immutable laws. This she does through us, but it is not our place to be self-appointed judges of what the practical effect of those laws in each particular should be. To give up a whole class to misery under this plea, is not allowable in the science of political economy. Such a process of excommunication is very extreme, and is only a plea in case of the most energetic and violent demonstration of vice. We shall not enter upon statistics, but appeal to each one's individual knowledge, both as to the comfort and morality of our poor, and as to the largeness of that class below any sensible enjoyment of those small comforts happily so cheap in this country. Look at agricultural districts where a large family depends on irregular work at sixteen-pence a day. Suppose, as a political economist must realize in order to be practical, that the man is helpless and the wife ignorant. What enjoyment of these boasted comforts have they? And is this an isolated case? Happily it is not the common position of our labourers, but it is the position of so many that they form an item of our social state. Moreover, where poverty exists in a country like this, it is more wretched, for the very reason that comforts are cheaply procured. Food and clothes are cheap, and in order that they may be so, everything is on the principle of hand to mouth, and no capital lies dormant as a reserve fund. In a more primitive and less cooperative age, each family, from the fact that they did many processes for themselves which now are done for them, had a certain stock generally on hand, that would carry them on for a short time through trouble or sickness. Take the item of clothing. Home-spun linen and thick

outer garments, are more expensive than calico for the dress of women and children, nor should we desire to see the neatness and cleanliness of modern costumes interfered with; but yet they have more wear in them, will last longer, and therefore are a sort of capital with which the possessor can go on for a long time, if circumstances prevent the acquisition of anything new: whereas, if the supply is stopped in the case of more fragile articles, the effect is immediate and rags soon appear. Dress is thus more equable throughout the whole class of poor in proportion to the solidity of the fabric used; and the very cause of superior neatness and cleanliness in those who are industrious and fortunate, is also the cause of extreme misery in others. If misfortune comes on when there is no stock of clothing but a few cotton articles, they soon decay and leave their wearers in a miserable plight. Extremes meet, and the present style of dress among the poor causes the greatest possible neatness, and also the most abject wretchedness in appearance. What is there more forlorn, more actually savage and barbarous to behold, than the rags of cotton dresses, and the whole costume of some creatures, that occasionally appear in the outlets of narrow alleys in some parts of London? There is a horror and a wildness about some of these inhabitants of proud and luxurious London—Mr. Laing's model of respectability—that would make it an heroic adventure to penetrate through some unknown regions of woe, after the squalid multitude have returned to their hiding-places from the occupations of the day. This remarkable aspect of London dress in its lowest stage has been made notorious by the very name of ragged being applied to the schools where the children of the poorest class assemble. Almost as wretched is the tattered appearance of some agricultural families. Tall, lanky girls, growing out of ragged print dresses, with huge old shoes, and every variety of size and of decay ruling in other parts of their costume, present a total, in some instances, (we speak, of course, of very exceptional cases,) that will vie in grotesqueness with the wild Indian without his romance. But this is not the only evil resulting from the fashions of modern dress among the poor, great, and prevailing as its advantages are. The facility of procuring great variety of patterns and colours far outruns all taste. The young women of agricultural districts in olden times, having but little choice, could learn from their instinctive art of dress, how to manage that small variety; they would become familiar, and consequently at home with the little changes that they were able to adopt. But in these days few sights are more wretched than to see the tasteless and helpless way in which smart things are heaped together, with neither

comeliness of form, nor the slightest aim at proprieties of colour. Nor can anything exceed the uncomfortable awkwardness of their wearers, who seem longing all the time to throw these things off, and assume the scrubbing costume of the previous day. To manage the variety of dress at present exposed to the choice of almost all, requires a considerable degree of taste; and if that taste is not speedily acquired, we fear that the confusion of mind resulting from the abandonment of old proprieties of dress, without success in a higher school of the art, will implant a settled untidiness and deficiency of taste in our national character.

But we have digressed from the point of a substantial fabric in dress, forming a capital, on which to go on for a time, undisturbed by temporary deprivation. Many other things besides dress are open to the same argument. Furniture, and the whole arrangement of the houses of the poor, are neat to those who can keep them so; but, when poverty really pinches, there is soon not a chair, or table, or door, or window, but creaks and gives away, and tumbles to pieces, and represents a most uncomfortable home; whereas an older state of house arrangements would have lasted through long troubles, and afforded comfort to those, who now find food and raiment and every thing forsaking them together. Pottery, of which Mr. Laing says much, is certainly a most superior material from which to eat a dinner, to wooden bowls; but pottery soon breaks, whereas the latter will continue, when nothing but a broken edge of the former can be found.

With regard to the complacency with which Mr. Laing and other writers smoothe down the national character of England, as containing not only those good qualities which all allow it, and which are apparent, but also every other good and useful ingredient of man's better nature, though perhaps under a veil, and not very perceptible; we would appeal to many convictions that experienced authorities have arrived at, not very favourable to that faultless model which is represented. But our object is not to under-rate the English character, or take a low view of the superior comforts which the English enjoy above foreign countries; it is only, as a passing notice, to remind the readers of Mr. Laing, that our side of the picture is not without its blots, and, that however large the class who enjoy the benefit of his eloquently described sunshine of pots and calicos, yet, there are exceptions, which exceptions are, perhaps, more wretchedly deficient of physical proprieties, than a corresponding class in the continental picture. The argument however, in spite of these considerations, stands quite firm enough for Mr. Laing's conclusions. The amount of civilised comforts is very great,

and widely extended in England, but we would not also draw the conclusion, that if we are superior to continental habits in this respect, we are therefore to despise the taste for beauty and art, so prevalent among the French and Germans. For reasons already stated, we require an improvement in this respect, in order to take advantage of the profusion of material put in our way. It is to be remembered that our advantages are not of long growth, as they are the fruits principally of steam power, and therefore that we have not shown the practicability of using an abundance of manufactured articles without reference to taste, and simply with a view to comfort. This has yet to be proved, and the general effort now being made to improve design, and cultivate generally a love of art, does, we think, show a well-grounded opinion that some guiding principle of taste is much needed, to keep in order the exuberance of mechanical contrivances. 'Art is like a prudent steward, that lives on managing the riches of nature.' Many who *encourage* art, do indeed themselves ascribe but a small province to its usefulness; but, as long as the work is being done, we see cheering prospects of great social improvements to arise from it, whatever view may now be taken. Great abundance of material, great facility of ornament not under the direction of good taste, (which as a science of social life branches out in all the fine arts,) constitutes vulgarity—vulgarity, that is, of mind, equally to be found in all classes. This vulgarity arises from a confused state of mind, unable to have an intellectual command over personal arrangements gathered around us, so that all things may be proportioned one to another in proper quantities, and in harmonized relations. The want of this art is the fruitful cause of extravagance and general irregularity of mind, and is generally deteriorating to the character. Many evils arise from the want of art, as well as beneficial results from its cultivation as a polite exercise of the mind, and a wholesome occupation of time. With disagreements on points such as these, we can nevertheless safely place much reliance on Mr. Laing's observations of the social condition of England, compared with the continent, and with him ascribe much of our happiness to the success of England in rounding a point of universal History, on which many other nations have been stranded, she having thereby gained a start in the race of time. England maintains the middle class of independent property, whereas in other countries it has disappeared as the foundation of the governing power. No country in the world ever exhibited a more perfect theory of social life than ourselves, as far as means and physical opportunities are concerned; and it is well we should appreciate our

position, for it may be doubted if all take advantage of it, show proper contentment for it, or zeal in its defence.

The English constitution disguises the severity of law under a fatherly discipline. This principle not only appears in head quarters, as a paternal regimen admits not of unlimited centralization, for it implies a certain range, within which personal influences may be felt. Thus the personal and parental authority of the Crown does not only use *written law* for the implements of its will, but it is represented in its personal character; an independent item of itself is allotted to every degree of authority depending on a royal commission. Even the judges themselves, who have to deal only with direct appeals to the law, do not hold merely an official secretaryship, to carry out the law with the mechanical irresponsibility of a railway clerk; but they *personally* represent the Crown, and have the outward semblance of royal dignity attached to them, which would obviously be out of place on the mechanical theory. Again, in the case of magistrates, though justice is administered by them in a less formal manner, still the necessity for a certain local character in a magistrate, with a high qualification of property, and the disinterested object for which he acts, does most completely represent the personal care and protection supposed to reside in the Crown. A magistrate is an independent free agent, he has elbow room for a large exercise of personal influence and discretion in his legal position. He is not made ostentatiously the slave of parliament, but he has authority given as if for the exercise of his own supposed innate sense of right, although safeguards of course are at hand to check, with a visitorial power, any mistake he falls into. From the magistrate, look to those officials, who, from the necessity of the case, are immediate servants of the crown, acting by no delegated authority, but doing certain work according to the letter of their instructions, such for instance as tax-gatherers. How quietly and unobtrusively do these unwelcome guests perform their work, invested with no state ceremonials, or anything to remind the public of their existence beyond what is necessary! The authority which is prominently put before English subjects, is always a personal delegation of royal power, not a physical and irresponsible acting on orders given. An exception to this rule may be adduced in the army; but the position which the military hold in our constitution, only proves the point at issue more fully. In the first place, the army is supposed to be immediately attached to the Crown, in the character of personal attendants to represent its dignity and strength: and in the second place, it is not placed at all in connexion with acts of

parliament, nor does it interfere with private concerns, and is practically kept in absolute distinctness from civil affairs. These last affairs are left to the police, who have no acknowledged political *status* in our constitution. Freedom and liberty for the exercise of individual powers, both intellectual and moral, is the principle of our law. Our motions are not interfered with by police through any inquisitorial process, such as the passport system, or the *octroi* duty, and our consciences are not restrained otherwise than in a fatherly manner, or on very special occasions.

If such is the freedom of individuals, corporate bodies also enjoy the same by an equally binding charter of rights. They are not mechanical instruments of government any more than individuals. They have a power of free-will within themselves, and have a sphere of action wherein certain influence is allowed, as if responsible to no earthly authority,—for the visitorial power only comes in when that sphere is transgressed. This freedom of action is alike pleasant to live under, and philosophically correct as a principle of political economy; for, by it are enlisted a much larger range of human sympathies, and, therefore, of human energies in the great work of carrying on the affairs of a community, than is at all practicable under direct and absolute authority. The latter principle has no appeal to a large part of our nature, and therefore is wasteful of our powers.

This direct and constant superintendence of continental governments over the whole community, is illustrated in various ways by Mr. Laing. Starting from the condition of landed property, he first explains, as we have already considered, the absence of an independent middle class. The subdivision of land, and the small taste for those domestic comforts, which in England employ so many hands to supply, is then shown to have the effect of throwing on the world at large an immense number of young men, either waiting till their small inheritance comes to them, or without any expectations whatever; yet, with no advantageous employment—a burden thus on their neighbours. It follows from this, that such a state of society is necessarily warlike; for the material of war is always at hand in this unoccupied class of young men; and it also follows that, in one form or another, this same restless, irresponsible, active-minded, yet idle class, are the middle influence between government and people. In part, they are the middle influence, as forming a civil army of functionaries, and the military force as well, through the Landwehr system, and partly because their general position gives them great opportunities of exciting discontent. They are a terror to government in disturbed times, as readily as they are servile officials and expectants in peace.

We will first explain this with reference to the Landwehr system. The Prussian army is most differently constituted to the English, inasmuch as it is not a separate interest, but it is the whole population, and so far traces its origin to feudal times, with the important difference, that in those times, the barons were sufficiently independent to prevent their serfs being entirely at the call of a central government:

'The Prussian army consists of regiments of the line, or standing troops. This is considered the formation-school of the military force or army of the whole population of the country. Every male, without exception, in the whole population is bound to serve three years, between his twentieth and his twenty-fifth years, as a private in the ranks of a regiment of the line. The only exceptions are cases of bodily infirmity, and the clergy, schoolmasters, only sons of widows, and a few others; and the liability to serve is rather suspended than altogether abandoned by government in those exceptions. Property, rank, occupation, business, give no claim to exemption, and no substitutes or *remplaçants* are accepted of, as in the French conscription system. Every man must serve as a private in the ranks of a regiment of the line, whatever be his social position. The only allowance made is, that young men of property or of the higher classes and professions, who provide their own clothing, arms, and equipment at their own expense, may be permitted to serve in certain rifle or chasseur corps for one year only, instead of three, on a petition with sufficient reasons given for the indulgence required. After the three years' service in the line, the young man is turned over to his district Landwehr regiment of the *ersten Aufgeboth*, or, as we would call it, first for service. This division of the Landwehr force is considered the proper army; the troops of the line being its formation-school. It is liable, like the standing army, to serve in or out of the country; but in time of peace to save expense it is only embodied for manœuvre and exercise for a few weeks yearly. Its staff only is in constant pay. The division of the second *Aufgeboth*, or second for service, consists of all who have served their three years in the line, and their two years in the Landwehr of the first *Aufgeboth*, and are under forty years of age. These are considered trained soldiers, and men settled in occupations, and are therefore, in time of peace, only assembled in small divisions, and in their own localities, for a few days' exercise. The Landsturm consists of all not in the service, or discharged from it by the completion of their terms of service in the other divisions; and it is mustered and organized as well as the other divisions of the Landwehr force. The principle of the system is, that every Prussian subject, without exception, shall pass through a military training of three years, in the ranks of a regiment of the line, and shall then be available during his whole life as a trained soldier, in one or other of the divisions of the Landwehr force, according to his age and fitness for any military duty. A whole nation, with scarcely the exception of a single able-bodied man, and without exemption of class or station, passing through a military training of three years in the ranks of regiments of the line, and then formed into regiments from which, when engaged in civil occupations, the men are only as it were on furlough, or like soldiers in cantonments, and are called together, mustered, and exercised for several weeks in field manœuvres, gives an imposing impression of this military force. The perfection also of all the arrangements of this vast and complicated system, and the general fairness, impartiality, and economy with which it is worked, must raise the admiration of every traveller who inquires about the Landwehr. But is it a good military system? Is it a good social system?

'The military and social results are so blended together that they cannot be separately considered. The whole nation is an army; the army is not merely a class in the nation, more or less numerous according to the financial resources and political position of the state. The first observation that will occur to the social economist, on the slightest consideration of the Landwehr system, is that the system counteracts its own object. Here is an immense army on paper; but the means to move this immense army is in an inverse ratio to its numbers. The means of the state to bring this vast body of trained soldiers, or any considerable portion of them, into the field in actual warfare, are the financial resources of the country; money being the sinews of war. But the financial resources of every country depend upon the productive industry of the people, out of which alone taxes to the state proceed; and if the productive industry of the people be diminished by three years of their time and labour being taken up in military service, by so much is the means of the state to move this vast force in military operations diminished. The productive as well as the military time of life of the industrious man begins about twenty, and ends about fifty years of age. These thirty years are his capital stock; and whatever he contributes, directly or indirectly, to the finances of the state, must be earned within these thirty years, by the application of his time and labour to some kind of productive industry. If one-tenth of this time be taken from him, and consumed in military services, he is so much poorer, and the state is so much poorer. The indirect loss to both is probably as great as the direct loss; for a man cannot turn at once from the habits of military life to the habits of steady industry, and to the sedentary occupations of civil life. If he has gone through an apprenticeship, and learned a trade, before beginning his three years' service in a regiment, he must almost have to learn it over again after three years' disuse of his working tools and working habits. He can never become an expert quick workman in any handicraft. But besides his three years of continuous service at the age most important to form the habits of a working man, his time is broken in upon and his habits deranged every year by his military service of six or eight weeks in his Landwehr regiment. One-sixth probably of his working year is consumed before he can return to his working habits. All this is a dead loss to the state, as well as to the individual. It diminishes the capability of the aggregate body of individuals—the nation—to furnish the taxes necessary to move the numbers embodied and kept up as a Landwehr, in any military operation. If every war were, like that of 1813-15, a war to shake off the oppression of a foreign invader, in which every interest and feeling was roused to a mighty and enthusiastic effort to drive the oppressors across the Rhine, and in which English subsidies furnished to Prussia and the Continental powers the financial means for military operations, the Landwehr system might be the best and most suitable; but it appears a mistaken policy to continue in time of peace a military organization of the whole people, adapted only to the extreme and rarely occurring case of a struggle on the native soil, with the aid of foreign financial means, for property and all that men hold dear, and to establish it as the ordinary state of the whole population in time of peace and when the exigence is past in which it arose.

'The Landwehr system is probably a great mistake in military as well as social policy. Three years' continuous service in the ranks of a regiment may, no doubt, be quite sufficient to form the soldier in all that regards drill, manœuvre, appearance, and what may be called the bodily or physical attainments; but what is of more importance, the *morale* of the soldier, his habits, mind, character, if formed, cannot be kept up in civil life after his three years of service expire. He may go through all his military

exercises and duties of his new Landwehr regiment, during the six weeks it is embodied, as well as ever; but the soul and spirit of military life, the tie between soldier and officer, the knowledge of and confidence in each other, the tie of comradeship between soldier and soldier, the ties of attachment to the corps, its character, its honour, its colours, cannot be formed, or kept up if formed, by six weeks' parade and review exercise. The regiments of the line even, by their connexion with the Landwehr as its formation school, must be composed of a shifting soldiery, three-fourths of them either recruits in their first or second years' service, or men about leaving the regiment for ever, and returning, at the end of three years of service, to their homes and civil occupations.'—Pp. 239—244.

An army with political and great social influence, independent of its superior physical strength as a body of armed men, is most dangerous to liberty, and subversive of all true government. It was the imperial army that governed Rome, and the Prussian and French armies have assumed a tone of authority of late years, which threatens to hinder those countries for some time to come from attaining any great amount of social freedom.

Under a system such as the Landwehr the whole army may be classed as functionaries of the state; but the civil officers in every compartment are a special grievance, from the prominence into which they are brought, in consequence of being the only connecting link between the top and bottom of society. We refer however to Mr. Laing:—

'The Continental sovereigns, after the peace, and settlement of Europe in 1816, appear to have felt, as by a common instinct, that their kingly power was in a false position in the new social state which the general diffusion of landed property had produced. It wanted a barrier and a support. They all attempted, as by common accord, to create a third element in the social structure, and to replace the class of nobles possessing large landed property with more or less of the social influence belonging to such property, by substituting functionarism for aristocracy as a support of their thrones. A numerous body, a civil army of functionaries organized, and in subordination to chiefs of various departments, was quartered, like a military body, all over the country, although not required for any useful purpose or public benefit. Every imaginable and real social interest, religion, education, law, police, every branch of public or private business, personal liberty to move from place to place, even from parish to parish within the same jurisdiction, liberty to engage in any branch of trade or industry on a small or large scale, all the objects, in short, in which body, mind, and capital can be employed in civilised society, were gradually laid hold of for the employment and support of functionaries, were centralised in *bureaux*, were superintended, licensed, inspected, reported upon, and interfered with by a host of officials scattered over the land and maintained at the public expense, yet with no conceivable utility in their duties. They are not, however, gentlemen at large, enjoying salary without service. They are under a semi-military discipline. In Bavaria, for instance, the superior civil functionary can place his inferior functionary under house-arrest, for neglect of duty, or other offence against civil functionary discipline. In Würtemberg, the functionary cannot marry without leave from his superior. Voltaire says, somewhere, that, "the art of govern-

ment is to make two-thirds of a nation pay all it possibly can pay for the benefit of the other third." This is realised in Germany by the functionary system. The functionaries are not there for the benefit of the people, but the people for the benefit of the functionaries. All this machinery of functionarism, with its numerous ranks and gradations in every district, filled with a staff of clerks and expectants in every department looking for employment, appointments, or promotions, was intended to be a new support of the throne in the new social state of the Continent; a third class, in close connection with the people by their various official duties of interference in all public or private affairs, yet attached by their interests to the kingly power. The *Beamptenstand*, or functionary class, was to be the equivalent to the class of nobility, gentry, capitalists, and men of larger landed property than the peasant-proprietors, and was to make up in numbers for the want of individual weight and influence. In France, at the expulsion of Louis Philippe, the civil functionaries were stated to amount to 807,030 individuals. This civil army was more than double of the military. In Germany, this class is necessarily more numerous in proportion to the population, the Landwehr system imposing many more restrictions that the conscription on the free action of the people, and requiring more officials to manage it, and the semi-feudal jurisdictions and forms of law requiring much more writing and intricate forms of procedure before the courts, than the Code Napoleon.

In every state, in modern times, functionaries are necessarily numerous. The collection of the public revenue alone requires a little army of them. But we would be rather surprised to hear our own *Beamptenstand*, our collectors, comptrollers, assessors, tidewaiters, gaugers, considered as a high and influential class in our social body, or considered as a class at all in any way distinct from the respectable middle class in which they are merged. In Prussia it is different. The kingdom is made up of provinces torn from other powers; and to reduce the local influence of the nobles or great landholders, it was always the principle of the state to bring them into the civil or military service, to merge them into the functionary class.' —Pp. 183—186.

The eloquence of Mr. Laing warms into indignation, whenever the functionary system is introduced. Its exposure and condemnation are the objects of his book, and a well-founded apprehension, no doubt, of our falling into some of its snares, is one motive of the labour he takes to impress the obnoxious character of this system on the English public.

'The direct effects of functionarism have undoubtedly reduced the people of Germany to a state of pupilage. Independent action is so little thought of that it may be doubted whether, if they had a parliament, they could use it and produce any practical measure of reform in their social state, without functionary guidance. They are not accustomed to act for themselves. The indirect effects of the system have deteriorated the character and retarded the industry and prosperity of the German people, as much as its direct working on the social body. The numbers of small functionaries provided for at the public expense, in the departments of the law, the finance, the Church, the educational affairs, the police, the Landwehr establishment, the passport establishment, and all the other branches of public business springing from the principle of the state's interference in all social and individual action, keep almost the whole youth of the country in a state of dependence upon favour for an appointment in some public office, instead of depending upon industry and exertion in the useful arts or

occupations. Every second or third young man in the middle class is an expectant of office. The father of a family in any thriving line of business or trade, whose sons might with advantage be tradesmen, manufacturers, or merchants, with the little capital he could give them, and who in the same social position with us, would undoubtedly put out his sons in some branch of industry, sends them, almost invariably, to study at a university in order to be qualified for office. After the bread-studies, as they are called in Germany, are gone through, the young man hangs on, often for many years, an idle expectant on office, and may possibly get some employment at last in a government *bureau*, at a salary which can only help to maintain him, along with the little allowance the father can afford him. A great proportion of the small capitals gathered by tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, functionaries, clergymen, and others in the middle station of life, is thus expended without being utilised. The same capitals with us would be applied to extending the business in which they were acquired, or in placing the sons in some similar business. Such small beginnings of saved capital are with us the foundations of almost all the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of eminent individuals, and of the acuteness of mind and the judgment which produce that prosperity. Here, in Germany, these beginnings of capital are applied to supporting the sons at a university, half-students, half-vagrants, for many idle years; and then in supporting them in some inferior office in a state department, until, by seniority, favour, or merit, a higher step is attained with a salary on which the functionary can subsist. The prospect of office in the vast functionary system turns away the industry and capital that might be employed with more advantage to the country and the individual in the humbler paths of trade.'—Pp. 198, 199.

One advantage supposed to follow from the functionary system, is the general diffusion of a good education, as residence at a university is a necessary qualification for any government appointment. This point introduces a subject of great interest at the present time, viz. the whole system of government education and government interference with universities; of the latter, we must say a few words which may also apply to the former, as it will not come in our way to enter upon so large a field of enquiry, otherwise than in the general theory of public education, of which in Germany the universities take the lead.

German universities are entirely government institutions, training schools for government functionaries; and, as functionaries are of such vast power in the German system, it follows that the universities have an extraordinary political influence of a direct and immediate nature as the guides and instructors of the spirit that is to rule the whole middle power of society. It is the intention indeed of universities to direct the tone of society; but there are two ways of doing this, a direct and an indirect way. Whatever brings the university forward into the active arena of politics in connexion with the vicissitudes of government is of the former kind, while the latter aims at an independent spirit, a *genius loci*—a life of its

own, a beginning, middle, and end, an exhibition of tendencies and phases of the human mind, of differences of character, a field of trials to the mind both from prosperity and adulation, and also from difficulties and contempt. Nor only is a university the exhibition and the trial of such and such things, it also manifests the end and result of them. It mimicks for the wisdom of its students, a much larger system of rewards and punishment of advancement and ruin. A certain kind of retirement from the active world is essential to promote these ends, a retirement of situation, of constitution, of life, and habits.

Mr. Laing does not understand the principle of an English University, and appears to imagine that their advantages over the German are from the absence of this state of things which we thus commend. He describes Scotch Universities, and in comprehending the English ones in the same comparison, does not state that Oxford, in outward constitution, is more like the German than the Scotch. Speaking of these last, he says:—

'The young men have no doubt their clubs, meetings, debating societies, and spout, harangue, and rave over their whisky-toddy about the rights of man and republican institutions, talk politics, talk treason sometimes, and discuss the first principles of government and the duty of immolating tyrants on the altar of liberty, and would all be Brutuses if they could find Cæsars, as well as the young lads at the German universities. How is it that our government finds no danger in all this youthful bluster? and that the young men at our universities form no distinct corps, no peculiar body dangerous to the state, like the German *Burschenschaft?* It is simply because they are not made a distinct corps of, are not considered of any importance, and therefore are of none; are obliged to conduct themselves like other people under the common law and police of the land, and are punished for offences by the same laws and tribunals and in the same way as other people. In Germany, the *senatus academicus* of each university has a distinct jurisdiction over the students. They are amenable to, and tried and punished only by their academical judges, who have powers, independent of the ordinary civil courts, to punish them for civil or police transgressions, by fine, arrest, imprisonment, for which there is a special academical prison in each university, and by rustication or total expulsion. The students live under a different judicature even for offences against the public peace, are distinct from the ordinary courts of the country, and consequently they form a distinct body from the rest of the people. But the judges in these academical courts, the professors, depend for their incomes, or means of living, although not entirely, yet very much, on the number of students who take out tickets for their courses of lectures. They are not individually in a position to be over severe in their sentences, or they might next session be themselves the parties living on bread and water. They might have no hearers and no fees. The *senatus* also naturally consider, that if their university got the reputation of being very strict and rigorous, the preference would be given by students to some other university, in which the judicature was more lax; and the number of students, their own profits, and the character of their university would be diminished. All this absurd arrangement of a police within a police, and a distinct body like a military class, but without military

discipline or an effective judicature to keep it in order, falls away in our common-sense arrangement, by which the student is subject to the same law and tribunal as other young men in the town; and whatever academical punishment the professors may inflict, will certainly be fined or sent to Bridewell for any offence or breach of the peace, by the ordinary judge, along with the journeymen tailors or shoemakers who may have taken part in the fray.'—Pp. 220—222.

Mr. Laing cannot be aware that Oxford and Cambridge have university police, university law, (very arbitrary sometimes to popular eyes,) and university Courts; nay, that the High Steward of the University has the power of capital punishment equally with civil judges, although a crime likely to merit such an extreme would in all probability be handed over for trial and judgment to common law. Further explanation of the supposed effects of the same system in Germany is thus given. There is much truth in what is said, and a certain evil is well grasped, but not in the right place.

'Absurd as it may appear on a superficial view, that in a population of forty millions of people some ten or twelve thousand lads, scattered in seventeen universities, should give uneasiness and arouse the watchful jealousy of the German sovereigns about their opinions, the absurdity vanishes and the great importance of this element in the social state of Germany appears in its full magnitude, on a nearer approach. Out of this body of ten or twelve thousand *Burschen*, living from boyhood to manhood as a distinct body from the rest of their fellow-subjects, accumulating in numbers yearly, and renewed every five or six years by a new swarm, must be replenished all the civil functionaries who are to advise the sovereigns, guide the state affairs, administer the law, conduct the business of government, and educate the succeeding generation in the schools and universities. It is the great social evil in Germany, that men are called from this ill-educated body—ill-educated for all practical social business—to administer laws which they never obeyed, or saw the working of on the various interests of society, and are called out of the narrow prejudiced circle of student life and functionary life in the universities and *bureaux*, to legislate in the cabinets of the German sovereigns, on subjects and interests which they never, as private men, entered into or understood. They have had no opportunity of understanding the business of their fellow-citizens, of the *Philister*, as the student and functionary call those who have not been *Burschen* or functionaries; and they have lived and been bred up, not only in ignorance of, and non-intercourse with them, but with antagonistic feelings and prejudices against them. This is the root of much misgovernment in Germany. It is in reality a lay Jesuitism. What were the Jesuits? Men bred up from boyhood in a separated exclusive conventual life, ignorant consequently of the wants and interests of society from which they were professionally cut off, yet influencing and governing society in its most important interests and objects, by the power which their religious connection with princes, courts, and cabinet-ministers gave them in all political affairs. German functionarism is this Jesuitism *minus* the religious element. The functionary class in Germany, the *Beamptenstand*, are men bred from boyhood to manhood in the schools, universities, and *bureaux*, with a distinct spirit and character, distinct privileges, ideas, habits, and modes of living and thinking, from the rest of the community;

and with distinct laws, judicatures, punishments, rewards, and motives of action. They are transplanted from this university life, as different from the life of the rest of society as if they had been bred up in a Jesuits' college; and, from *Burschen* they become *employés* in the inferior offices of the state departments, rising by favour or merit to functions of more or less importance. They are naturally and necessarily imbued with that *esprit de corps*, that class spirit, which regards the people as existing rather for the support of functionaries, than functionaries for the service of the people. They have never lived with the people, or had common interests or feelings with the mass of the social body whom they are placed over. The heads of departments, the cabinet ministers, and the lower officials, or expectants in the state *bureaux*, and in all the legislative, administrative, and executive machinery of the state, are men formed alike in this conventional school in which theory is abundant and actual acquaintance with the wants of society is necessarily rare and imperfect. They have mixed with the rest of the community only as students, expectants on office, or as officials, not as equals partaking in common interests, opinions, and views. They are, to the mass of the population of Germany, what the civil and military functionaries of the East India Company are to the population of Hindostan.'—Pp. 222—224.

The real evil of the German universities, as elsewhere exposed, is the immediate connexion between them and the passing whims of temporary powers. They hang on the ministry of the day through a direct ramification of government officials within themselves, and the Students themselves are expectants of office, and hangers-on till they get something. They do not go to the university as a place of education, so much as to acquire that showy kind of exterior knowledge, which is most likely to tell in the competition for office. They mingle in political events, and adopt the dignified style of professorial lectures as the basis of education, rather than as a proper method of adding grace and ornament to the foundation laid in a tutorial system, or as giving instruction in some high branch of learning not generally essential, or for any other reason more suitable to be included in the work of professors.

German universities, again, are universities, but have not colleges within them exercising discipline of a domestic character. There is consequently unlimited range for an early development of full-grown habits and manners of thought. This leads to many extravagances of taste, in such things as dress and amusements as well as in studies and philosophical theories. English universities are not perfect in their present operation, but having the elements of reform within themselves, and having in great and beautiful preservation their independent governments and their scholastic character, they are capable of prodigious influence, not as directing, but as giving wisdom to those who afterwards will in many ways have influence in all public affairs. The method of reform most advisable, is not our province now to discuss, but thus much we will say: that many

of the complaints against their present working systems have truth in them, not because of the mediæval character of the universities, but because of their departure from the original stamp. The agitation about professors may simply and amply be met by giving new life to the professorships already existing, and adding such others as the age of the world we live in seems to require, in consistency with the same idea that founded the older ones. Thus geology and modern languages may reasonably have professors, and their appointment is carrying out the original idea. But let them stand in the same position as the professorships of old, for they no more interfere with the substratum of university education, than ancient sciences. Much talk, again, is made about modern history and political economy. Without discussing the merits of such important studies in a university, we should suggest two things; that an abstracted study of ancient history for three years, at the age of a university career, is more likely to make a modern historian in future life than a confused mixture of ancient and modern, or exclusive attention to modern. On the same principle, a political economist, to be worth any attention, must have a wide range of knowledge and principles of action. These he had best acquire from Aristotle and other ancient writers before he turns his mind to passing events. On both these pursuits, therefore, our forefathers have left to the Universities the very system for their encouragement which common sense would require in the present days. Again, the other suggestion we would make, is on the impossibility of learning every thing in three years. Can ancient and modern information, historical, philosophical, ornate, or scientific, be epitomized in three years? Can things be stuffed into the human brain, as hay is packed by an hydraulic press for exportation, or as a superabundance of apparel is forced into the compass of a small portmanteau by violent kicking and stamping? The brain, when forced, adopts one of two courses; it goes mad under the task, and breaks forth from all command, either by actual insanity, or by an unfortunate application of reasoning powers; or it wisely declines the burden, and assumes an obstinate resistance to any impression whatever. The former alternative is well known, but many are not sufficiently aware of the immense power which the human mind has of refusing knowledge, of training itself, and disciplining itself to reject any sort of information, and rebel against any adaptation of itself to foreign system or habits of thought. This discipline itself often forms a character, *lucus a non lucendo*. How many schoolboy and university men have a character for stupidity, and certainly learn no information, yet develop ultimately into strong-minded men of great

original talent. Education of the mind must begin with some prominent element of simplicity, some wholeness of an object to be accomplished. The mind must not be launched out into the indefiniteness and immensity of real life and the vast range of all literary pursuits. Classical languages, the mental exercise in mastering their machinery, and subsequently the depth and truth of the philosophy and history thereby conveyed together with the purity of taste, are a wonderful means of accomplishing this end. Simplicity is thus effected, not by rendering the objects of study unreal, shallow, or artificial, but by confining their boundaries within a wall that shuts out for a time the confusion of passing events.

The same may be said of mathematics as an exercise of mental powers. The correspondence of principle in this respect between these two branches of study, may explain a greater similarity in their results than abstractedly could be expected. Classical and mathematical education are the very antipodes, but they agree in the simplicity of affording a certain wholeness of object to the student's ambition, in consequence of their abstracted character; and although great differences no doubt result, yet the success of both may show that, considering the contrarient nature of them, that point which they have in common is an important element of education.

German universities, however, do not neglect classics, but they take from them their singleness of object; and, therefore, the simplicity we ascribe to that system of education is wanting, and the result we find also deficient. Their students may read the ancients, but they take part also in the affairs of modern time. The element of seclusion is not preserved, and therefore the peculiar advantages which our universities exhibit over the German, would appear to arise more from that element held in connexion with classics, than from the study of classics themselves, or from any greater freedom from peculiar privileges in constitution as before referred to. But Mr. Laing's argument is, that the German universities err in having too secluded—too *Jesuitical* a principle. This seclusion, however, he is most ready to tell us in other places is but one-sided. They may be wanting in sympathy with the mass of the people, but they are open enough above on the functionary principle of the universities being schools for government offices.

To English universities as distinguished from either German or Scotch in the system of education, Mr. Laing pays the following tribute:—

'Education in Germany, as in Scotland, is different in its principle from education in England. What do the English people mean when they send their boys, at ten years of age, to eminent schools, and in due time to

Oxford or Cambridge, and then bring them home at twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, to enter on their future professions or paths of life, whatever these may be, according to their prospects or fortunes? Do these English parents act wisely or foolishly? What a silly ignorant lad their young man appears to be, with his prosody or his algebra, his *longs* and *shorts*, or his *plus* and *minus*, his mathematics or his Greek and Latin, and with his fine fellows, his reading men, or his sporting men of his college! What a foolish figure he cuts beside a Continental or a Scotch lad of the same age, from the universities, who knows something of half a dozen sciences, something of half a dozen languages, has some knowledge of chemistry, natural philosophy, political economy, metaphysics, talks well on geology, and all the fashionable speculations of the day, and is acquainted with history, literature, and politics, and is master of many gentlemanly accomplishments! But wait a little. Take the two young men some ten or twelve years afterwards. The German or Scotch lad is, in general, still where he was at nineteen, still but a lad in mind, still a babbler on the surface of every subject. The English-bred lad has gone to his profession or to his station in private or public life with very little positive knowledge to show for his education, but with a mind well exercised, although, perhaps, on very useless or foolish things, and capable of a severe and intense application to the subject before it; and just, perhaps, because it has been exercised and trained on things dull, dry, and unattractive, and which require patient thinking, or indeed mental drudgery, to acquire them. What have been the most serious studies of the Scotch or German-bred student, are now his relaxations. He gathers in, hand over hand, the popular branches of knowledge, the modern languages, and the more abstruse sciences. These are not fatiguing studies to a mind trained to patient application and thinking. In law, in political affairs, in commerce and ordinary business, he enters with intellectual powers which seem almost intuitively to grasp the right views and the necessary knowledge of the subject before him. The two men, at thirty years of age, are prodigiously different.'—Pp. 213—215.

We will sum up the consideration of the university question by the following general remarks on the political influence of German students:—

'If not the interests of sciences, the much higher objects, the peace, order, and well-being of society, require the abolition of the present system of German universities, by which the youth, the public functionaries, the whole legislative and administrative machinery of the state and education of the people, and the public opinion itself, are trained and moulded into theoretical and exaggerated views of the real affairs of life, by a *clique* of visionary professors, who have in reality the formation of the mind of every human being susceptible of education, from the child's at a day school to the statesman's in the cabinet of their sovereign, entirely in their hands. Free trade in education is even more necessary than in commercial or manufacturing affairs, for the stability of modern governments and the true liberty of the people. What was the cause of the commotions in Germany in 1848, but the exaggerated doctrines and speculations of the universities spread over, inculcated, indoctrinated into all the educated classes of the community? and what is the cause of the utter failure of this movement in 1849, even when it had the power, at Frankfort, to establish rational liberty and constitutional government throughout Germany, but the false education of the public mind and opinion, through the universities, in favour of theories not attainable, or, if attainable, of doubtful advantage?

The benefit of the collision of opinion against opinion, of the views of one great mass of population being opposed by those of another mass, and the folly of each being neutralised before public opinion is formed and fixed, is altogether wanting in Germany; because all opinion is issued, ready made and of the same stuff and fashion, from the universities, and all men in every station come out clothed in it. Germany never can be a free country until education is free. A score or two of obscure visionaries at the universities will set the public opinion to any tune they please. Would science suffer, would knowledge be extinguished, and would mankind wander in darkness if the universities of Berlin, Bonn, Jena, Munich, Göttingen, Heidelberg, and a dozen others, were entirely abolished? It does not appear that England is behind Germany in scientific attainments. Philosophy, legislation, political economy, history, poetry, law, mathematics, chemistry, in short all the branches of the tree of knowledge, seem tolerably well loaded with fruit, every year, in the garden of England. But the gardeners are not bred exclusively at Oxford or Cambridge; education is free, is acquired from thousands of different sources; and false views in religion, politics, philosophy, social economy, or in physical science, are at once detected and exposed by those educated in different views and by different means; and the public opinion is not formed on the abstract philosophy of any lectures inapplicable to present and existing realities, but on a comparison and balance of opinions from men educated under various circumstances and systems, and from various quarters.'—Pp. 216-218.

The German character generally is a prolific subject for Mr. Laing's pen. He does not like Germans, and takes a peculiar pleasure in representing the unfavourable side of their manners and habits. We have heard of a concise traveller summing up the result of his observations on the manners and customs of some remote part of the world with saying, 'As for manners they have none, and their customs are very beastly.' Mr. Laing would appear to take a similar view of Germans. Now it is easy to form a general theory against any national constitution, and then bring forward every objectionable phase of character to confirm that theory. We do not indeed dispute Mr. Laing's conclusion in many respects; but on abstract principles, we look on it as a matter of regret and painful consideration, that there is so much truth in what he says; for the German character contains much to admire, especially in some points where our own deficiency cannot but be acknowledged. It suits indeed Mr. Laing's theory to undervalue this very superiority we refer to, and therefore he rejoices to exhibit its small influence over manners compared with the love of commonplace things, those eternal kettles and prints that dwell so close to his heart. The Germans are an imaginative people, and let us give them credit for those things in which they excel us. They are full of deep feeling, closely bound together by local associations, and wonderfully endowed with those faculties of mind which adorn the habits of civilized life and give interest to society. All these things may be nothing to some people, but we cannot but confess that English society would do well to

admire what it cannot emulate. It is a mystery how a certain grossness should nevertheless be conspicuous through these powers of high cultivation. There is a moral and religious failing which prevents them from turning their genius to the encouragement of practical and common-place proprieties, but we should be sorry to draw from them an argument against the advantages of the poetical and thoughtful qualities of the human mind in the mass of a people. It is not that the Germans go too far in developing the more intellectual aspirations of humanity, but the fault is, that they stop too soon and trace not the beauty of man's nature and intellect to its Divine pattern; they give not God the praise, but stop short and deify what they ought rather to sanctify. Would that the English were about to show forth to all the world a union of their own excellences, with the charms that so fascinate us in other lands; Cannot a high power of developing the perceptions of beauty, and the sympathies of the heart, be coincident with the ordinary proprieties of polished life, and a lofty standard of moral and revealed truth? Such a picture may be ideal, but the educated classes in this country are not unconscious of such dreams, nor altogether disinclined to diffuse this high estate of human life into the minds of all classes. To argue against the moral good of music, on the ground that professors in the art are often found untouched by its ameliorating influence, is too weak to deserve comment; every principle of conduct, human and divine, would give way if their misapplication was at the same time their condemnation.

We will not, however, generalize thus, but return to Mr. Laing, who pounces with delight upon the supposed bad taste of Munich, as a failure within the German's own province of the fine arts. He imagines that he has it his own way in the specimen of kingly patronage of art instanced by this city. We shall offer no comment, as we have no desire to defend the wisdom of his late Bavarian majesty, or stake our general argument on the beauty of the Munich Post-office.

'Munich is the Athens of Germany, nay, of Europe—the European academy of taste in the fine arts, and consequently of all human civilisation. So they tell you here in Munich, and the opinion is adopted very generally. The Bavarian ex-monarch declared some years ago, on laying the foundation stone of a second Pinacotheque, or picture gallery, "that he lived but for his artists;" and all Germany re-echoed with applauses of the foolish saying. Two or three snug little questions, each of which might be stretched out into a volume, suggest themselves. First, Is it true that Munich-taste is the best and purest of all tastes, past, present, or to come, in painting, architecture, and the other fine arts? Secondly, Is it true that civilisation is measured most correctly by the state of the fine arts in a country? and that the civilisation of the fine arts, of the *esthetic*, is of a higher nature and more connected with the social, moral, and religious well-being of a people, than the civilisation diffused by the culture and enjoyment of the useful arts? Thirdly, Is it true that kings should live for their artists

only? should tax their subjects to the utmost, in order to erect masterpieces of architecture, very beautiful and very useless? should lavish the means of the country in gilding, stucco, statuary, fresco paintings, and such unreproductive objects? I shall spare my readers, and merely give my impressions at Munich, without pretending to discuss the inquiries they suggest.'—P. 330.

The celebrated Iser Gate meets with the following reception from our traveller.

'It is one of the oldest of the modern embellishments of Munich; one of the first in which fresco painting was adopted, and its exposure to the atmosphere in Bavaria fairly tried. It cannot be said that the plaster has suffered, or that the colours have materially faded, during an exposure of about fifty years to the heat and cold, damp and drought, of a climate very variable, or rather, exceedingly given to extremes. The durability of the art, or of its means—plaster and colour—in out-of-door works, seems sufficiently established by this experiment. It is charitable to suppose that to try the experiment was all the builder intended, and it is not fair to criticise the work in any other view. This building, however, being held out to the traveller as a distinguished object of fine art, independently of the successful proof it gives of the durability of fresco painting in our rough climates north of the Alps, the traveller may state the impression it makes on him. The Iser Gate is placed without any meaning: it corresponds to nothing, joins nothing, keeps nothing in and nothing out, but is simply a gate-by-itself gate, which seems to have dropped from the moon into an open space in a street of Munich, to be decorated with fresco paintings. In this pure simplicity of want of purpose, this nothing-to-do-ishness where it stands, the Iser Gate might have vied with the similar structure at Hyde Park Corner, before the Duke and his horse took pity on it and gave it something to support. The Iser Gate is flanked on each side by two rotundities, more corpulent and dwarfish in their dimensions than beseemeth genuine gothic towers, and in shape resembling more the two Heidelberg tuns set on end than any other mediæval structures. Round the heads of these towers, below their mock battlements, runs a fillet of gaudily painted escutcheons, or shields, of red and white, green and blue, in brilliant quarterings; and very splendid they are in colours. But what are they intended for? Whether the gate is to be taken for a Roman triumphal arch, or for a Gothic castle-gate, or both in one, the men on the battlements would scarcely hang their shields out of their own reach, and where they could not get at them either from above or from below. But ornamental effect is probably all that was intended. The effect is similar, but on a great scale, to that of the fillet of gilt paper usually bound round the end of a dumpy web of broadcloth in a draper's shop. Above the arch or gateway itself is a long fillet, about eight feet broad, and some seventy feet in length, teeming with allegory and history in fresco. The figures are very spirited sketches, in bright colours, by Neher and Kögel. Is it from ignorant prejudice, or is it from a just dislike to the incongruity of mixing painting with architecture to produce one architectural effect, that this fillet of painting is not satisfactory to every taste? The Elgin marbles in their native position and state, a frieze or fillet of stone-work forming one ornamental portion of a stone temple, are in unity of effect with the building, and are a part of it; but the very same figures and subjects painted on a stripe of canvas, or on stained paper-hangings, or on a stripe of plaster in fresco paintings, and hung up or stuck up where the sculptures had been, would to every eye be a monstrous incongruity. No merit in the painting, no spirit in the sketch or splendour in the colours, could quell the secret feeling that this fresco painting, however

admirable in itself, has no legitimate right to be where it is, as an adjunct to the architectural effect of the edifice. The two arts are naturally distinct in the principles and means of addressing the human mind.'—Pp. 332—334.

The following passage also follows up his ideas of the combination of colours with architecture.

'In the same square with this theatre is another public building, the Post Office, presenting a row of pillars toward the square. The dead wall behind the pillars is painted with a deep, or rather dingy, Pompeii red colour; and a horse in white paint, a Pegasus or some such device, figures on this dark-red ground, which brings out admirably the row of pillars in front of it, This is, no doubt, done upon very sound principles of stage effect; but is it on sound principles of architectural effect? is it architecture, or is it only an imitation of architecture? is the effect produced by deception, or by reality? In the fine arts no substitute for reality of excellence is tolerated. The mere imitation of quality is rejected in the fine arts, as well as in the useful arts, and in matters of taste, as well as in matters of morals. The thing must be genuine, real—a real specimen of the good in the art it belongs to, or it is despised. The stucco imitation of stone-work, painted weather-stains, rough mock-granite, smooth mock-marble, and all the brick or stone of the paint-brush, belong to the decorative art, and may be meritorious, but belong not to architecture. In the decadence of the fine arts, the Romans began to decorate their statues with coloured eyes, cheeks, and hair, and to ornament them with precious stones. Akin to this taste is that of mixing up fresco colouring with stucco decoration, to produce architectural effect. In spite of Greek or Roman authority for painting the exterior of buildings, one feels that painting has no business out of doors.'—Pp. 335, 336.

The truth of Mr. Laing's argument on this point of æsthetics, we shall leave hand in hand with his assumption concerning the great Italian artists, contained in the following extract.

'We are very apt to confound the merit of overcoming a great difficulty, with the merit of the work produced, and to place the sum total to the credit of the latter. In poetry how much passes upon us as excellent, not from any poetic excellence in the ideas, but from difficulties ably overcome in the versification, rhymes, technical rules of style, unities of dramatic composition, or other circumstances? The painting upon wet plaster is unquestionably a great difficulty, which can only be overcome by a rare combination of a sure eye and a ready hand, besides all the other qualifications of an artist. The colour, whether mixed only with water, as in ordinary fresco painting, or with wax to give it body and gloss, as in encaustic painting, must be laid on at once, in its full intensity, on a space of the plaster kept in a wet state to receive it. Fresco painting admits of no coming over again, to amend faults in the drawing, colouring, or keeping. All the effect must be produced at once, in a single stroke of the brush, without retouching. This is a great technical difficulty, requiring a rare combination of talent in the artist who overcomes it; but we are apt to confound the merit of overcoming it with the merit of the art itself. Fresco painting, as a fine art, is, on account of those very difficulties, an imperfect and inferior means, compared to oil painting, of representing the pictorial idea, whether that be a scene from nature, or a poetical idea of the artist. The plaster, no doubt, bears out the raw colours, the blues, reds, yellows, with full brilliancy as laid on at once from the palette; but there is no blending, shading, heightening, or subduing the tone. The highest artistical skill must be required to produce any thing at all, with

such difficulties in the imperfect means of producing; but the merit of the artist who accomplishes the production, is something very different from the merit of the work produced, or of the art itself. The artist who walks a mile upon his hands with his legs in the air, accomplishes a very difficult work, and may have great merit for the ease, grace, and beauty he exhibits in his action; but the merit of the art itself, compared to the art of walking the distance on one's feet, is rather questionable. The great Italian artists, Leonardo da Vinci, Michel Angelo, Raphael, Domenichino, overcame the imperfection of the means to which they were, it is probable, very unwillingly bound—fresco painting being the only means afforded them by monks and church officials, who wanted cheap, showy, and expeditious work upon their walls—and have left in fresco painting some of the noblest conceptions that the poetic mind ever expressed in outline and colour. But it is far from evident that those great artists preferred the means they were under the necessity of using; and it is far from evident that Bernard Neher, or Kögel, or Spohr, are Leonardos, or Raphaels, or Domenichinos, who did great works with imperfect means. Fresco painting, as it is seen here in Munich, seems to stand in the same relation to oil painting, as the pantomime or melo-drama does to the regular drama. The figures, attitudes, expression, dresses, are all necessarily exaggerated, not to say caricatured, because the means of truthful representation are wanting.'—Pp. 336—338.

On the subject of music, we shall be content with giving the following entertaining, though we think, self-condemnatory passage. It is a specimen of much more.

'It is a remarkable difference between the German branch and the English of the same Saxon or Teutonic race, and one of the first which strikes the English traveller in Germany, that the former, the German people, are the most musical, and the latter, the Anglo-Saxons, the least so, of any people in Europe. Is it a physical difference of organization? or is it the result of different circumstances of education, habits, and social condition? In Germany music is not, as in Britain, cultivated and enjoyed only by a few, principally females, in the upper ranks of society, or in the wealthiest of the middle class in the great cities; but it enters largely into the habitual occupation and enjoyment of all classes, is universally diffused, is taught by order of government in all schools, is familiar to every individual, practised in every family, and is a real social influence, an important element, in German life and character. Is this a beneficial influence and element in life and character? Would it be possible, or desirable if possible, that our English population should be as thoroughly musicalised as the German? The question deserves consideration.

'The conventional jargon of the courts, artists, and literary men of the times of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., which has descended as an heir-loom to the same classes in our times, about the humanising influences of music and the drama on the human race, and the superiority, as efficient means and undeniable proofs of civilisation, of the fine arts—the arts which administer pleasure through the organs of sense, the eye or ear, to the cultivated and refined taste of the upper classes—over the vulgar useful arts which diffuse comfort, industry, and intelligence among the mass of mankind, has been brought to the test of experience in our days. It is not the musician, the fiddler, fifer, or bagpiper, who has humanised the Hottentot, and raised the New Zealander, the Sandwich Islander, the Cherokee, to a higher social and moral condition than the lazzaroni of Naples or Rome who have lived under the civilising influences of music and the fine arts for ages; but the artisan, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the seamstress, and schoolmistress, with her husband the missionary.

The age of Orpheus is past; the stocks and stones of our generation are only to be animated, moved, and civilised by higher and more intellectual influences and enjoyments than harmony of sound. Music, in its most successful efforts, addresses mind much less distinctly and intelligibly than the most imperfect language. It conveys no idea or meaning, but only the impression or feeling of the sensations, which ideas sublime, pathetic, gay, or agreeable, would produce if conveyed by language. Music, which Sir Humphry Davy calls the most intellectual of our sensual pleasures, may rouse, agitate, or soothe, may delight the sense for harmony of sound, and thus it undeniably enlarges the circle of human enjoyments, and adds to them a sphere of its own, a new world of pleasurable sensations; but these effects are as evanescent as the sounds which produce them. The mind and its powers, the intelligence, the judgment, the moral sense, are not acted upon and exercised by the most delicious harmony. The musicians who produce it, are not themselves more humanized or civilised, that is, more moral, virtuous, and intellectual members of society, than those who never heard good music.'—Pp. 348—350.

German *manners* are next brought in vivid contrast with the love of fine art. It is not without an apology to international hospitality and also to refinement of taste, that we extract the following passage. We can only say that its distinctness and force of language are irresistible.

'All from the prince to the shoemaker, are what our dainty gentry would call slovenly livers, dirty feeders, and insensible to the disgust they may give by habits confined, among us, to our lowest and most roughly bred classes. Spitting all round a room, picking their teeth at meals with the knife, licking it, and thrusting it into the butter or cheese, and such petty abominations, show that there is not that marked difference in those small observances of delicacy, and of regard for the feelings of others, in manners and behaviour, which distinguish the gentleman from the non-gentleman in our population. At table, or in the habits and usages of living, the artisan or tradesman, in Germany, is quite as nice and gentlemanlike as the count or baron; or rather, the count or baron is quite as coarse and vulgar as the tradesman or artisan. This want of habitual refinement or consideration for others, and want of respect for one's self in the small matters of manners and ways of living, this want of consideration of what may be disagreeable or disgusting to one's neighbours, is a great defect in the German character. It obliges even the best-educated and most estimable German gentlemen, when they travel in France or England, to put on a refinement altogether foreign to their every-day habits at home. On this account, the Germans make the worst of travellers. They set out with a lower standard of manners and habits of living than that of the same class in the countries they visit. It is owing to this want of innate or habitual taste in manners and mode of living with themselves, which gentlemen of the same station in other countries are bred up with, that men of rank, education, and fortune, from Germany, are very often scarcely tolerated in ordinary lodging-houses, and are very rarely at home and at ease in English families of the same class as themselves, or often very inferior to themselves in all essential distinctions. They return home astonished, disappointed, and full of wrath; because their real merit and importance had not been appreciated by the English people. The reason is, that an English family, especially the female part of it, is excessively fastidious and over-nice about all the minor morals, as they have been called, of manners and habits. A German gentleman fuming tobacco from every pore, hawking and spitting incessantly, all over the floor, telling you in more ways than one that he is in a sweat,

sticking his fork or spoon into a dish after he has had it in his mouth, is rarely welcome a second time in an English family of the class of society he really belongs to by birth, education, and fortune. When he is obliged to renounce these little practices not conformable to English customs, he is playing a part not habitual to him, assuming a refinement in society foreign to his usual hereditary habits; and he hurries to his inn or lodgings, where he can smoke, spit, belch, and unbutton himself and lounge half-dressed in his bed-gown, and be as gross in his own company as he pleases. One half the coldness, haughtiness, and distance of manner imputed to the English, both at home and abroad, by German travellers and writers, arises from this difference of refinement or taste in the ways of living.'—Pp. 378—380.

In his description of the Frankfort parliament, he touches on a great moral defect of the German character and system.

'St. Paul's church in Frankfort will take its place in history, as well as St. Stephen's in Westminster, but not exactly as high. The German parliament, the first, and probably the last, elected by universal suffrage to represent the whole Germanic population, and frame a united central government and constitution, sat in the Paulus Kirche, until June 1849, when its remnant retired to Stuttgard, and expired in its own smoke. This church is a modern circular building of red freestone, standing in a small square area, of which the Exchange forms one side. A porter mug, bottom up, would give a very good idea of its ground-plan, elevation, and proportions. It was not selected, certainly, for its architectural beauty, to be the seat of the German parliament; but the convenience of its interior makes up for the defects of its exterior. The British house of commons is not so comfortably and roomily accommodated. The president's chair occupied the place of the pulpit; the precentor's desk was the tribune; and what may have been the elders' seat, was sufficiently capacious for the clerks and a table or two. Right, left, right centre, left centre, extreme right, extreme left, were divisions in the arrangement of the benches made by the necessary passages for the congregation to their seats. A circular gallery above admitted the public, and could accommodate about a thousand people. Below it, on the same level with the seats of the members, the ladies, the diplomatic corps, the reporters, and strangers with a member's ticket, or with that universal ticket a *gulden*, were conveniently seated. The chair was taken at a quarter past nine every morning, and the house seldom rose before two, and often had an evening sitting from four to eight or nine. What first strikes the traveller is, that all the members wore mustaches, beards, tips, or other hairy appendages of all dimensions and colours, which to the English eye, not accustomed to see gentlemen in such fantastic chin accoutrements, gave the assembly the appearance of a masquerade, or of a meeting of old clothesmen. Two eyes, a nose between, and a mass of hair below hiding all expression of the most expressive feature in the human countenance, the mouth, have the effect of a paper mask over the face, or of an exhibition of wax figures. The most eloquent and impassioned public speaker, with the lower half of his face wagging up and down the bunch of hair attached to it, as he opens and shuts his mouth, appears too like the child's toy of Mr. Punch, with a moveable joint in the under jaw opening and shutting by a string, not to excite the risible propensities of the spectator from the shaven lands of Europe. These are trifles to remark; but as an indication of character, either in an individual or a people, affectation is no trifle. Weakness of character, and affectation of appearing to be what one is not, are most clearly shown in trifles. The majority of an assembly born and bred with beardless chins, affecting in manhood to appear like knights of the middle ages, as represented in ancient paintings, by wearing beards, mustaches, tips, and fantastic hats

or caps, to give picturesque effect to their heads, do not convey to the observer of character the idea that these are men of real sound sense and independent mind, or that such fantastically dressed up imitative heads have much of their own inside of them.'—Pp. 412—414.

Mr. Laing is occasionally in a softer frame of mind, and enters more impartially into the description of German manners. The scene of the following extract is Hamburgh. The concluding remarks contain much truth.

'In this German-English park from fifteen hundred to two thousand people, every gala-day in the fine season, dine, drink coffee, and lounge away four or five hours. They dine singly, or in parties, or at a *table d'hôte*, and out of doors, or in small pavilions; and all the department of the *cuisine* is considered admirable by those who are judges of it. A regular orchestra, as strong in numbers, and probably in talent, as that of any of our minor theatres, is part of this monster establishment. Sundays and holidays are particularly gala-days at Rainville's, and the number of people who pass and repass, and take some refreshment, and come to talk with their friends or to listen to the music, must be immense. Ladies, children, and family parties of the middle and higher classes, form a considerable proportion of the company. So great an assemblage of the higher classes of a city, collected in one public place of entertainment open to every body who chooses to take a cup of coffee, or a glass of *liqueur* and a cigar, can scarcely be seen anywhere, even on the Continent. This tea-garden life—the sitting out of doors sipping coffee or tea, the ladies knitting or sewing and chatting, the gentlemen smoking their pipes and skimming over the newspapers, all entertained with good instrumental music, and a great assemblage of family parties around occupied in the same way—seems to be the summit of earthly felicity in German life. All ranks and classes enjoy an evening or two every week, in this way. The labouring people have their Rainville's too—their coffee, pipes, and music, in the open air, at hundreds of tea-gardens and houses of entertainment scattered over the environs. There is a simplicity, kindly feeling, and unpretending enjoyment in these family parties of the labouring people, sitting under the trees—the whole family, from the grandfather to the infant in arms, meeting together in an evening, once a week, in their best clothes, and best humour, and all gay and innocently merry without extravagance or boisterous excess. Such scenes give the traveller a favourable and just impression of the amiable disposition of the German people. Why is it, he asks, that so many of our gentry, or would be gentry, shrink with horror from mixing with the middle or lower classes in England in any place of public entertainment? Is it that, in reality, many of our nominal gentry are only persons of wealth suddenly gentrified —persons who have acquired the fortune, rank, and social importance of gentry, before they began to take up the habits, manners, and mode of thinking and acting of the educated upper class, and feeling themselves just the same sort of persons as they were originally, and that the difference between them and the vulgar is not in mind, habits, and education, but in the conventional distinctions of wealth, they hate the profane vulgar, and keep aloof from all intercourse with them, sensible that they themselves are at bottom of the same class, and that the difference is in the coat, not in the man? On the Continent the different classes are more distinctly marked. The noble, the professional, the military man, the civil functionary, are fenced in by privileges, titles, orders, and conventional rank. They run no risk of being confounded with the lower unprivileged classes, and can afford to mix more freely with them. Wealth

is not the measure of social influence as with us, either in reality or in public estimation, but the place, civil or military, which the individuals hold under government.'—Pp. 459—461.

The following tribute to the imaginative character of Germans shall conclude this branch of our subject, and leave us room for but one or two further extracts.

'The Germans are unquestionably the most imaginative people in Europe. German literature is scarcely a century old. It was only about 1748, that Rabner, Hagedorn, Gesner, began their feeble attempts to produce original compositions in the German language. What a vast body of German literature, and almost all of imaginative character, has been since created! It can already vie in amount, and, in the opinion of many, in merit, with all the imaginative literature of all the other nations of Europe. But it is not only from their poetry, romances, novels, and such works of fiction, that the Germans may be deemed the most imaginative of the European people. They are more under the influence of imagination, and less under the influence of sober judgment, experience, and what we call common sense, than any other people, in their speculations in philosophy, politics, and the ordinary social affairs of life. The German philosopher, politician, professional man, and individual in private life, views things through an atmosphere of imagination, feeling, and enthusiasm, which generally magnifies and distorts what he is looking at, and leads him astray in his judgment and conduct. How many theories and speculations in religion, ethics, metaphysics, politics, issue yearly from the German mind! All are more or less brilliant and novel; in all there may be a nucleus of truth, but all are involved in a cloud of mystical expression, through which no distinct meaning is perceived by the reader. He must seek a meaning in his own mind, for he receives none that is distinct, from the author. The disciples of this mysticism are the more enthusiastic because it is, in reality, their own impressions, feelings, or ideas, raised by vague imaginative expressions, that they embrace as the author's, and not any precise distinct meaning they have obtained from the author. They are properly the authors themselves, of what they adopt so enthusiastically as the author's meaning; for no two of them understand in the same way the same theory or speculation. These are meteors which illuminate the world of German mind for a season, and then expire and are seen no more. This is the history of innumerable productions in philosophy and politics, which issue yearly from the German press, and which are in reality imaginative productions as much as their poetry—are imagination applied to those subjects to which other people apply sober reason, judgment, experience, and good sense. To this imaginative turn of mind must be ascribed the great importance attached by all Germans to the æsthetic, to all the fine arts and all connected with them, and the little importance attached to those practical evils in their social state, which would drive sober people mad. The German people live in a world of imagination; and while they write, and talk, and sing, and make songs about German unity and liberty, and one great united German nation with one central constitutional government, and even fight nobly for the cause, or the imaginative idea, of this free united new Germany, they submit to the reality of a servile bondage in their Landwehr service, their functionary system, their passport system, their class-taxation, and in every social relation.'—Pp. 479, 480.

Convents are often associated exclusively with the Romish system, though unnecessarily so. Proof is given even among

ourselves of their practical use in the case of sisterhoods; but to satisfy the most ultra-protestants we can adduce an instance of a convent which can give no offence to their scruples. The degree of utility under different systems we shall not discuss.

'A kind of pauper establishment—it may be impertinent to call it so—for a class of poor very numerous in England, and suffering as much real distress as the most destitute, the poor unmarried gentlewomen of the country, who, according to the common expressive phrase, "can neither work nor want," is within a forenoon's ride of Kiel, and well deserves the consideration of the traveller. At Pretz, a beautiful little town on the stream called the Schwentine, which expands here into the Lanker Lake, there was, in Catholic times, a convent for nuns of noble family, established, it is supposed, about the year 1216, and very richly endowed with land in the vicinity by a Count Orlamunde and other noblemen. There was no Henry VIII. here at the Reformation, to seize on the monastic lands, and confer them on his favourites; and the Holstein nobility had a direct interest in preventing a conventual establishment that was of service to their own order, from being broken up for the benefit of individuals. They retained it as a kind of Protestant nunnery. The following is the present arrangement of this establishment:—It consists of a dean, or dignified clergyman, to take charge of the estates and affairs; a lady-prioress, and thirty-nine convent-sisters, who live in separate small genteel houses, each having her own establishment and house-keeping, and her separate income to live upon, on the footing of our fellows of colleges. They go into the world, visit their friends, partake of all social amusements, and are only bound to residence for a certain portion of the year; and to certain rules of dress, attendance on chapel, and similar regulations, when they do reside, in the same way as our fellows of a college at Oxford or Cambridge. When a nobleman finds he has more daughters than he can provide for, he enters the name of one of them at her birth, or in early infancy, on the convent books, and pays yearly a certain small stipend; which, if the child dies, or has succeeded to other prospects in life, goes to the funds of the establishment. At the age when education begins, the child is placed with one of the convent sisters to be educated and brought up at the expense of the establishment. No expense is spared. Music, dancing, languages, and all female accomplishments are taught; and the young lady, at a proper age, goes into society, to concerts, balls, plays, parties, with her convent sister as her matron or mother. It is not at all uncommon that the young lady gets an offer of marriage, which she accepts of; and being brought up, not at a boarding-school, nor in a convent secluded from society, but in a private house in which her convent-mother has her own house-keeping, her own social circle, and her own separate income to live upon, she is a well educated lady, and well prepared to become an excellent wife and mistress of a family. Many of the first nobility of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, have married young ladies brought up in those conventual establishments. There are several of them, but this of Pretz is the wealthiest. If the young lady marries, she of course leaves it, and her benefit and interest in it as a member ceases. If she remains single, she continues in it; and in course of time succeeds by seniority to a vacancy in the number of convent sisters, enjoying in the mean time a comfortable home and certain living; and occupying herself, as unmarried ladies usually do, in the education of the younger girls, visiting, church-going, living, in short, as fellows of a college do, who are sometimes resident, sometimes not, but partaking in all amusements and pleasures of good society. If one of these ladies, by the death of relatives, or otherwise, succeed to an income of a certain

amount, it is understood that she is to make room for a successor. This conventual establishment of Pretz has very extensive estates, and even villages, in the most fertile tract of the country on the side of the Baltic, and it is said the population on its property exceeds 5000 persons.'—Pp. 496—498.

We will conclude with one extract that is confirmatory of much we have said about Mr. Laing. He is impartial in stating his observations, and acute in perceiving truth, but he does not take hold of it exactly in the right place. Prejudices of religion and his anti-æsthetic turn of mind keep him off the exact conclusion, though he prepares the way for it and leaves its place vacant. The object of his book is to prove the necessity of a middle influence in society; that influence having an independent moral character at stake. This he considers to be the essential deficiency of the German functionary system, which is too direct and servile on the one hand or too rebellious on the other; in fact, too easily and immediately influenced by the excitement of passing events. He is not an insane accuser of past ages, under such epithets as dark and superstitious; on the contrary, he has a very true conception of the instinctive power of a country to manage its own affairs, with a system nicely balanced between all the circumstances of its existence. He is wise enough to see that it is inconsistent to call those ages dark, which undoubtedly established and nurtured up all the institutions of religion, of government, and social life,—which make us, humanly speaking, what we are. He knows that this country has been growing up through various stages of life, and is always in history found to be actively improving, during those very times designated so unkindly. He is sufficient of a political economist to feel that the founders of that system of jurisprudence, which has answered so well, cannot have been altogether without sense, or sunk in barbarism. He also has gratitude to appreciate his benefactors. Nay, he discovers the very secret of our liberty, of our free institutions and our advancement in letters. He acknowledges the civilizing influence of the Church during those ages. But there he stops; for after all it is only Rome that he means, he attaches no sacred character to the Church, and entirely omits the consideration of the Church still existing as an independent middle power, though not in dependence on Papal authority. Most truly, as he pictures, does society yearn for a middle influence, for a maternal care, for a guide and object in bringing the heart as well as the physical organization of mankind to co-operate in the cause of progress and order, even taking no higher view. Most true, also, is it that the Church has occupied this position, and is the mother of our freedom. But the Church still lives outside of Rome, and exerts the same influence, is ready to supply the same yearnings

now as ever she was. She ever lives, she is ever the fountain of wisdom, she is the true political economist, the true philosopher, the true adapter of abstract truth to the wants of every time, of every season, of every clime, of every race. She is ever ready to bring out of her store things new and old.

With these comments we leave the extract alluded to with our readers, regretting that, for the sake of completeness, we are obliged to introduce a word, occurring in the opening sentence, which we had rather not see on our pages.

'The traveller who has no partiality for Popery or Puseyism, and holds shaven crowns or shovel-hats, altars, crucifixes, and surplices, white or black, of silk or of serge, not very essential to salvation, or very worthy distinctions among Christian ministers, will yet look with a certain reverence and respect upon the pomp, pageantry, and magnificence of the once universal Church of Rome—these relics of her former power and grandeur still displayed in her religious ceremonials and machinery. He cannot forget that there was a time, extending over some fifteen or sixteen hundred years, when Europe contained only slaves and masters, serfs and nobles, and the Churchmen were the only third estate in the social body. They were not men of birth, privilege, or interest. The highest dignities and the greatest social and political influence were attainable in the Catholic Church, by men of the lowest as well as of the highest classes; and individuals rose to eminence and power by worth, talents, and learning. This Church-element was, in the early middle ages, the popular element in the social structure of Europe; the counterpoise to the kingly and aristocratic elements. In any true reading of history, the Church and her establishments, dependent upon the papal authority at Rome alone, and independent, in their civil as well as their ecclesiastical affairs, of the sovereigns, nobles, feudal jurisdictions and institutions, and of the military anarchy and violence prevailing in every land, were the only asylums in which the spirit of freedom and of independence of mind, and the restraints of public opinion and religious feeling upon barbarian chiefs and men in power, the moral checks upon brutal despotic sway, were lodged, kept alive, and nursed to their present maturity. Rome would have been what Constantinople is, and western Europe what Turkey and Russia are, but for the separation of the ecclesiastical from the temporal authority in every country of the Catholic faith, and the independence of this distinct Church power of the power of the state, its concentration in a sovereign pontiff at Rome, and its being upheld, not by arms and brute force, but by public opinion and a moral and religious sentiment or faith, allied, no doubt, to gross superstition, but still much more spiritual and intellectual than any other social influence of the times. Law, learning, education, science, all that we term civilisation in the present social condition of the European people, spring from the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs and the Catholic priesthood over the kings and nobles of the middle ages. All that men have of civil, political, and religious freedom in the present age, may be clearly traced, in the history of every country, to the working and effects of the independent power of the Church of Rome over the property, social economy, movement, mind, and intelligence of all connected with her in the social body. She unquestionably represented the public mind in all social action; and if she often abused her power as its representative, she always maintained the rights of her constituent to independence of the civil power, or state, in matters of religion. By nursing this spirit in the European people, the Church of Rome was herself the mother of the Reformation. It was the legitimate offspring of her own principle of exist-

ence. Without this spirit and principle of independence of the civil power in religious affairs, the efforts of Luther, Calvin, and Knox, would have been unavailing with the people in establishing the Reformation; and the Free Church of Scotland shakes hands with the Church of Rome over this one great social and religious principle common to both—the independence of religious faith of all state power. Let no man contemn the Church of Rome as having been, from beginning to end of its history and social influence, a noxious or useless establishment. In the Greek Church no such reformation as Luther's can take place; because no such independence of the civil power as the Roman pontiffs claimed, made good, and infused in the mind and spirit of the people of western Europe, was ever conceded to, or inculcated by the patriarchs of the Greek branch of Christianity. We read history wrong when we swell with indignation at the arrogance, pride, and almost royal pomp, wealth, and power of the prelates in the middle ages, at the disposal of crowns and kingdoms, and at the humiliation and dethronement of legitimate sovereigns in the plenitude of their power, by papal decrees. We forget that these events, so common in the middle ages, were the subjugation of brute force, in barbarous times, to spiritual and intellectual influences in social affairs. Superstition, fanaticism, religious action of any kind, however unenlightened, degrading, and barbarous, is still intellectual influence, is still moral movement, however ill understood and ill directed, is still something higher and better than the mere submission to blind force—is something that exalts the man above the mere animal-serf or slave, responding, without reference to his intellectual nature, to the mere impulse of the command and the lash. The despotism of the East is founded on the union of the spiritual and civil power in the same hand, on the subjection of soul and body to the state-ruler. If the sovereigns of western Europe had been heads of the Church as well as of the state, civil and religious liberty would have been extinguished, and with it all civilisation. Historians declaim against the inordinate ambition of popes and prelates, and the wonderful continuity of effort of all Churchmen in all countries, century after century, to obtain more and more power and influence for the Church and its head at Rome; but they forget that such ambition and effort would have been altogether fruitless, if not supported by some great social necessity, by some generally and strongly felt conviction in the minds of all men, that this power was beneficial to them in their social state, protective of their temporal interests and civil rights, and not merely beneficial to the order of clergy. An obscure impulse, a kind of instinct, leads men to support what is for their general social good, although the mode of its operating may not be clear to every mind. It was this instinctive impulse of the human mind to adopt the fitting and the good, and not merely a blind fanaticism or superstition raised by the clergy, that led every intelligent man, in those dark ages of despotism and anarchy, to side with the Church, and to set up and support her power in every country, above and independent of the absolute uncontrolled power of physical force involved in the military feudality of the sovereign and nobles. We see, at this day, the want of such a third power in the social structure of some of the Protestant countries of the Continent. Those which had not, like England, Switzerland, and Holland, obtained some form of an effective constitutional government, or some general feeling in favour of it, before the Reformation, fell back, by the junction of Church and state in the hands of the sovereign, into a lower condition as to civil and political liberty and rights than they were in before. Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and all the Protestant states of Germany are, at this day, in all that regards freedom in social action, freedom of mind and opinion, more enslaved than they were in the middle of the middle ages. The union of Church and state has established an irresponsible power in the hands of the sovereigns adverse to civil and

religious liberty. This is clearly brought out by the different position of the Protestant and Catholic clergy in those countries. In Sweden and Denmark there are few or no Catholic clergy; but the established Lutheran clergy are employed as government-functionaries and overloaded with statistical returns, inquiries, and local business in their parishes which, however necessary to the state, are incompatible with the pastoral duties of the clergyman. The Roman Catholic priesthood would not submit, in any country, to such abuse of their time and proper functions. In Prussia, the two branches of Protestantism, the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, were squeezed into one a few years ago by the late sovereign. New forms of worship were imposed upon them by royal edicts; coercion, imprisonment, military force, and quartering of troops on the recusant peasants, were resorted to, in order to force the ministers and people to receive the new service; and to resist this monstrous tyranny and persecution there was no Rome, no Vatican, no pope or head of the Church to appeal to. How different, in the same country, at the same period, was the exertion of the autocratic power of the same Prussian monarch over his Roman Catholic subjects! They had protection at Rome, and consequently in the whole Catholic world, against such arbitrary violence to the religious convictions and Church of his Catholic subjects. He could not even appoint to any clerical office independently of Rome, although he could, and actually did, imprison and dismiss Protestant clergymen, for refusing to adopt a new Church service which, as head of the Church and state, he composed and promulgated by royal edict.

'Whoever considers impartially the historical events of ancient and recent times, will admit that the Church of Rome was, for many a dark age and hour, a beacon-light in the path of civil and religious liberty, shining far a-head through the universal gloom; and although now it is left far behind in the progress of mind and of society, and is dimmed by the rising dawn of knowledge and civilisation, it is still useful, it still shows to arbitrary kingly power in Prussia, that there are restraints upon tyrannical interference with religious opinion and convictions.

'The influence of the religious persecutions of the late king of Prussia in producing the general movement of Germany, in 1848, for constitutional government to limit such arbitrary acts of autocratic power, will be touched upon in a future Note. The attempt, by a Concordat with the pope, to bring the Catholic subjects of Prussia into some ostensible connection with, and subjection to, the head of the Protestant Church, and its total failure, is curious and instructive. It was not to be tolerated in an autocratic government that the sovereign who could, as head of the Church and state, impose a new liturgy and Church service on his Protestant subjects, and appoint or dismiss, reward or punish their clergy at his pleasure, could not even name a priest to a vacant dignity or office among his Roman Catholic subjects. A Concordat with the late pope was therefore attempted, in order to give an equivalent power to the crown over its Catholic subjects.

'If governments can be taught by example, the example of Prussia in this attempt at the settlement of a Concordat with the Vatican might be a useful lesson, a warning against the gratuitous interference of a state with objects of Church power, nowise connected with the legitimate objects of good government. To have no State-Church at all appears to be the only arrangement suitable to the present advanced condition of society and of the public mind on religious freedom.'—Pp. 394—400.

ART. V.—1. *The True Remedy for the Evils of the Age. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes, &c. in* 1849. *By* JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M. A. London: J. W. Parker. 1850.

2. *The Marriage with the Sister of a Deceased Wife. A Sermon preached in Bocking Church, on Sunday, March* 17, 1850. *By* HENRY CARRINGTON, M. A. *Dean and Rector of Bocking.* London: Longmans. 1850.

3. *Marriage with Two Sisters, contrary to the Holy Law of God and Nature. A Sermon preached in Canterbury Cathedral, on Tuesday, May 7th. By the Rev.* CHARLES FORSTER, B.D. *one of the Six Preachers, and Rector of Stisted, Essex. With Notes, and Berriman's Letter on the same subject.* London: Rivingtons. 1850.

IT was said a few years ago of a pertinacious disputant, that he never could perceive when he was logically defunct. Archdeacon Hare, in those portions of his Charge, and of the accompanying notes, which treat of the much ventilated Marriage question, has betrayed this want of perception. To some other of the many topics, on which, like a true cosmopolite of the nineteenth century, he has thought proper to enlarge, the same remark would apply. But it is really strange, that, notwithstanding the author's well-known boldness and confidence, and vehement affection for that figure of speech called an *ipse dixit*, he has ventured so resolutely to put himself at the head of dead arguments, in the face of that bristling array of evidence, which on this most important subject so clearly stands forth. Perhaps there is but one satisfactory solution of the phenomenon. It is briefly this: he believes that all the conclusions involved in this question may be 'ascertained,' (as he affirms of Catholic consent,) 'without much trouble;' in other words, that he takes just as much trouble as he pleases, and no more. With him, and others like him, 'de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio;' that is, they do not believe those things to exist, for which they have not taken the pains to seek. However, whether their conclusions can be *ascertained* without much trouble, it is certain they can be *asserted* with little or none.

In justice to the Archdeacon, we will state a few of his

propositions; and then, for the enlightenment of the youthful philosophers of the present age, will put them in contrast with Mr. Carrington's obsolete arguments, which in such quarters seem to be unworthy of notice, since they exclude altogether that most valuable element aforesaid, the *ipse dixit*, and are based upon the sandy foundation of Catholic consent, reason, and analogy, and have nothing to do with German Romanists.

In the first place, then, as a πρόσωπον τηλαυγὲς, we have the weight of his individual opinion. 'The question is one in which *I* have not seen *my* way clearly to any satisfactory conclusion.' Then again: 'The main argument of all, drawn from the injunctions of the Levitical law, has seemed to *me* wholly untenable.' This proposition consists of three parts. 1. *To me.* The Archdeacon cannot hold what the Church has ever held. 2. It is *untenable*, which means, it cannot be held:—though it has long been held, it can be held no longer. At least, the Archdeacon cannot hold it, therefore it ought not to be held. He has appraised the article, set its true value upon it, and thrown it aside as useless lumber. 3. It is *wholly* untenable: Analogy, testimony, authority, are nothing: Fathers and Councils have not a leg to stand upon. This is decisive. Again: '*I* cannot resist the conclusion that the marriage of a sister after the wife's death is implied (in Scripture.)' So irresistible was the impulse, that he pushed S. Basil, S. Gregory, and a few other such 'imaginary authorities' out of the way, as men of straw, myths—and would hardly listen to a word they could say. Such is the energy of a powerful intellect, luxuriating, like Homer's horse, in the unrestrained liberty of his pastures. Another instance: to repeat what cannot be too emphatically urged, 'The *untenableness* of the Scriptural argument seems to *me* quite manifest.' It is for this end we read the Fathers and history; to test the strength of an individual opinion, as opposed to the testimony of thousands. This sort of opinion used to be called by more than one hard name; but we live in the nineteenth century, and have discovered, or are on the eve of discovering, 'a true remedy for the evils of the age;' the greatest of these evils being definite doctrine upon morals. Perhaps the great panacea may be expressed in the saying of the French wit, who discovered that no one was always in the right but himself.

Now Mr. Carrington, in woeful contrast to the Archdeacon, has surrendered that right of private judgment, which we 'have ...e fullest liberty to exercise,' in the 're-consideration' even of ...se matters which had been settled by the alleged consent of Church. He thought, perhaps, that it was his duty to con... these matters before he took orders, and gave his assent

and consent. But Mr. Carrington ought to have known that the Church is only right if you or I agree to what she says: not otherwise. And if you and I, (or you *or* I,) change an opinion, the Church ought to change hers, or, at least, ought to let us think and teach what we please.

The Archdeacon's opinion as to the moral nature of the law of marriage is remarkable. He begins by saying, (p. 27,) that it is 'a matter of great moral and social importance.' And further on, (p. 67,) he alleges, as one of the tests of incest, the 'moral sense of mankind,' the *horror naturalis*, and speaks of a 'profounder inquiry,' that will lead to a proper apprehension of the law of nature. His inquiry is so profound, that we cannot fathom it; like some profound things, it is so dark, that, to use his own phrase, 'we cannot see our way.' For, though allowing the question to be a moral and social one, (and all questions of social conduct involve, we presume, morality,) still he decides that the Law of Leviticus as to marriage was not moral, but ceremonial, (p. 70,) that is, of course, of the same kind which enjoins lustrations, circumcision, the avoidance of certain kinds of food, the burning of lamps and incense; things obviously in the same category. So the works of kindness and justice, and purity and piety, enjoined in Leviticus, are ceremonial; we presume like our ceremonies of wishing good morning and good night, and of paying formal visits. Obviously so, for the Archdeacon has ruled that the moral law consists of the ten commandments only. So that Christians are freed from a very great restraint indeed. They may be worse than Pharisees in every thing but their hypocrisy. And it follows that the New Testament gives no sanction to the law of marriage. We wish the Archdeacon would indulge us with a safety-lamp to guide us through the profundity of his argument, for it seems to us somewhat mephitic, though probably, like some other dark researches, very scientific.

Mr. Carrington, on the contrary, has indulged in an error which runs through the warp and woof of his whole argument. He assumes, rather than asserts, the moral principle upon which the whole Law of Leviticus is based, and seems to take it for granted that a law which is intimately concerned with the dearest human affections, and with the happiness and well-being of society, must be pre-eminently moral, especially since it proceeds from the author of all morality, and has been distinctly noticed in the Gospel and the Apostolic writings. How much is it to be regretted that his views are not deeper, and then perhaps he would see that, notwithstanding the deep moral ends and illimitable social influence, connected with the relations of man and woman, still it is very unphilosophical to infer that

the specific ordinances which regulate them are based upon moral grounds. What would Prussia or Kentucky say to such an inference? Mr. Carrington's notion, (to use Archbishop Whately's term, which his Grace so convincingly applies to the impotence of the restrictive functions of the law,) is a mere 'chimera' of ratiocination, which some Teutonic Bellerophon is fated ere long to destroy.

This sound position, that the whole Law of Leviticus is ceremonial, has an additional support in the Archdeacon's views of Christian liberty. 'Christianity is a law of freedom, not of forms and ceremonies,' (p. 77.) Again, (p. 66,) 'there is no need that marriage should any longer be fenced round by the same outward prohibitions as under the law.' Why? Because Christians have more liberty than the Jews. What liberty means, every schoolboy can tell; every schoolboy, that is, who is left to his own *moral sense;* it means doing just what we like. Therefore Mr. Keble is quite wrong, (p. 67,) when he asserts that the moral law was made more strict by our Lord. Why cannot Mr. Keble tell us something new? His opinion, Mr. Hare maintains, (and we fear the charge is true,) was that of the Fathers and Schoolmen; for Schoolmen, (not Scotus, and the half dozen who followed him,—the happy few, the seven sages,—but that ignorant crowd, that *mob*, as Archdeacon Hare terms assemblies of Churchmen,) the great body of the Schoolmen, had some respect for the uninterrupted belief of the Christian Church. Mr. Keble ought to have gone to the Mischna, or Dr. Adler. And to prove that Mr. Keble is wrong, he quotes S. Paul's Epistles, which show that the ceremonial law is abrogated; and S. Peter's vision, which declares, that what God hath cleansed, man may not call common; and the Council of Jerusalem, which abrogated all the law. Therefore the law of marriage is abrogated. Who is to marry whom is now all guess work. So much the better; the more we can get rid of positive law, the greater is our Christian liberty. And theology then will consist in 'Guesses at truth,' and will be a pleasant pastime, a relaxation from the severer investigations of philosophy.

We cannot quite understand the Archdeacon's views as to the authority and weight to be allowed to cumulative evidence, to a chain of uncontradicted authorities upon any given point. He says, (p. 27,) that it 'is easy to perceive' (easy to himself, he means) 'that a large part of the arguments adduced are utterly strengthless to support the conclusions rested upon them.' By the sequel he would seem to mean the arguments in favour of the Levitical law being binding, and of the marriage of the wife's sister being forbidden. He surely must be a very

Samson who can break through the strong chain of proof which demonstrates that the Church Catholic has so held; or who can pull down upon the heads of the present generation that pillar of truth upon which such momentous questions rested. Such a Samson is Archdeacon Hare; and, like him, blind. He cannot see his way. But if he cannot build up, which requires the organs of vision, he can pull down, which requires none. He says there is 'no consent,' (p. 29,) (so he expresses it in his Charge, *ad Clerum;* in his notes, where he speaks *ad populum,*—to you and me, to the *mob,*—he says, 'there is nothing like a general consent,') in favour of the opinion that every member of a Christian community is prohibited from marrying his wife's sister by any positive precept in the Levitical law. We are not clever enough to understand what he means by 'nothing like,' or 'general.' We thought that a total absence of affirmation of the legality of this connexion, was in itself *something* like a general consent, the image, if not the very thing itself. But more, we should have supposed that the positive declarations of numerous Councils, Fathers, Schoolmen, Bishops, and divines in all ages and countries, uncontradicted throughout Christendom for at least fifteen centuries, was exactly that which we should call general consent; in other words, the voice of the Catholic Church. He must mean that some essential element is wanting; some General, or Generalissimo to head this army; his own person, or Dr. Adler's, or Luther's, Bellarmine's, Caietan's, or one of the seven Dun-Scotian sages above mentioned. But hold:—we see his meaning. There *could* be no general consent; for these Fathers and others, upon whose testimony we had so confidingly depended, are 'imaginary leaders,' (p. 29.) Some Niebuhr, we suppose, has arisen to demonstrate that the decrees of the Councils are as pleasant myths as the decades of Livy, and that there is no more reality in S. Basil, S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, and S. Gregory, than in Numitor, Cocles, or Decius Mus. The Archdeacon would lead us to something more substantial. When Christians, for instance, pretend to interpret a verse of Scripture, as the 18th verse of Levit. xviii. it is a 'sufficient' reply, that the Jews, (meaning the Talmudists,) did not so understand it. (P. 28.) And though Christian authorities are 'strengthless,' 'imaginary,' 'utterly untenable,' yet the Jewish Synagogue is to have all and more than the weight of a Catholic Council in deciding one of the most important particulars of the Law of God. However, since, according to the opinion of the day, what is newest is best, he clinches the whole argument, and settles the matter most satisfactorily, by bringing forward an actual living Jew of the

nineteenth century, Dr. Adler, the Rabbi. Dr. Adler accordingly ordains these canons following. 1. Polygamy was clearly allowed by the Divine law. 2. Whatever may be said about the 18th chapter of Leviticus, the 20th contains *all* the degrees 'wholly and for ever forbidden.' (Consequently, since neither father, mother, grandson, nor wife's grandson are mentioned in the 20th chapter, the degrees implied by these relations are not wholly and for ever forbidden,—perhaps are now lawful.) 3. The Rabbis and the Mischna allow the marriage of a wife's sister, (pp. 73—75;) therefore, we suppose, Scripture uncontrovertibly does. His testimony, the Archdeacon says, is conclusive. The Rabbi's canons ought surely to satisfy the most vehement repudiators of the tyranny of Church canons, and the most ardent aspirants after Christian liberty!

We could not at the present moment select a more advantageous contrast to the spirit in which Archdeacon Hare has acted, than the modest and unpretending, but cogent and well reasoned, Sermon of Mr. Carrington. The Archdeacon, in virtue of that license conceded by Bishops to their officials, addressed an assembly of clergymen; his brethren, and, as to ecclesiastical orders, his equals, many of them far his superiors as divines. He selects topics with which they must have all been more or less familiar, especially since they are questions now engrossing the minds of those who serve at the altars of the English Church. One might have expected that he would have prepared for their discussion with the same learned care so visible in the charges of Waterland, and others of our principal divines, who felt that a respect was due to an audience composed of men who were not *planè hospites* in ecclesiastical matters. Instead of which, the Archdeacon treats at least this Marriage question in that rambling popular way, which might befit a pamphlet, or a review, or the columns of a newspaper. It would seem, that when composing his Charge, he had not attended to many of the arguments which appear, as δευτέραι φρόντιδες, in his notes. But even upon these he has stumbled at hap-hazard. We cannot believe, we cannot do him the injustice of supposing, that he had studied the exhaustive evidence which the labours of the Royal Commission have brought to light, and for which the Church must be grateful to the profound learning, indefatigable research, and straightforward testimony of those who came forward in defence of the Law of God. It would be impossible for any candid man to rise from its perusal, without at least allowing that great weight was due to facts so clearly adduced; and no one, capable of putting two propositions together, could dare to say, in the face of the Church of England, that what had been

approved by the cumulative authority of the Church was *untenable*, while all but apostolic authority was to be conceded to the Mischna, the Talmud, and Dr. Adler, the Rabbi!

Mr. Carrington, on the other hand, addressed a single country congregation. But instead of contenting himself with assertions, or *ad hominem* arguments, (which in such a position would have been far from illegitimate) he candidly and fairly goes through the whole merits of the question; and, though using a style admirably fitted for his hearers, because plain, affectionate, and earnest, pursues at the same time a method befitting a divine and scholar. He has condensed into the compass of a moderate discourse the heads of the arguments which form the substance of that learned evidence to which we have above alluded. He takes the internal evidence of Holy Scripture; enters into the critical examination of the much disputed verse, (Levit. xviii. 18;) employs the great argument of analogy for the establishment of the Levitical degrees; lays down the principle of the divine law of marriage; shows the identity (as far as regards this law) of consanguinity and affinity; then asserts the laws of Christ and His Apostle respecting marriage; briefly sums up the irrefragable testimony of the Church; and after exposing the sophistries and falsehoods by which the unrighteous cry for a repeal of God's law has been fomented, ends with an appeal to the conscience and hearts of his flock. With all respect for the Archdeacon, we assert, that the arguments against this abominable incest which the children of this world are now endeavouring to legalize, are *adamantine:* that if you resist them, you may as well resist all positive law altogether. Great and eternal principles are involved in this matter, which show it to be far from an isolated question. Make it an open question, and what single principle can be evolved from the positive precepts of Law or Gospel? We are therefore most thankful to Mr. Carrington for having performed so useful a service, as bringing before the minds of the people those arguments which had hitherto been confined to the more educated and the learned; and we have much satisfaction in knowing that his statements have already done much towards kindling that righteous indignation, that zealous love for purity, truth, and religion, which has been already shown throughout the British nation: we require however such men as Mr. Carrington to preserve the people from being further infected with the bad examples of the Continent, and with the sophistries of a luxurious and selfish civilization.

Upon this great subject, it would be impossible to avoid damaging the cause by special pleading, unless it be laid down,

in limine, that the principle of the law of marriage is contained in the primeval decree of God, (Gen. ii. 24,) and that our blessed Lord, in establishing the Christian law, restored it to what it had been at the beginning. That it was so restored, is a commonplace of theology. The decree, 'they twain shall be one flesh,' establishes the principle of which the 18th chapter of Leviticus is but the evolution. Since man and wife are one flesh, therefore, the blood relations of the husband must be the blood relations of the wife, and those of the wife the blood relations of the husband. From this principle applied to the natural law, forbidding the marriage of next of kin, follows the law of incest. The very Hebrew expression translated 'next of kin,' but literally 'flesh of his flesh,' (as stated in the evidence,) obviously connects itself with the law announced in Genesis. From this law, 'they twain shall be one flesh,' equally follows the prohibition of polygamy. The word *twain* demonstrates this. It may be objected, and doubtless Dr. Adler would remind Mr. Hare, that this word is not found in the Hebrew of Genesis ii. 24. But it is found in all the places where it is quoted in the New Testament.[1] This is sufficient to show, that it ought to be in the Hebrew. And here is one simple proof how little Jews are to be trusted in any matters connected with the interpretation even of those Scriptures of which they claim to be the guardians. But not only this. The word is found in the LXX., which version, we know, was of great authority among the Jews themselves, till, on account of some untoward evidence which it afforded against their nation, they thought proper to repudiate it. Dr. Adler of course will tell the Archdeacon, that any argument to be derived from the LXX. is utterly 'strengthless.' However, as the Archdeacon likes strong facts, here is one for him. This same word occurs in the Samaritan text, thus confirming the version of the LXX., which, however, is by no means, as has been carelessly alleged, a copy from the Samaritan. Here we cannot but suspect that the omission is a piece of Jewish fraud, similar in kind to others of which the Samaritan text furnishes the presumption. For instance, in Exodus xxi. 28, and in the sequel of that and the following chapter, the word *beast* of the Samaritan is uniformly *ox* in the Hebrew; and in the 32d verse, the Samaritan has, 'if a beast shall wound,' (the verb being a general term,) the Hebrew, 'if an ox shall *push*,' (a particular term,) an alteration which evidently shows design. It looks like a disposition on the part of the Jews to make a cloak for their own avarice and injustice, by narrowing the letter of the law; and as they held by the letter, they would

[1] S. Matt. xix. 5. S. Mark x. 8. Eph. v. 31. 1 Cor. vi. 16.

not admit, in this or in other cases, the merciful law of analogy. Now the omission of the word *twain* would certainly weaken, though it could not destroy, the inferential prohibition of polygamy. This nation, as proud at the present day as they were in the Lord's time of having Abraham for their father, could not brook the notion of casting an apparent slur upon his conduct and that of the Patriarchs, in those days when God was pleased to tolerate what He had at the first forbidden.

But now let us look to the law of Christ. Unless we cease to be Christians, we cannot resist the interpretation universally given to our Lord's declaration, as prohibitory of polygamy. It is true, that the relaxation of the law which he mentions specifically, is divorce; but the primeval law, 'they twain shall be one flesh,' *à fortiori* applies to polygamy. If it be said, that polygamy was permitted by the law of Moses, so was divorce. And Moses wrote the one, as the other, on account of the hardness of the people's hearts; and in that same portion of the Law which contains the municipal code, the peculiarly national ordinances of the Hebrews; a consideration which Archdeacon Hare has totally overlooked, when seeking to overturn the obligation of the moral law in Leviticus, (p. 71,) by arguing that if we are to keep one part of the law of Moses, we must keep all. The Church has unhesitatingly, by her practice, at least, shown the essential difference between the two. So that our Lord, so far from never legislating on the subject of marriage, and leaving what Archdeacon Hare calls the Church, (we do not know what that is, however,) to exercise her free judgment upon matters of detail;—so far, from our Lord having given us more liberty in this respect—He has imposed afresh the primeval restraint, and in so doing has respected man's true liberty, has restored the Christian wife to her original holy dignity, and has abrogated every permission which for a time interfered with the Divine Law of Marriage, that is, as the whole Church has understood it, with the 18th chapter of Leviticus.

In showing that the law of analogy is that by which the 18th chapter is to be construed, Mr. Carrington's observations are very cogent:—

'What is that which is attempted in England at the present moment? No man proposes, or thinks of proposing, that a man should marry his brother's wife: no, every man feels that it would be pollution to him to live with a woman who was before married to his brother. Men account themselves too pure to hear of such a thing; but they do not think a woman defiled by living with a man who was before married to her sister; they do not think woman too pure for this: they account a woman's purity of so far less consequence, or of so far less degree, that whilst they think it impure for a man to be united to a woman before married to his brother, they consider that sisters, no matter how many, can, without defilement or degra-

dation, be married by the same husband. See the depth of selfish licentiousness in the proposition. The proposers of the change say, I would not on any account sully myself by marrying a woman already married to my brother; but if a woman chooses to marry me, who have before married her sister, this does not sully me; and, as for her, either it does not matter, or there is such a difference between man and woman, that what is impure for me is pure enough for her. This, I say, is doing a dishonour, and inflicting a disgrace upon woman, not to be endured.'—P. 13.

This is the whole secret. Christian men are too often Turks in their estimate of women. No other reason but that of their own degrading notions can be assigned for their wretched attempt to upset the law of analogy; and if that be once destroyed, farewell to reason, religion, and common sense!

But Archdeacon Hare dwells upon the *moral sense of mankind*, the *horror naturalis*, the *conscience of the nation*, as being sufficient preservatives against such branches of incest as he thinks fit to condemn, and, we presume, as arguments for this specific connexion. Let us see, however. Does he mean, the moral sense of all mankind? Is there such an universal consent? Take all together, savages, Turks, Greeks, and Romans, and can he pretend to say that there is any unison in their suffrages? Who does not know that many instances of what all Christians acknowledge to be incest have actually been tolerated by human laws? The old Roman law alone demonstrates this. Where was the *horror naturalis* of Assyrian, Mede, Persian; 'even of the most honoured persons among them, their kings and magi?' as Jeremy Taylor remarks,[1] while showing the wide-spread and almost incredible profligacy of the ancient Gentiles. But the Archdeacon knows, and has maintained in his former writings, against the low philosophy of Paley and his school, that morals must found their basis upon God's revelation. And as for conscience, what is conscience, but the perception of the rule of right which God has revealed? Among the heathens, then, where this revelation was so very imperfect, conscience must have continually erred.

But Archdeacon Hare, in endeavouring to apologize for this particular kind of incest, draws distinctions which do not exist. He wishes to soften the force of the word *abomination*, as applied to some of these sins, urging that it cannot apply, (in its sense of moral reprobation,) to the marriage of a husband's brother, and of course not to a wife's sister, because God had in Deuteronomy, in an exceptional case, permitted the marriage of a husband's brother, and therefore God never could permit what was morally wrong. A sufficient answer for this is, that God can relax his own laws. But that this connexion is *in itself*

[1] Ductor Dub. Book II. ch. ii. Rule 3.

as abominable as any of the other connexions, appears clearly for the reason given in the 16th verse, the same that is given in other places. But it is with astonishment, almost amounting to horror, that we read the following attempt made, (p. 73,) to invalidate the force of the word. 'Much stress has indeed been 'laid by some persons, *whose zeal has outstripped their know-* 'ledge (?) on the word *abomination*, which is supposed to be 'applied to all the marriages enumerated in the Levitical table: 'but such persons may be advised to look into other parts of 'Leviticus, for instance into the 11th chapter, where they will 'see that the term had MORE OF A CEREMONIAL THAN A MORAL 'FORCE, (!!!) and that a number of things were called abomi- 'nation, which morally were altogether indifferent, and which 'therefore were cleansed summarily in S. Peter's vision.' Mr. Hare ought to know that the word abomination, according to scriptural language, means sin, that is, transgression against God's law, including, like the word sin, greater or less degrees. But what a critic must he be who sends us for an explanation of the word to chapters totally distinct, and which treat of sins of altogether a different kind and class. The classification in Holy Scripture is very distinct, and the moral is clearly separated from the ceremonial. It is sad that any one should insinuate that *abomination* has chiefly a ceremonial sense, or that it is most frequently so used. Under this term are included theft, lying, false-witness, a false balance, pride, murder, and pre-eminently and emphatically, adultery, and idolatry; the last in particular being denounced as an abomination, in terms of the sternest horror and hatred. The chapter before us confines the use of the word to sins of the deepest turpitude, and under denunciations of the most terrific vengeance. The commonest rules of construction, (whatever Dr. Adler may possibly think,) prove this. The chapter is complete in itself. It begins with that solemn formula which uniformly announces a distinct division of the Law; 'And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak 'unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, I am the Lord 'your God.' And then, having gone through the cognate topics of legislation, this division is concluded, and a new one begun in chapter xix. with the same prefatory formula. It is acknowledged that the preamble, as it were, of the divine law, contains a warning against the evil doings of Canaan and Egypt, namely, all those which are enumerated in the following verses. These being specified, the 25th verse and the others to the end connect themselves with the introductory verses, and plainly show and declare that *each* and *every* transgression specified was an Egyptian or Canaanitish sin, and an *abomination*. 'Defile not 'yourselves in *any of these things;* for *in all these* the nations 'are defiled which I cast out before you. . . . Ye shall not

'commit any of *these abominations*; for *all these abominations* 'have the men of the land done. . . . Whoso shall commit 'any of these *abominations*, even the souls that commit them 'shall be cast off from among the people. Therefore shall ye 'keep mine ordinances, that you commit not *any one* of these '*abominable* customs.' By what possible 'quirk or quiddity' of criticism can these words be dissociated from the specific prohibitions of marriage? By what straining of ingenuity can it be insinuated that these terrific sins are *e pari materia* with bats and snails?

It is therefore quite impossible to except the sin of marrying a wife's sister from these dreadful denunciations, upon any law of analogy;—but analogy is too feeble an expression,—of necessary, intuitive inference. The only argument that can with any colour be adduced is the inferential one, (not analogical or consequential, but, at best, remotely inferential,) derived from the received construction of the 18th verse, one of the most difficult in Scripture, and confessedly capable, at least, of other meanings. Towards properly understanding it, let us observe what is sufficiently obvious, that the 18th chapter, in announcing a general law against moral turpitude, divides that law into several sections, which are not to be confounded. Most of these are cognate, all indeed except the two contained in the 21st verse, but these are included as being among the Canaanitish sins. The first section is the law of marriage; a subject of its own nature admitting of specification. Hence the illustrations down to the end of verse 17. There is no copulative particle, however, connecting the verses which specify them, which plainly indicates that they are not isolated enactments, but the necessary developments of the law announced in verse 6. To use the words of a divine, much despised by Mr. Hare, but by no one else whom we know—Dr. Hammond:[1] 'The former interdicts, '(meaning those which precede verse 18,) had been given upon 'the reason of propinquity, and accordingly that reason distinctly 'mentioned, first in general, verse 6, and then pursued in all 'needful particulars of it, to the end of verse 17. But the in-'terdict here is upon a new reason, that of *vexing*, which is an 'evidence that the first sort of interdicts, (continued for twelve 'persons,) is now quite finished, and that another head is begun 'against more wives than one; and accordingly, upon that 'ensue also divers other new and particular commands to the 'end of the chapter.' Now, to each of these six commands the particle *vau* is prefixed, not so much as a copulative as a sectional mark. These are not such as admit of detail, like the law of

[1] Of Marrying a Wife's Sister. Section 17.

marriage, and therefore are very brief. They form, besides, a climax of abominations; the sin of sacrificing to Moloch, and of profaning God's name, occupying their proper place in the scale. It would therefore appear, on the face of it, that the sin denounced in verse 18, was of a different kind from that which had preceded; otherwise, its proper place would have been after the 16th verse. And it will be evident, that if this sin be allowed to mean polygamy, it will come in exactly where such a prohibition would be expected.

Now, this view is fully borne out by our translator's marginal rendering, 'one wife with another.' Of course, to Dr. Adler, the Rabbi, such an authority is nothing; and who but a Hebrew can be a Hebraist? Mr. Hare may say, What is a margin? or he may value our English translation as little as the Archbishop of Dublin does, who alarmed the good people of his diocese a few years ago, by telling them that the English version is not the Bible. Besides, our translators lived in the dark ages. But, let us hear Dr. Adler, the Rabbi. 'The rendering adopted 'by the Caraites, *one wife to another*, is not only destitute of 'ALL authority, and discordant with the spirit of the sacred 'language,' &c. &c. Of course, no Talmudist will admit the authority of a Caraite. And as to the testimony of Dr. Hammond, though Mr. Badeley quoted it with praise in his evidence, the Archdeacon despises it, and thus quashes it, (p. 85:) 'Ham-'mond, with his usual aptness for running on a wrong sent,' [is this a printer's error, or one of the Archdeacon's odd bits of spelling?] 'adopts the notion that one verse was intended to 'be a prohibition of polygamy; a position which we,' [*i.e.* self and Adler,] 'have already seen to be untenable.' Untenable, we beg to remind our readers, means a thing which Archdeacon Hare does not hold. Positively, we cannot see how the censure applies. But, as the Archdeacon *does* see his way here, we suppose the question is settled; particularly as we find a 'German Romanist,' and a German Protestant lawyer, asserting the legality of disputed degree—without proof indeed; but who would oppose Hammond, a mere English D. D. of the seventeenth century, to foreign sages of the nineteenth, to Walter or Eichhorn? (Some untoward associations, by the way, are suggested to English divines by the latter name.) So, as to authority, *res acta est.*

The question is one of internal evidence. Mr. Dwight, in his excellent little work, 'The Hebrew Wife,' (p. 86—89,) has most successfully shown that the Hebrew phrases, 'a man to his brother,' and 'a woman to her sister,' *in every passage* where they occur, do not imply blood relationship; the phrases mean 'one man or woman to another,' or 'one thing to another,' as the context may require. Of course, the phrase may occasion-

ally imply brotherhood; as when 'one said to another,' that other may be a brother; but its use is uniformly that of connexion or relation, totally distinct from kindred. Mr. Dwight indeed has not done full justice to himself; for he has left unnoticed seven examples, which completely bear out this rule.[1] So that, so far from Dr. Adler being right, we assert, that to say that this interpretation of Lev. xviii. 18 is inconsistent with the spirit of the language, would be to make a totally gratuitous exception to a fixed Hebrew idiom, an idiom which all Hebrew scholars admit in many instances, though strangely overlooking its universality. But it is as clear in all the other passages. The verse then cannot apply, we will venture to say, to a wife's sister. Every argument drawn from internal evidence—the idiom, the position of the verse, the whole analogy of the divine law—supports our construction, nay, forbids any other.

It is true, that neither S. Basil nor the Fathers gave this translation. But it must be borne in mind, that the LXX. was their authority, and that, as was very frequently the case, the translation gave the words their literal primary meaning in the Greek. But that the Fathers felt the difficulty, is evident from the various conjectural renderings which they gave. Had Archdeacon Hare's negative of general consent been applied to this verse, he would be right. But, in their very attempts to reconcile this with the context, we have a tacit, a very strong negative acknowledgment, that they never considered the chapter to allow the marriage of a wife's sister, or in the least to disturb the inevitable analogy. There is not a hint, except in the matter of Dionysius of Tarsus, of such an explanation being thought of. But Mr. Carrington gives an excellent summary of the argument on this point:—

'We see then that this verse, as those who think it lawful to marry their wife's sisters, rest their opinion, in whatever way you take it, does not actually and plainly allow it. Translate it as you will, the utmost that can be said is, that it is *not certain* that this verse *forbids* it, or that the Hebrew will bear a reading which does not forbid it; whilst, at the same time, there are three other renderings, one of which would forbid bigamy, and two of which would directly forbid the marriage in question. So that if this verse, which every one owns is difficult, was all that the Old Testament said on the subject, it would certainly be more likely that the marriage was forbidden, than that it was allowed; especially since all the learned men, and early saints, all the Churches, and Christian assemblies, from the first ages down to quite modern times, and also all the greatest and most learned men of our

[1] The examples given by Mr. Dwight are Gen. xiii. 11, xxvi. 31, xxxvii. 19, xlii. 21—28. Exod. x. 23, xvi. 15, xxv. 20, xxvi. 3, (twice,) 5, 6, 17, xxxvii. 9. Lev. vii. 10, xviii. 18, xxv. 14—46, xxvi. 37. Numb. xiv. 4. Deut. xxv. 11. Neh. iv. 19. Job. xli. 17. Jer. xiii. 14, xxv. 26, xxxiv. 14. Ezek. i. 9, ii. 23, iii. 13, iv. 17, xxiv. 23, xxxiii. 30, xlvii. 14. Joel ii. 8.

The examples omitted are Isaiah ix. 18, xix. 2. Jer. xxxi. 34. Ezek. xxxviii. 21. Haggai ii. 22. Zech. vii. 9. Mal. ii. 10.

own Church, and the very men who translated this verse, since all of these, with this verse and chapter before them, and many of them writing about this verse and chapter, not only declared, that marriage with a wife's sister was not allowed by them, but moreover, that by this chapter it was actually forbidden.'—P. 6.

We have already anticipated the most important evidence by which it is clear that our Saviour confirmed the law of marriage. But a few words remain to be said upon that monstrous proposition, to which Archdeacon Hare gives encouragement, namely, that all *positive* legislation, or matters of detail prescribed by the law, were rendered no longer obligatory by Christ, and that he enforced *principles* alone, (p. 69.) And so very vague would the Archdeacon make these principles, that their consequences, or the practical details involved in them, must be a matter of great uncertainty and doubt: so uncertain, that different Christian communities may differ, and exercise an absolute and independent discretion in their definitions and sanctions. It is surely needless to enter into any lengthened refutation of this. As to the law of marriage, of divorce, of adultery, our Lord's legislation is sufficiently positive. Besides, as we have endeavoured to show, it had for its object all those provisions of the Levitical law, which were not clearly permissive and temporary. And thus our Lord's interpretation and *restoration* of the law, in these particulars, was but a part of His great design of a more perfect exposition of the Moral Law, which He came, not to destroy, but to fulfil. This is a common-place of divinity, like others which we have been forced to reassert. But when our Archdeacon chooses to question that as a theorem, which the Church has made an axiom, we are obliged to recur to the vexatious task of laying again those principles of the doctrine of Christ, whose discussion hinders men from going on unto perfection. The laws which were typical, national, and local, and peculiar to the Theocracy, could not of course apply to the Church Universal; but as to the moral and eternal law, not only in its moral principles, but in its particular precepts, this the Gospel has confirmed. In arguing against this, Mr. Hare attacks, not Mr. Keble, as he supposes, but what is commonly called the Church Universal. It is perfect neology to deny the plain end and meaning of the Sermon on the Mount, the object of which was to make the old Moral law not less strict, but more spiritual. Our Lord, by the very reformation of certain details, demonstrated that his legislation recognised a *law of particulars*. It is an assertion fraught with portentous mischief to say, that Christ's law is one of liberty, as men understand liberty, whether intellectual or physical, that is, freedom from all wholesome restraint. The Gospel is no favourer of idealism, or eclectic

speculation; but, while it exalts and strengthens the intellect as well as the affections, it curbs them by a definite discipline. The laws of physical nature are but typical of those of Christianity. The natural *liberty* of the flower, of the fruit, of the tree, and of the stream, must be restrained and checked, in order to maturity, fragrance, beauty, and utility. And so the human creature, in order to attain to the fullest exercise of his highest powers, in other words, his truest liberty, must be subjected to that rigid discipline, against which the unregenerate nature of the animal will ever rebel.

If we have at all mistaken Archdeacon Hare, it must at least be allowed, that the whole tone of his Charge and the notes betrays a sensitive antipathy to restraint and authority. His idea of Protestantism is, a protest against every thing in which *I* cannot clearly see my way, which *I* consider *untenable*. There are some inferences to be gathered from his view of the law of Christ which are sufficiently distressing. After quoting (p. 75,) Dr. Adler's testimony, on marriage, polygamy, and *divorce*, he runs foul of Mr. Keble, as he does of every one ancient or modern who differs from himself, because of the following sentiment, in which we hope most Christians would concur. 'What Christian would follow the Talmudists in such 'matters? they being the very interpreters of whom our Lord 'said, *Except your righteousness exceed theirs, ye shall not 'enter into the kingdom of heaven*;—the blind guides, who 'taught men that they were not answerable for evil thoughts; 'that they should love their neighbour, but might hate their 'enemy; that if they said *Corban*, it would excuse them from 'helping their parents.' On which Mr. Hare observes, 'In 'other words, because the judges in James the Second's time 'wrested the law, therefore the consentient interpretation of 'our lawyers for ten or twelve centuries is unworthy of atten-'tion. Yet the matter in question is no way connected with 'the great pervading error of the Jews; nor is there the 'slightest intimation in the New Testament, that the Jewish 'lawyers were in error on this point; though, had their 'practice been a perversion of the law, opportunities for repre-'hending it would easily have occurred.'

Is not the answer obvious? The parallel does not hold. What parallel is there between a law binding the whole world, interpreted by a set of judges who belong only to a very small part of it, and who are no longer its best interpreters; and the law of a particular country, administered by those national judges who alone are its interpreters? What value would you attach to twelve centuries of republican judges upon a point of royal prerogative, or to a ten-fathomed Catena of Muftis and

Imaums upon the Pragmatic sanction? Do the Rabbis occupy the seat of Christ or His Apostles? Is the key of knowledge still in Jewish hands? And when they had it, did they use it aright? What miserable trifling is this, to say that a question involving analogical interpretation of Scripture, and a deep moral question, to decide which they have shown themselves incompetent, is, *in no way*, connected with their great pervading error? The consummation and fruit of their error was the rejection of their Lord: but the root from which this apple of Sodom sprang was that heinous perversion of the law, some instances of which Mr. Keble so justly specifies. Our Lord struck at this very root, and attacked it not in one instance, but in many. Hence those awful Woes, which condemn them alike as misinterpreters and misdoers. It is not only the privilege, but the duty of Christ's Church to reconsider their interpretations in general by the light of the Gospel. The Mischna and Talmud are witnesses against themselves, and bring into full light the force of our Lord's denunciations. But it is enough to dismiss these *gratis dicta* of the Archdeacon, with the words of Bishop Hall, applied to one who desired to contract an unlawful alliance; 'As for the modern Jews, to whom he stretches out 'his hand for succour, it matters little what they teach or do. 'They are not more without God, than without honesty and 'credit; their opinions are fabulous, their judgment frivolous, 'and their practice not worth our knowledge or regard.'

And now, as to the sanction of the Levitical law by the Apostles. On this point the Archdeacon has enunciated a canon which, astounding as it is, must doubtless be an agreeable surprise to all lovers of liberty. . . . 'Without any need of 'inquiring how far . . . . the Levitical law is to be regarded as 'still binding upon Christians, after our having been expressly 'releast' (we suppose he means *released*) 'from it by the 'Apostolic Council at Jerusalem.' If we may put in a word, it strikes us that the Levitical law contains some injunctions against fornication and idolatry. Therefore we are *released* by the Apostles from the restraint of these 'ceremonial' ordinances. Certainly it must be a great release to be left to our own '*eagle-sighted*' wisdom in the ordering of our religious or moral conduct. Now, as we read it, these two abominations (if Mr. Hare will allow us to call them so) are expressly forbidden by the Apostolic decree. So far they agree with the law of Moses, and also in a particular strictly ceremonial, as to abstinence from things strangled. It may indeed be answered, that the things forbidden did not so much belong to the law of Moses as to those laws which are called by some—'the seven precepts of the sons of Noah,' as Dr. Hammond (*in loco*) explains.

But even so, Mr. Hare will be in no way advantaged, since among these precepts the fourth was, abstaining from all uncleanness, and interdicted marriages, set down in Lev. xviii. But unhappily for the Archdeacon, the very words of the Apostolic decree do not leave us without specific guidance. The word *πορνεία*, as Mr. Keble justly remarks, (though with a modesty of opinion which Mr. Hare might advantageously imitate) plainly comprehends incest, as appears from S. Paul's use of it in 1 Cor. v. 1. And from the whole context of the New Testament, it is evident, that the word embraces the cognate sins enumerated in the chapter of Leviticus. These were so heinous, as perpetually to be classed with idolatry. It is plain therefore that the Apostolic decree refers to some known standard, which defined incest by instances; since no specification is made in that decree, nor any alteration of an existing standard intimated.

Now this standard must have been either Gentile or Jewish. To suppose it the former would be of course absurd. The conclusion therefore is irresistible, that the Apostolic decree forbids incest, as defined by holy Scripture. The very first council of the Church regards the law of marriage as a matter of primary concern. Otherwise, we, the Christian world, have positively no divine law whatever, nothing to check most abominable sin—against which, as we have shown above, the supposed moral sense is no safeguard whatever. And yet notwithstanding this perilous alternative, he says, we are *releast* from the law of God! Can Antinomianism go further?

But now for a few words upon that testimony and authority which Mr. Hare either doubts or despises: we mean the Councils, and Fathers, and Divines of the Church from the fourth century downwards. We cannot enter into the chain of evidence which is so well known to the Church, in consequence of the late commission. But it may be briefly summed up thus. That the Levitical law in this respect has been declared to be moral, unchangeable, and consequently binding on us, by numerous Councils of the Church, since the fourth century, that is, before the Council of Nice, in Spain, France, Britain, Italy, and in the East, where it binds all communions whether orthodox or heretical; that the voice of S. Basil in the East, and of S. Augustine, S. Gregory, and S. Ambrose in the West, were in this matter in perfect harmony; that Popes, even in the plenitude of their power, declared this to be a Divine law, from which they could in no way grant dispensation; that so taught Aquinas, with a host of Canonists, and school divines; so likewise the principal reformers on the continent, Calvin, Beza, Luther, Melancthon; so our own divines, the

framers of our Canons; so the recorded voice of the Church of England; so the law of England, expounded by her judges, the most learned, upright, and venerable in the world; so even the Archdeacon's friends the Talmudists, who confess that the Levitical law of degrees, not only as far as the *litera scripta* goes, but even to a considerable degree of analogy, is binding on all mankind. On the other side we have Dun Scotus, and a few of his followers, certain post-Tridentine lawyers and divines, hampered with the perplexities of modern Papal dispensations, certain liberal Germans and other continentalists, all speaking, be it remembered, their own individual opinions; a few scattered names here and there,—and ARCHDEACON HARE. It is quite clear, at least, that for centuries there was no doubt whatever that the law was binding on the Church.

There is one name, indeed, which Mr. Hare brings forward as a *malleus heterodoxorum*, a sledge-hammer to crush all those who think differently from himself: this is Jeremy Taylor. But then, fortunately for the cause of truth, the Bishop makes this untenable assertion, (a most extraordinary slip in one so learned,) '*I know but one Schoolman that dissents*; I 'mean *Paludanus*; if there be any more, I am sure they are 'but very few, *vel duo, vel nemo.*' Now Petrus de Palude, or Paludanus, flourished about 1330. We need but refer to the very learned and exhaustive evidence before the commissioners, to show that the Divine Law of Marriage was considered identical with the Levitical, unchangeable and consequently binding, by Thomas Aquinas in 1255, Albertus Magnus, in 1260, Richard de Media Villa, in 1290; Maronius, in 1315; Durandus a S. Portiano in 1320; Petrus Aurelius in 1321; John Bacon in 1329: to say nothing of a cloud of witnesses down to the sixteenth century of Canonists and Divines. The Decretals expressly say that the Levitical is the divine law, and that the marriage of the wife's sister is contrary to it; and they declare that the Pope has no power whatever to dispense with the Levitical degrees, because that would be contrary to God's word. The fact is, Taylor was on this point unaccountably blinded by Dun Scotus (who flourished in 1301), and some half dozen names which followed him, who are the sole advocates, at least till much latter times, of the uncatholic side of the question. But see to what consequence Bishop Taylor's positions would lead, at least with men of Archdeacon Hare's liberal aspirations. Bishop Taylor justly lays down the principle, that the law of nature is the law of God. But in his observations on prohibited degrees, he considers that only the marriages with parents are forbidden by the law of nature: consequently as the Levitical law (as he lays down) is not binding on Christians,

there is no positive law whatever against the most frightful abominations! We wish Mr. Hare joy of such an argument![1]

Yet in justice to Bishop Taylor and to the Scotists, it is but reasonable to believe, that their high respect and obedience to the laws and sanctions of the Church universal, would place them in a very different position, with respect to this question, from Archdeacon Hare, who is his own Church; and who regards the ninety-ninth canon of our Church with no greater intrinsic respect than a turnpike act. Jeremy Taylor might only mean this: that though the Jewish law of marriage has not been confirmed by any special enactment of Christ; still this position, though dangerously weakening the force of its obligation on us, and contradicted as it is by facts, yet does not exclude the acknowledgement that it was confirmed by the Apostles, and by the voice of the Universal Church. His views of the Sabbath, as explained by comparing one part of his works with another, would make this supposition very probable. Though we must confess our opinion, that the *Ductor Dubitantium* is the most unequal, and far from the most profitable of his works: and on some questions it is calculated to lead the doubter, not to a solution, but into further doubts. It certainly, in the present instance, puts him on a 'wrong scent,' as it seems to have done with Mr. Hare; and on a very calm review of the Archdeacon's objection, we cannot but be strongly of opinion that on this particular question Dr. Hammond wrote with far greater perspicuity, breadth of learning, and judgment.

With respect to the authority claimed and exercised by the Church upon the subject of the lawful degrees, Archdeacon Hare has made a strange, and, for a professed divine, a most unpardonable confusion. He assumes that the Church, (which to him is nothing more than an ecclesiastical parliament,) dealt with the question solely upon abstract notions of what was according to human judgment right or wrong. 'The practice 'of the Church, so far as we can trace it, that is, from the 'fourth century downward, appears rather to have been to 'assume that the principle which ought to determine what 'persons should be prohibited from marrying, is that laid down 'in Lev. xviii. 6; and that it rested with her to *evolve that prin-* '*ciple into its consequences*, with the help of the clue afforded 'by the Levitical table itself.' (P. 65.) This proposition, rightly understood, is true. But in order to its right understanding, we must grant that the context of Leviticus draws some of these

[1] For some admirable observations on the authority of Jeremy Taylor as a Casuist we must refer our readers to the notes to Mr. Forster's Sermon, which has appeared since this article was written.

consequences, and that it only rested with the Church to announce the remaining *necessary, inevitable* inferences. But he goes on: 'In so doing, the Church gradually advanced from 'one restriction to another, until men's hearts and souls were 'surrounded in this as in other things, by all manner of NETS 'AND GINS,'—(a dutiful notice of the Church Universal! Mr. Hare seems to be haunted with images connected with game and the chase: the Church is a mighty hunter, using all sorts of terrible engines to terrify and snare innocent animals like himself;)—'for the Judaic spirit had taken possession of her,' (let the Archdeacon beware of Dr. Adler and the Mischna,) 'as it will ever do of religion, when the primacy of faith is set 'aside.' We do not understand this last expression; but it is too much in Mr. Carlyle's misty style to be either ornamental or edifying. However, to drop all minor criticism, it is plain that the Archdeacon confounds two things; the Scriptural restraints which the Church *universally* put upon those degrees prohibited by the *divine*, that is, the *Levitical* law; and the artificial restraints which different portions of the Church, long after the age of the Apostles, put upon degrees not forbidden in Scripture; but which were superadded from motives of propriety, or prudence, or supposed analogy to that law which all received. To any sciolist in Church law the distinction between the divine law, and the laws, not of the Church, but of different branches of the Church, is as wide as possible. And upon this point we need only refer to the evidence.

Now as to the judgment of the Church upon the question of the wife's sister, the Archdeacon, finding it impossible to evade the clearness of the testimony which makes against such a connexion, endeavours to weaken it by special pleas. Let us see how far these can avail him. He throws a slur upon the Apostolical canons, by urging the uncertainty of their origin and of their primitive authority. It is at least acknowledged by scholars that they were very ancient, and that they spoke the sense of the Church in the fourth century. He says, however, that there is no reason for supposing that there was any direct reference to the Levitical law, in the prohibition against the marriage of a wife's sister made by the 19th of those canons. We cannot conceive why it may not be fairly implied, or considered at least as very probable; especially if explained by the express enactments by canons in subsequent times on the same subject, which recognise the Levitical law. The Church was till long after at unity with itself on matters of doctrine and practice. But he says, 'this canon stands alongside of similar 'prohibitions, the chief part of which may become persons called 'to the sanctity of the ministerial office, *but are no way fitted to*

'*be the subjects of civil legislation.*' (P. 81.) But let us remind the Archdeacon, that the question is not now of civil but of ecclesiastical legislation. Perhaps, however, he means legislation for 'civilians,' *i. e.* for lay people. Suppose it so: the 17th canon puts similar restrictions on a clerk who has a concubine, the 18th canon on one who keeps a harlot: the 25th deposes a Bishop or Presbyter who has committed fornication, perjury, or theft. Therefore the Church has no business to interfere with the liberty of laymen, if they choose to forswear themselves, thieve, or lead profligate lives:—or civil legislation has no right to punish, or have any cognizance of these crimes! A doctrine fitter for wild satyrs than men. Then, because the ancient council of Eliberis, held long before the council of Nice, ONLY excommunicated for five years a man who had committed this incest, he argues, from this mild punishment, that the marriage was not dissolved, or pronounced invalid! Has the Archdeacon ever endeavoured to realize the notion of excommunication, as enforced in the early Church; or what it must be to be five long years without Sacraments, without the Church's blessing, to be separated for no trifling portion of matured life from the society of Christians? Nay, the fair inference must be, that such extreme punishment of necessity implies the dissolution of the marriage. It certainly would so appear from S. Basil's letter. Had the Church allowed its validity, this would have been a sanction of sin. As well might we say that a thief might return to his thieving after the time of Church punishment was expired, or retain his stolen goods during its operation.

But now the Archdeacon pronounces his oracular judgment on the celebrated letter of S. Basil to Diodorus.

Κέκλυτέ μευ, Τρῶες, καὶ Δάρδανοι, ἠδ' ἐπίκουροι.

First we have a bit of criticism, though quite foreign to the argument. It is 'written with that turgid exaggeration which 'characterizes the Greek Fathers, almost as much as the 'sophists and rhetoricians of *their* age.' (P. 81.) Whose age? Did the *Fathers* all belong to the first age of the Church, and the *sons* to the next, as a luminous tyro in theology once conjectured? We had supposed that there was as great a difference in the style as in the age of S. Clement and S. Chrysostom, as there is in that of S. Basil and Theophylact. And as for S. Basil, it has generally been imagined that his style was peculiarly elegant, especially in his epistles. The truth is, the Archdeacon sees this celebrated letter with jaundiced eyes. He speaks of its 'logical quirks and quiddities.' There is nothing of the kind in it. The manifest object of the letter was, not to put forward any theory of the writer's

own, or any sophistry spun from his individual brain, but earnestly and indignantly to assert the doctrine of the Church as it had been ever held, and to base it upon the well-known doctrine of Holy Scripture. He begins in a tone of righteous indignation, worthy of a Christian Bishop, scandalized at an immoral innovation, all the more heinous for being cloked under a supposed sanction of Holy Scripture. Mr. Hare considers that the *τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔθος, νόμου δύναμιν ἔχον*, was the custom of S. Basil's diocese only! Who then was Diodorus of *Tarsus?* But does the context allow the probability of such a narrow restriction? *διὰ τὸ ὑφ' ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἡμῖν παραδοθῆναι. Θεσμοὺς, sacred laws,* as Dr. Pusey has justly observed. We would appeal to any patristic scholar, whether this form of expression *τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν* is not fairly applicable to the whole orthodox Christian Church: and whether, if the opposite custom had been ever licensed, S. Basil would have been suffered to appeal to those holy men of whom he speaks, and who, we have very little doubt, from the solemnity of the whole context, were Apostolic men at least. The *παραδοθῆναι* of S. Basil is evidently that sacred tradition, upon which the Fathers of Nice acted in the same century: it is a solemn ecclesiastical term, the *καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν* of S. Luke; and as for the 'custom that we have,' this is the cognate expression with that of the Apostle, 'we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God.' 'Customs and laws we know,' says the Archdeacon, 'are subject to the same processes of mutation with every thing earthly.'—Yes; but not so the *θεσμοὶ* of immutable morality; and here he confounds a law and its sanction. The Church may vary its punishment for a specific sin, according to the necessity of time or countries, but it can never by any law make that not to be sin which God has declared such;—whether God has so declared or not, is the whole matter in dispute. And then he argues that the punishment of excommunication, till the marriage be dissolved, *plainly belongs* to an age later than the council of Eliberis; merely, we suppose, because the term of five years is omitted in S. Basil's letter, and the dissolution of the marriage in the other; as if these are not perfectly consistent. Reconciliation to the Church was not allowed *at least* till the dissolution of the marriage; this might be the universal custom; that of Spain — and the acts of this particular Council have been generally considered of remarkable strictness — might probably superadd a five years' penance. To the next proposition of S. Basil the translation of the Archdeacon hardly does justice: 'with regard to things very evident, our preconceptions are more valuable than our reason.' S. Basil's

words are, ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα ἐναργῶν, μείζων ἐστὶ τοῦ λόγου ἡ παρ' ἑκάστου πρόληψις, *i.e.* in things glaringly manifest, each man's previous apprehension is superior to reasoning. The thing was so palpably monstrous, as appeared both by Church authority, Scriptural law, and the better feelings of our nature, that argument was not necessary: and surely that man who has a keen intuitive moral sense of what is right is far superior to one who arrives at it by logic. Thank God, it is to this intuitive sense that we are largely indebted for that declaration which the women of England are so righteously making againt the hideous law of incest! The words however which follow are not applicable to S. Basil. 'The whole history of the world bearing 'witness that men's notions and preconceptions are often taken 'up hastily and presumptuously, and even, when better grounded, 'are apt to become distorted and wither away, and perpetually 'need Reason to purge, to correct, and to reanimate them.'

Archdeacon Hare is not intentionally an autobiographer.

In this same note, p. 82, Archdeacon Hare favours us with his notion of Apostolic tradition in the fourth century. 'It is forgotten,' he says, 'how vague and uncertain the view of tradition must be;' and then he talks of prejudices, and floating mists, and such like Ossianic nebulosities. But what unscholar-like trifling is this! Does not the Archdeacon recollect, that in this very century the first general council, that of Nice, was held? Does not the Church of England, and every Church throughout the world, (except perhaps one of Archdeacon Hare's Churches, *i. e.* A or B's conscience,) receive the decrees of that council as attestations to Apostolic doctrine? It is plain he has no proper estimate of the firm and earnest adhesion to the great principles of religion and morality, kept alive in the yet undivided Church, through the care of successive Bishops both in the East and West, and their jealous watchfulness against any innovation of that which was surely believed among them, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου. Whatever a diet of Lutheran rationalists might now say, it is impossible to believe that on so sacred a subject as marriage, there was not a strict and accurate retention of a rule universally received, and intuitively, '*proleptically*,' acknowledged.

What respect those of the rising generation who have guides like Mr. Hare can be expected to have for the judgments of the Church, may be surmised from the manner in which he treats this Epistle of S. Basil. From his tone respecting it, one might suppose it was nothing more as to authority than a letter from 'our correspondent' in the Times, or from Dr. Arnold; whereas it was a document, which all churches and communi-

ties in the East adopted as their own, made it the substance of their Canons, and preserved unaltered to this day. S. Basil's doctrine was acknowledged to be the true one by half of the Christian world. Not that he had first discovered it. But the Canons embodying it were adopted in that ready spirit of recognition usually displayed when men receive the distinct and energetic expression of a truth which they have always in substance held. And we maintain it would have been morally impossible for these Basilian Canons to have stood so firmly for fifteen hundred years, had they not been based upon that ground of Scriptural and Apostolical truth, to which in this particular doctrine all other Churches have borne as consistent and sure a testimony.

It would be but going over the same ground again to speak of Fathers and Councils, to prove the ecclesiastical illegality of the marriage of a wife's sister. Suffice it to say, not one document or authority, till the disastrous ages of dispensations, when the grace of God was turned into lasciviousness, defends it: and even then the Papal dispensation did not regard it as sanctioned by Divine law, but merely as permitted rarely, and *pro re natâ*, by an authority which usurped the power of Christ. Nor is this all: the testimony is far from negative. What Mr. Carrington so justly says with respect to the Councils of the undivided Church in the fourth century, may be applied with truth to the Doctrine of the Church, even in its interruption of general councils in all ages since. 'Since Elvira is in 'Spain, and Neocæsarea in Pontus, these marriages were for-'bidden at that time east and west, from one end of the Chris-'tian world to the other.' Papal dispensations prove nothing, or too much. Protestant dispensations or relaxations prove only an utter contempt of God's law. A noble contrast indeed does Mr. Hare bring forward, viz.: Luther *versus* Jewell and Hammond, (pp. 69, 70.) A truly respectable authority in this matter is the apologist for polygamy in that notorious instance of the Landgrave of Hesse, where that impetuous man so miserably defended the sin of one in high place and authority. The seven short lines of Bishop Jewell quoted by Mr. Hare, (p. 69,) are a sufficient foil to the crude sentiments of Luther, who seems utterly to confound those two different things, the municipal or ceremonial Law of the Jews, and the universal Law of God, ordained to put an everlasting stigma on Egyptian and Canaanitish sins. The Protestant dispensations had their origin partly from a confused notion of Christian liberty, partly from a notion as confused of the power of Christian princes and states, who, in matters beyond human legislation, assumed the abrogated power of the Pope. They do not pretend to respect the

testimony of the Church in the least. And Protestant dispensations, like the Popish, would prove too much; they would sanction avowed incest. If rationalism in religion, and liberality in politics proceed as they have begun, if God's Law be forsaken as the standard of morals and social purity, if the testimony of the Church be set aside, and, at the same time, if luxury and selfishness go on maintaining their present sway, Europe may become a Canaan; the moral sense, the *horror naturalis*, on which so much dependence is now unjustifiably placed, may become utterly deadened, so that it may be ridiculous to appeal, in matters of social decency, to the consent of men composing even European society.

As to the Church of England in particular, of course no respect for her solemn decrees in this matter can be expected from one who has none for those of the Church Universal. The Archdeacon is thankful that the rulers of our Church did not commit the sin of attaching the prohibited degrees to the Prayer Book: though he considers this sin was perpetrated by those who framed the last Act of Uniformity; and by implication of course he would reckon our Canon, which binds the clergy, as 'foolish, and wicked, and sinful.' Most sinful must it be in a Church to require consent from her clergy, on a matter where she appeals to the clear testimony of Scripture and the Church, on a fundamental article of morals, on a question which involves the purity and peace of her sons and daughters, with which the most awful denunciations of the ancient law are connected, and which has relation to that sacred ordinance which represents mystically the union betwixt Christ and his Church. Most sinful is it to be very cautious lest the commands of God may possibly be violated, and this ordinance contaminated by permission of incest: lest the condition of those persons who engage in it be rendered worse than that of mere fornication, by the impious mockery of seeking the Church's blessing over those who are joined together otherwise than God's word doth allow. That God's word does allow it, it is impossible that Archdeacon Hare can believe, if he but stops to consider all the evidence. And, to take the very lowest view of the question, to engage in a doubtful action, where at least very strong probabilities are on the side of its being sinful, is impious, and contrary to that law of Scripture which censures as damnable the commission of a doubtful act. Archdeacon Hare would leave this an open question. How many other questions would he leave open? His mode of arguing would soon leave us without one positive doctrine. How wide would he make the gate and the way that leadeth unto life? He thinks it a hateful bondage, that on these matters the clergy have not per-

fect liberty. His complaint, in fact, amounts to this:—it is very hard that we may not disbelieve what the Church teaches; the converse of which of course is, it is hard that we may not teach what the Church disbelieves. He taunts Sir Robert Inglis with descending to *vulgar slang* (slang from Sir Robert Inglis!) because he maintains that those who are the teachers in the Church should hold and believe its doctrine; and represents most inconsistently that as Sir Robert's 'interpretation of the Levitical law,' which is taught by a Canon of the Church of England. He indirectly accuses of tyranny and persecution one, who would be as incapable of either as of an unkind look, or word, or thought. Mr. Hare's ideas as to the English Protestantism of which he supposes Sir Robert to be the champion, are certainly extraordinary. The whole public course of that eminent man's life has been the support of all that is honourable and high principled, whether in religion, politics, or morals; and in the maintenance of all those wholesome restrictions which are essential towards the preservation of true Christian liberty, and the curbing of that intellectual and practical licentiousness which threatens to dissolve society.

We know not indeed where authority for any doctrine can be found, according to Mr. Hare's ideas. 'Every minister of 'the Church,' he says, (p. 88,) 'ought to be persuaded, that the 'legitimate government, *however* constituted, has a right to 'decree ordinances.' Whether he means the ecclesiastical and civil combined, or either separately, or whether he means the civil sanction of the law of the land, or the ordinances of the Church, we cannot well understand. However this may be, the clergyman is to obey these ordinances, 'just as a judge is bound to execute the law of the land.' He does not see the wide difference between the *obedience* a judge is bound to give to laws of which he may disapprove, and the hearty assent and consent which a clergyman *ex animo* gives to the decrees of the Church of which he is a minister, which he professes to believe, and which are binding not only on his conduct but his conscience. But whatever he may mean here, his notions as to the Church are very contradictory. 'Christianity '(p. 66) enunciates principles,' &c. 'and leaves it to the *wisdom* 'of the Church,* that is, of *every Christian community,* OR to the 'conscience of individuals,* to unfold the consequences according 'to the exigencies of each particular case.' So the Church = every Christian community = the conscience of individuals; therefore the Church = the conscience of individuals. A pretty equation! Every man his own Church! But of course, as each Christian community may legislate for itself, there may be difference of faith and practice without end, and with perfect

propriety; and the unity of the Church may consist in agreeing to differ! The *horror naturalis* may differ in A, B, and C, and the several exigencies of A, B, C, may regulate the law. Thus, as appears in the evidence, one may find it convenient, another agreeable, another reputable, to marry either aunt or niece, or sister-in-law, just as his conscience dictates, or as may be settled by the wisdom of any Christian community, be it a Ruri-decanal chapter, a symposium of liberal divines, or whatever conjunction of ecclesiastical Solons Archdeacon Hare may comprehend under his favourite WE. But again: 'when positive 'ordinances find a response in the conscience of the nation, it is 'comparatively easy to enforce them; but, when this response 'is wanting, they cannot maintain themselves long; they will 'be undermined by the encroachments of the sceptical reason 'and the self-relying will.' We fear that by the conscience of the nation he means the *horror naturalis*, that which seems good in their own eyes; a *liberal* interpretation of morals and religion, irrespective of the Church: and if so, we freely grant he is right; but we cannot see that Dr. Pusey is wrong: for if the denial of the binding force of the Levitical degrees would involve the relaxation of all degrees, we cannot see what could hinder the 'conscience' of the state from ordaining this relaxation, in which, according to his own principles, every individual would be bound to acquiesce.

We cannot pursue his ideas of Church and State, or of legislation further. There appears however, to be an utter confusion between civil sanctions and religious obligations, between the duty we owe to God and to the mere ordinance of man, between temporal and spiritual laws, between the functions of a synod and a parliament, which Mr. Hare, however, seems to consider as identical. As for the Church being a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, this never seems present to his recollection; he therefore totally misapprehends the grounds upon which the doctrine of the Church (in which we include all fundamental laws of morals) has always been based, and the principles upon which the Church has ever felt herself at liberty to legislate at all.

Happily, however, the course pursued by the Church of England in this great matter has been clear. She has pronounced all marriage within certain degrees to be contrary to the Law of God, taking the positive precepts of the old Laws of Christ, and of the Apostles, and the inevitable deductions from them as her guide; and fortifying her decision, or rather her attestation, by the concurrent attestation of the Universal Church, from the most ancient times. At the same time, while so strict in enforcing the Law of God, she has not presumed to

extend her legislation beyond the scriptural degrees; in both respects agreeing with the primitive Church, and thus standing forth as the only representative in modern Christendom of the ancient practice both in strictness and in forbearance. It must be a matter of deep satisfaction to Archdeacon Hare, that he has done his part towards throwing a doubt upon scriptural authority, vilifying Catholic consent, execrating the judgment of our Church, and debasing her from that high and Catholic ground which upon this doctrine she has taken. The Archdeacon's course is not a new one: he is merely aiding our modern philosophical divines; and a strange lesson they are teaching. To set at nought, as far as man dare, all intellectual or moral restraint; to regard the voice of the Church Universal as nothing when compared with individual opinion; to speak with contempt of venerable Fathers, and the distinguished luminaries of later times, his superiors in every way, both as to learning, piety, and power of mind; and at the same time to idolize his own individual opinion and judgment; and all this, for the purpose of propping up a most unrighteous cause, calamitous in its present and future consequences, and utterly subversive of the peace of Christian society,—for the purpose of aiding the selfish desires of a few interested men, who have cloked their design under the false plea of relieving the poor;—such is the enterprise of Archdeacon Hare, such his True Remedy for the evils of the age! and such is but one instance of the spirit which is largely at work, to bring sorrow and further distraction into this Church and nation!

Since writing the above, Mr. Forster's Sermon, which is noticed in the heading of our article, has appeared. It is a great satisfaction to find that his energetic vindication of Christian morality is in entire accordance with our sentiments. Mr. Forster begins with laying down 'two first principles of all scriptural interpretation; the one, that Scripture 'must be interpreted by Scripture; the other, that Scripture 'cannot contradict itself.' He applies these two 'commonplaces,' as he calls them, to the subject in question: and in so doing, asserts at length the orthodox doctrine, at which Archdeacon Hare cavilled, that our Lord came to establish the Law and the Prophets, and consequently the Law of marriage; and then proceeds to show that the Council of Jerusalem did confirm the ancient law of marriage.

Speaking of *πορνεία*, as mentioned at that Council, he says, 'To the law of incest it very specially applies, as is proved by

'its being the term employed by S. Paul, in speaking of the 'man who had taken his father's wife. Now, by the introduction 'of this one word, necessarily inclusive of the whole table of 'prohibited degrees, as it stands here as the sole represent-'ative of them all, the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem most 'clearly affirms, and adopts the 18th chapter of Leviticus, with 'its whole table of prohibitions, as the declaration of the moral 'law of God, binding on all Christian people.'

Mr. Forster asserts the doctrine of the Universal Church, and of our own: and energetically asserts the feeling (so shamefully misrepresented) of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on this subject. In addition to this, there is one fact, peculiarly valuable as coming from such authority; that 'the Mahometan 'table of prohibited degrees, recited in the 4th chapter of the 'Koran, entitled "Women," is either literally or virtually 'identical with the 18th chapter of Leviticus, and that it closes 'with a prohibition, in the most solemn terms, of the very 'marriage now in question. "It is forbidden—or it is wicked-'ness—for a man to unite himself with two sisters."' And he justly adds, 'What Christian state can venture to let down the 'pure morality of the Gospel below even the lax and licentious 'morality of Mahomet and the Koran?'

His notes are very valuable, as vindicating S. Basil, putting the importance of Bishop Taylor's casuistry in its true light, giving the genuine interpretation to the 18th chapter of Leviticus, and exposing the absurd and arrogant assumptions and statements of Archdeacon Hare. Mr. Forster throughout points to the only safe and true course; that is, adhesion to the Law and the Testimony, to Christ, to His Apostles, and to His Church, in defiance of that philosophy and vain deceit, which is now spoiling and poisoning the minds of many, so as utterly to pervert their notions of true liberty, and pure Christianity.

ART. VI.—1. *The Royal Supremacy viewed in reference to the two Spiritual Powers of Order and Jurisdiction. By* T. W. ALLIES, M.A. *Rector of Launton.* London: Pickering. 1850.

2. *Two Letters on the present Position of the High Church Party in the Church of England. By the Rev.* WILLIAM MASKELL, *Vicar of S. Mary Church.* Second Edition. London: Pickering. 1850.

THESE pamphlets suggest a threefold consideration. 1. As to the facts they contain. 2. As to the tone of the writers. 3. As to the deductions insinuated as a consequence of the facts. It is obvious that the first may be true, and yet the two last highly objectionable. Assuming that the first are so, one might still venture the philosophic caution: Ἔστι δ', ἐν τούτῳ παραλογίσασθαι· Εἰ γὰρ δικαίως ἐπαθέν τι, δικαίως πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ὑπὸ σοῦ. (Arist. Rhet. ii. 23. 3.)

But it is just possible there may be a defect in the facts themselves, at least in the colouring which has been given them: and still more in the deductions which have been made from them.

We will begin with the Supremacy question.—And here the first reflection that arrests one is, that it should have been viewed so absolutely and irrespectively, as if it had been the one thing excogitated, cherished, and maintained by the English Church, and not the result of a powerful recoil from the opposite extreme. We will be bold to say that the facts were far otherwise, and that the true clue to the Supremacy lies in the fearful and much to be lamented, because not altogether unnecessary, oath. 'I, *A. B.* do swear that I do from my heart 'abhor, detest, and abjure that damnable doctrine and position, 'that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any 'authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by 'their subjects, or any other whatsoever.' It is unquestionable that the Papal power had overborne the Regale to a most incredible, though not the less unjustifiable, extent: and it is only wonderful that the recoil, when it did come, should have been comparatively so mild, that human nature so outraged, should have been content with so qualified a retaliation.

The power of the Pope had been one of progressive, but stupendous increase; it had gradually supplanted every constituted authority to be met with in the Christian world. It certainly may have heard appeals previously, but it was not

before the Sardican Council, A. D. 345, that it had acquired a recognised right to do so. Transmarine appeals are expressly forbidden in the African Code authorized A. D. 418—19: and even about the middle of the 9th century, says Döllinger, (a Roman Catholic historian,) 'no bishop could appeal to Rome against the will of his metropolitan.'[1] It would have been almost heresy, some centuries later, to have asserted that it was above a general Council; nor was it before Gregory VII. really, that it formally claimed the power of deposing kings. Earlier Popes, it was afterwards argued, did not depose, simply because they could not:[2] as if it had not been made a chief argument that later Popes could, because they did.[3] It is notorious that the deposing theory followed, and did not precede the practice; else why should Bellarmine have been content to quote Augustinus Triumphus, Alvarius Pelagius, Hugo de S. Victor, Alexander Alensis, and others of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, as his earliest authorities? Precedents they were that suggested principles, and that played the part of a versatile interpreter to the inspired Word. Will it be believed that the words, 'Thou art Peter,' &c., and the like, have been made to support the following assumptions?

'The first opinion is, that the Supreme Pontiff has *jure divino* the most absolute power over the whole world, as well in Ecclesiastical as in temporal matters. Hostiensis indeed goes still further, for he teaches that, through the coming of Christ, all dominion of infidel princes has been transferred to the Church, and resides in the Supreme Pontiff, as Vicar of the supreme and true King, Christ: and that consequently the Pontiff can in his own right bestow kingdoms of the unfaithful upon the faithful, whom he will.'[4]

It is fair to add that the above is considered by Bellarmine a somewhat extreme view: but the opinion which the Cardinal himself holds, and in which, he says, all Catholics concur, is practically the same. 'It does not,' says Barrow, 'in effect 'and practical consideration, any wise differ from the former: 'but is only in words devised to shun envy, and veil the impu-'dence of the other assertion.'[5] And indeed so Bellarmine thinks,—at all events he has laboured to show that the principal supporters of the foregoing opinion agreed with him in the main; that is, they held that the power of the Pope as regards temporal matters was indirect,[6] and mediate; not, however, that it was the less supreme. Reconcilable or not, therefore, the

---

[1] Period iii. c. iv. § 5, p. 180, Eng. Tr.
[2] Bellarm. De Rom. Pont. vol. vii. p. 904 c.
[3] Ibid. c. viii. 'Idem probatur exemplis.'
[4] Bell. De Rom. Pont. vol. i.
[5] On the Pope's Supremacy, Introd. § 3.
[6] Bell. ibid. c. v.

principles, the practical conclusions of the two schools were wholly the same. Emperors and kings derived their authority from the Pope, which he might recal when there appeared occasion, of which he was the sole arbiter.

A few examples will show that the practice did not fall short of the theory. Hildebrand deposed Henry IV. in the following terms, after an impassioned apostrophe to the Apostle S. Peter:—

'Relying on this, for the honour and defence of thy Church, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by *thy* power and authority, I forbid to King Henry, son of Henry the Emperor, who through an unexampled pride has rebelled against thy holy Church, the government of the whole realm of Germany and Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths which they have taken, or may take to him; and I decree that no one shall obey him as king: for it is fitting that he who has endeavoured to diminish the honour of thy Church, should himself lose that honour which he seems to have.'[1]

Paschal II. not only reiterated a like sentence against the same monarch, but armed his own son against him, by declaring him freed from the oath which he had taken to his father, on condition that he would use his kingly power in supporting the Church; 'Germany beheld therefore,' says a recent biographer, 'the dreadful scene of warfare between a parent and his child.'[2] These fruits certainly speak volumes for the theory: if indeed, as our Lord says, 'a tree may be known by its fruits.' To proceed. Innocent IV. not only deposed Frederick II., and absolved his subjects from the oaths of *allegiance* they had taken to him, but by his apostolical authority firmly prohibited that any man should thenceforth obey or regard him as king or emperor; concluding, that whoever should afterwards yield advice, aid, or favour to him as emperor or king, should immediately lie under the ban of excommunication.[3]

It is too true that these instances might be multiplied into a catalogue that would swell pages: and many there are, more aggravated, if possible, than those which have been mentioned. We shall have occasion to revert to a few more in the sequel.

Now we put the question to rational beings, whether it was not perfectly certain that human nature would eventually recoil from a doctrine so monstrous: and we put it to Christians, whether it was to be expected that Divine Providence should permit the pure truths of His Gospel to be so egregiously perverted without a special judgment; and we put it to those, who consider it so disgraceful, that our communion should have acquiesced to the extent she has, in the claims of the temporal power over her spiritual regimen, whether it was not infinitely

[1] Bowden's Life of Gregory VII. vol. ii. p. 109.
[2] Bowden, ibid. vol. ii. p. 349. [3] Barrow, as before.

more disgraceful for the Church generally, to have acquiesced so long in the still more arrogant claims of the spiritual power over the temporal? We say boldly, that it was a far more unpardonable aggression on the part of the spiritual power: because *that*, of all others, should have inculcated meekness and humility, as well in precept as in practice; and we very much fear that were actual deeds compared, it would be found, that the temporal power had been at least as moderate in its practical conduct as the spiritual.

It has been truly said, 'Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall,' (Prov. xvi. 18.) To those therefore who are so dissatisfied with the retributive statute, 24 Henry VIII. cap. 12, (we say it with pain and sorrow,) we think it perfectly clear whom we have to thank for it. Not indeed that we have the least sympathy with the despot who framed it: still it is quite possible he may have been a most unworthy instrument in a just cause. When a judgment was to be inflicted upon the Jews for a long continued neglect of the fourth commandment, the prophet Jeremiah actually pronounced it to be their duty to go into captivity, and obey a heathen king.[1] This was the appointed means for 'the land to enjoy her sabbaths:' and seventy years we know was the period of the Captivity. If therefore we are disposed to be impatient because we have so long acquiesced in a state not widely dissimilar, let us ask ourselves seriously, not only whether there was a cause, but whether the cause has ceased?

Nothing daunted by 24 Henry VIII. cap. 12, and other acts, Paul III. promulgated, A.D. 1535, a threat of excommunication against Henry, which he afterwards carried into effect. In the bull which contains it, says Collier, 'foreign kings and princes 'are exhorted in the Lord, as Sanders transcribes it, to treat 'Henry and his abettors as rebels to the Church, and under-'take a holy war against them till they have brought them to 'recollection and submission to the Apostolic See: and to dis-'entangle their consciences and encourage them the better, all 'their alliances, treaties, and engagements of what kind soever 'with the king of England, are declared null and void.'[2] It is indeed melancholy to be obliged to transcribe these monstrous documents, but we must add two more, A.D. 1585. Sixtus V. published a like sentence against Henry king of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, in which, after the most excessive language that can be imagined on the subject of the Papal Supremacy, he proceeds to pass judgment in the following terms: 'We

[1] Jer. xxvii. 12; xxix. 4—7; may read a lesson.
[2] Collier, Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 277, Ed. Straker.

'deprive them and their posterity *for ever* of their dominions 'and kingdoms, . . . and . . . by the authority of these presents, 'we do absolve and set free all persons as well jointly as 'severally from any such oath, and from all duty whatsoever in 'regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience; and do charge and 'forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey 'them or any of their admonitions, laws, and commands.'[1] The last we shall mention is the bull of Pius V. against our own Elizabeth. 'He that reigneth on high,' he begins, 'to whom 'is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the 'one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, out of which there is 'no salvation, to *one alone* on earth, namely, to Peter prince of 'the Apostles, and to the Roman Pontiff successor of Peter, to 'be governed with a plenitude of power; this one he hath con-'stituted *prince over all nations, and all kingdoms*, that he might 'pluck up, destroy, dissipate, overturn, plant, and build.' .... And in the same bull he declares that 'he thereby deprives the 'Queen of her *pretended right* to the kingdom: and of all 'dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and absolves all 'the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever 'else have sworn to her, from their oath, and all duty what-'soever in regard of dominion, fidelity, and obedience.' Pope Clement VIII. A. D. 1600, actually sent a plenary indulgence to the Irish, to encourage them to an insurrection against Elizabeth.[2]

Let us now put the question to those who are disposed to answer it, whether this doctrine has ever been repudiated or abandoned by the Western Church? And if it has not, let us cease to wonder that Providence should have made it so hard a matter for us to disengage ourselves from the Regale. What guarantee is there that the same extravagant assumptions would not be resumed by the Church, should opportunity offer, especially when it has been alleged as a palliative for the earlier Popes, that they did not depose, simply because they could not. On the other hand, let it be said that there always were differences of opinion in the Western Church on the subject of the deposing theory; let it be said, as is indeed the case, that Du Pin and the Gallican Doctors dissent from it in the strongest terms: and that Bellarmine and the Ultra-montane Doctors uphold it as a thing almost *de fide*—we are laying the Western Church open to the imputation which Mr. Maskell feels so keenly, namely, the want of positive dogmatic teaching on so grave a point. We are entitled, therefore, to claim his

[1] For this and the following one, see Barrow, Introd. § 3.
[2] Collier, Records, No. xcvii.

admiration at all events for the English Church, that she has pronounced it in the most unequivocal manner a damnable doctrine and position. Would God that the rest of the Western Church would authoritatively put out the same plain language!

We come now to the question of the actual power claimed over the English Church by the Sovereign. Mr. Maskell would insinuate that all power was claimed; at all events he has not clearly distinguished between what was and what was not claimed. Mr. Allies is willing to grant that it was only that of external jurisdiction; under which, however, he would include that of making laws.

'This is called,' he says, 'the power of *exterior jurisdiction*. 'To this belongs likewise the directive power of enacting laws, 'obligatory on the conscience which exists in the Church; and 'to this likewise the coercive power,' (p. 20.) He had already said, (p. 18,) 'Now, I conceive that the Royal Supremacy did 'not assume to itself anything that belongs *strictly* to the power 'of Order'—and with regard to jurisdiction itself he has made a further distinction, p. 58. 'We have seen how it seized upon and 'appropriated the full Papal Supremacy as to jurisdiction *in foro* '*interno*: did it lay claim also to jurisdiction *in foro externo*? my 'belief is, that it troubled itself very little about the matter, and 'considering it as depending on the power of Order, which it is, 'and on that alone, which it is not, was willing enough, that so 'long as the whole outward jurisdiction was allowed to flow 'from itself, the inward might accompany those whom it selected 'for its agents.'

Mr. Allies therefore has expressed himself with sufficient explicitness, and it would seem that he considered the Royal Supremacy a trifle more circumscribed than Mr. Maskell appears to have done.

Neither, however, seems to state the real truth. For let it be observed, first, that the question of appeals is clearly one of jurisdiction, as distinct from legislation; jurisdiction is the power said to be restored to the Crown throughout the statutes quoted by Mr. Maskell in his first letter, and wherever authority, power, or the like follow it, they mean nothing more than 'authority of jurisdiction,' as it is said,[1] 1 Edw. VI. cap. 2; and it was in the same spirit that the term 'Governor' was deemed more accurate than the term 'Head.' There is plainly a difference between making laws and executing them, between legislating and adjudicating: and so totally distinct, and so differently vested are the legislative and executive powers in our English constitution, that it is surprising Mr. Allies should

[1] Maskell, p. 30.

have been so carried away by the works of the Canonists, as to forget he was writing about English laws and English usages in Church and State. That there is a very practical difference between the two things in our English constitution is clear from De Lolme: 'The basis of the English constitution,' he says—he is here speaking of the temporal power, of course—'the capital principle on which all others depend, is, that the 'legislative powers belong to parliament alone: that is to say, 'the power of establishing laws, and of abrogating, changing, or explaining them.'[1] This will explain a limitation which occurs in the statute where power is given to the king to correct heresies, and here a further check is imposed upon the temporal legislative body by the spiritual. Whatever Mr. Maskell may say, we have Parliament expressly binding itself to the judgment of the first four general councils, and other councils, so far as they have decided according to the express and plain words of the canonical Scriptures; and further acknowledging, that where these have not defined, it can determine nothing to be heresy, without the assent of the clergy duly convened. Of course we do not deny that the clergy have pledged themselves not to assemble, enact, promulge, or execute canons without the royal assent first had[2]—much in the same way that Stephen IV. once made a synodal decree, 'ne absque *Imperiali notitiâ Pontificis* fieret *consecratio*:'[3] but who, we ask, would seriously maintain such a pledge to be eternally binding upon posterity, or that the clergy of the present, or a future age, may not, when they deem expedient, recall their submission by a new declaration according to the generally received principle, 'vis eadem est construere et destruere?' Whether they have had reason or not already to do so, may perhaps be made a question, but certainly it cannot be said that their hands have been absolutely tied since the submission was made; or that nothing has been done in the interim. Granting, therefore, that the whole executive power in the Church has been transferred to the king, he is nevertheless obliged to pledge his allegiance before God solemnly to the Church before he can become king. He is bound, moreover, in the exercise of the executive, to respect the laws and creeds of the Church. He cannot decide contrary to her received doctrine and discipline. Thus much was actually acknowledged by the late Judicial Committee. The dispute

[1] Eng. Const. b. i. c. iv. Here Parliament = King, Lords, and Commons. The prerogatives of the executive power, which is vested in the King solely, are considered c. v.

[2] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

[3] Gratian, Dist. xxxii. Comp. Döllinger, p. iii. c. iii. § 2, who puts forward a still stronger view of the case.

simply turns upon the *de facto* question, whether they have or have not impugned her doctrine. And this consideration, together with the distinction between the legislative and executive before mentioned, would appear not to have been sufficiently noticed. The duty of the clergy clearly now is to insist upon the restoration of their legislative functions, which are still acknowledged, as they have ever been, though they have been for a considerable time unconstitutionally suspended. Were they resuscitated, only judging from what they effected formerly, we might expect a vast practical change in our position—and the same might be said of our episcopal elections, were the *congé d'élire*, which is a privilege of the executive, limited, as it ought to be, by the archiepiscopal confirmation—a right which it only recently divided the judges representing the Sovereign to allow or reject. It is quite possible we may be more successful another time: and these privileges once reasserted and regained, we should soon have practical experience that the Royal Supremacy had been deprived of its sting.

We now pass to the more esoteric, and therefore more recondite part of the subject, opened by Mr. Allies, as regards external spiritual jurisdiction viewed through the medium of the canon law. And here the first thing which we would observe, is, that the theory which he puts forward was invented long after the facts, and rests upon the usual assumption of the canon law, namely, the Papal Supremacy. Secondly, that even so, it is not one which will bear a rigid analysis. For, assuming that jurisdiction universally descends 'from superiors to inferiors,' as Mr. Allies says,[1] who is it that confers jurisdiction upon the Pope? Plainly those who elect or consecrate him, though it must be conceded that they confer a power which they do not themselves possess to the full extent. On the primitive theory that the constitution of the Church is aristocratical and not monarchical, the provincial bishops in the same way conferred a jurisdiction, that individually did not belong to them, in the election and consecration of a metropolitan.

A third objection to the theory is, that it will not cover all facts; so that although it be admitted it cannot be said to be universally true: that is, it must be considered to have exceptions. If, therefore, extreme cases do not set aside the rule, the rule on the other hand must not be made to over-ride extreme cases. Now, what jurisdiction could the synod of Alexandria have conferred upon Eusebius and Lucifer, Asterius and Hilary, (A.D. 362,) to make visitations throughout the East and West, and restore orthodoxy in the different countries

[1] P. 55.

through which they passed? Lucifer indeed, it is plain, ordained Paulinus bishop of Antioch without waiting for the authority of the synod, for Paulinus was there represented by his legates.[1] Yet Lucifer was never reproached for the performance of an uncanonical act,[2] though Eusebius, finding that it had been done without the full consent of the diocese, did doubt his wisdom. On the other hand, notwithstanding the schism that ensued, Paulinus was ever considered the orthodox bishop.

In the same way Germanus and Lupus were deputed by a Gallican synod to purify the British Churches, themselves the applicants, from Pelagianism, (A.D. 429.) It should not of course be omitted that Baronius and others of the same school consider Eusebius and Lucifer, Germanus and Lupus, to have been Papal legates: but never was there a more groundless assertion. All history, it may be said, expressly attests the contrary, and in the former case facts are utterly irreconcilable with the supposition, as Valesius shows.[3] Why, the Pontiff of the day, Liberius, had lapsed himself only four years before; and from age and infirmity, and the peculiar circumstances of his position, was quite incapable of interfering. In the latter case the express testimonies of Constantius, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Erricus, and Ado, are met by a single passage of the Chronicle commonly attributed to Prosper, which Pithæus,[4] however, in his preface to the genuine version, has pronounced to be the work of a different hand. Not a word on the subject occurs in the genuine Chronicle—and is it likely that Bede, ascribing as he did, in a former chapter,[5] the appointment of the first Scottish bishop to Celestine, would have attributed the mission of SS. Germanus and Lupus to a different source, had they been sent by him? And it is observable that the account which he has given of the second coming of S. Germanus, when Severus accompanied him, fully bears out the account given of the first. But as to what the bishops did when they came—'the anonymous author of the Chronicle in Leland tells us,' says Collier, 'that SS. Germanus and Lupus, having suppressed 'the Pelagian heresy, consecrated bishops in several parts of 'England, and among the rest, they erected a cathedral at 'Llandaff, and made Dubricius archbishop of late.'[6]

So much therefore for the theory. Now let us look at the case which it has been alleged to invalidate, viz.: the consecration of Archbishop Parker.[7] How unfair here once more to

[1] Soc. Eccl. Hist. iii. 5; and Vales. ad l.
[2] Ad Soc. Eccl. Hist. iii. 5.
[3] Baron. ad A. D. 362, n. 15.
[4] Operum, p. 331.
[5] Eccl. Hist. i. 13.
[6] Eccl. Hist. i. p. 111.
[7] Allies, p. 43, *et seq.*

regard his case absolutely, and not with reference to the circumstances which led to it. It is well known who consecrated Archbishop Parker, and it is objected that, having no actual jurisdiction themselves, it is quite impossible they could have conferred what they had not. We ask, how they came to be deprived of jurisdiction? and the answer must be, by a most unconstitutional exercise of the Regale, by one who ought to have been the last to have arrogated it—the so-called Catholic Queen Mary. When she came to the crown, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskin *had* jurisdiction, and she, and no other power,[1] deprived them and others. It is true, that in some cases actual force was not required. Five bishops, like S. Athanasius, had retired before the storm burst; no less than seven were dispossessed by her six commissioners; and several were most unrighteously murdered. We say nothing about the Archbishop, as treason was the crime upon which he was first apprehended. Consequently those who supplanted them were bare intruders, and as injustice cannot prejudice just rights, Barlow, Hodgskin, Coverdale, and Scory, were *de jure* possessors of their former sees at the time when they consecrated Parker. Whatever confusion or irregularity there may have been in the proceeding, when strained to the letter of the law, the blame rests with Mary; and those who object to the jurisdiction of the Elizabethan Bishops, should be prepared to vindicate the still more questionable jurisdiction, assumed by the Marian intrusionists: those, we mean, who before Cardinal Pole arrived, and consequently before Cranmer was, even according to their principles, formally deposed, were substituted for the ejected bishops by her commissioners.[2]

As to the subordinate case of the power of the keys in the matter of private confession and absolution, as it is practised amongst ourselves at the present day, it is easy to see that a communion in which private confession is voluntary, would be most unreasonably judged by the rules of a communion in which it is compulsory. Moreover, there are distinct grounds for supposing that our Church has formally conceded[3] greater liberty to the individual.

Now what was it but the judgment of particular Churches in the first instance, though eventually of the whole Church, that substituted private confession for the public, and made that all-sufficient and obligatory, which before, though it may *perhaps* have been obligatory, was certainly not all-sufficient. We will be bold to say, that auricular confession might be abolished

[1] Collier, vol. vi. p. 67. [2] Collier, vol. vi. p. 67.
[3] *E. g. vide* Exhortation to the Holy Communion.

altogether for a like cause, and by the same authority that abolished altogether public confession; much more therefore the regulations concerning it changed and remodelled.

And now for a few words on the grievance of which Mr. Maskell complains so bitterly, namely, the want of positive dogmatic teaching in our Church.[1] This defect, coupled with our acquiescence for nearly three centuries in the Royal Supremacy, Mr. Maskell thinks conclusive against our Catholicity, and consequently against the depths and solidity of our late revival, except so far as it leads elsewhere. Alas! had he mentioned many still more grievous defects untold, we fear it would not have been difficult to have paralleled them in the annals of the Church, or to have proved from the past, that their existence for so long a time (granting the full extent to which he says they have prevailed) had neither necessarily destroyed our Catholicity, nor supplied a valid argument against our entire resuscitation. We invite his attention to the period preceding the revival of the eleventh century, which Mr. Maskell will scarce deny to have been a true Church revival; and to avoid controversy about the facts themselves, our extracts shall be made solely from one who certainly would not be likely to exaggerate them. To begin with a few samples of the supreme Pontiffs: 'The Roman See,' says Döllinger, 'after the short pontificates of Anastasius III. '(911—13) and of Lando, appears, to have been in a state of dis-'graceful dependence on certain Roman women, who, influential 'as they were capricious, placed therein their favourites or sons; 'a state in which the Papal See might have been compared to 'a captive in chains, to whom being deprived, we are not to 'impute the disgrace which he endures.'[2] All know who these abandoned women were, or in what relationship Theodora stood to John X., and Marozia to Sergius III. and John XI. Would indeed that the melancholy facts could be *fairly* disputed, and that the Roman See had not been for years subjected to a sway not merely secular; not merely the sway of women, but of such women as have not often been allowed power in the more degraded kingdoms of this world! Let *our* condition be what it may, is it worse than this? and why is the argument which saves the Roman Church to stop short at the English?

In the next page we read, 'At Rome, after the death of 'Agapite in 956, Octavian, a youth of only eighteen years of 'age, the son of the Roman tyrant Alberich, seized for himself 'possession of the Papal throne. He named himself, — the 'first example of such a change,—John XII.' . . . . He 'died,' (p. 139,) as we are told by the continuator of Luitprand, 'from

[1] Second Letter, p. 33, *et seq.*

[2] Eccl. Hist. Period iii. c. iii. § 2, p 136.

the effects of a wound received in a nightly debauch.' P. 143 we read:—

'Benedict was succeeded in 1024 by his brother John XIX. whom, according to the expression of Romuald of Salerno, the same day beheld a layman and Pope; so great was then the *power of the counts of Tusculum.* . . . . The counts of Tusculum, who had *already* seen upon the Papal throne their relatives Sergius III. John XI. and XII. Benedict VII., and lastly, the two brothers Benedict VIII. and John XIX., wished to make the *Roman See an inheritance in their family*, and count Alberich, the brother of the deceased John XIX. effected, by means of rich bribes of gold, the election of his son Theophylactus, who was named Benedict IX., and who dared to desecrate, for eleven years, the chair of Peter. This disgrace of the Roman, and consequently the entire Catholic Church, would have gone unpunished only in an age of the deepest corruption, in which, according to the assertion of the Abbot Guido of Pomposa, *almost all the Bishops were guilty of simony.*'

Here therefore was secular influence indeed, without the semblance of restraint! As regards the very next Pope, Gregory VI., it is said in the following page: 'Gregory related the 'manner of his own election, and confessed that he had been 'guilty of *simony*, but with the best intentions.' It is true that his resignation followed so candid a confession; nevertheless antecedently to his resignation, 'he was without doubt,' says 'Döllinger, 'the legitimate Pope,' (p. 144.) A sad pass indeed for the Apostolic See! Meanwhile particular Churches were even in a still more deplorable condition.

As regards France we read (p. 206): 'In the iron age, which 'extended from the end of the seventh to the middle of the 'eighth century, *literary and theological education* had been 'almost *destroyed;* but the *reign of Charlemagne effected here* '*also a most happy change.*' We will not stop here to inquire how much the French Church was indebted for her transient amelioration to the secular arm; it is acknowledged that her relapse did not long survive its withdrawal.

'That glory of *ecclesiastical learning*, and that long series of *theological writers, who went from the school of Charlemagne*, and who formed themselves during the interval of tranquillity and peace which he gave to Europe, threw their splendour on the reign of Lewis and of his sons down to the year 870 . . . . None survived the year 875, and as they left behind them no scholars, or scholars of only little learning; and as so many seats of education were destroyed, schools dispered, libraries burnt; and as the bishops and priests had to contend with foreign and domestic misery, the ecclesiastical literature of the following years presents an aspect dreary and barren. Through the whole of the tenth century, the troubled state of the land, which had now become the defenceless booty of the Normans and of the nobles, who during the impotence of the kingly authority ruled with tyrannic sway, cast its influence also upon the Church. Simony, plunder of ecclesiastical property, and contempt of all ecclesiastical order, were occurrences of every day. The ignorance of the clergy obliged Frotier, bishop of Poitiers, and Fulrad, bishop of Paris, about the year 910,

to engage Abbo, a monk of S. Germain, to compose a series of Homilies on the principal truths of Christianity, which might serve their priests as themes for sermons. The synod of Trosley in 909 lamented, that numbers of men had grown old who had never learnt the Creed or the Lord's Prayer. During the civil dissensions of France, when the regal power of the last Carlovingians yielded to the might of the greater vassals, and whilst the royal prerogatives were divided amongst many, the political position and the influence of the Church were weakened and disturbed. We no longer hear the episcopacy, assembled in numerous synods, raising its voice against the abuses of the times—for synods were now rarely convened; we see only individual prelates, powerful by their family connexions, or by their political stations, in particular the Archbishop of Rheims, who, judging and determining by the course of political events, usurped their Sees. But the See of Rheims became itself, about the year A. D. 925, the prey of a powerful noble, Herbert count of Vermandois, who forced into it his son Hugo, a youth of fifteen years of age. *The pope*, the unworthy John X., *consented* to this act, but commissioned Abbo, bishop of Soissons, to undertake the spiritual administration of the diocese!'—Pp. 209, 210.

A little later it is said, 'Attempts were now made (p. 215) to 'secure benefices as inheritances in families; *Bishops gave* '*manors of their dioceses to their children;* and with these 'scandals simony, which now began to spread universally, was 'in close connexion.' . . .

Again; in Germany, the Church was no less indebted to the temporal power for her reforms: 'Under the beneficent reign 'of Henry I.,' proceeds Döllinger, p. 220, '(from 919 to 936,) the 'German Church by degrees arose from its degradation.' Again, p. 222: 'Under the two following Othos, the son and the grand-'son of Otho the Great,' it is said, 'the great majority of the 'German Bishops who were *now* generally chosen, consisted of 'men who were worthy of their high vocation;' on the other hand it is admitted that simony, 'the source of almost all other 'ecclesiastical abuses, attained, *after the too early death of Henry* '*III.*, a frightful height...(p. 227). An attempt of Anno to reform 'the monastery of Saalfeld by the introduction of foreign monks, 'created such an excitement in the neighbouring cloisters, that 'the monks abandoned them in crowds. The state of the secular 'clergy was no better. The unworthy bishops who had now 'intruded themselves into the different sees, carried their ideas 'further in the practice of that simony, by which they had ob-'tained their churches. In the year 1070, the Pope, Alexander II., 'employed against them this bitter reproach,—that they gave 'ordination for money, and that they ordained those who could 'pay without any reference to their morality or capacity. (P. 229.) '. . . . Hence it will be seen,' is the mournful reflection of our historian, p. 230, 'that at the close of this period, the Church of 'Germany presented a knot, difficult to be unravelled, of licen-'tiousness, of abuses, of corruption, and of the desecration of 'all that was sacred.'

We will now advance with him to the Italian Church;—

'During the 8th century,' [it is said, p. 235,] '*ecclesiastical studies* were *neglected* in Italy, *even more* than in the west of France. . . . After the *decline of the Carlovingian dynasty*, Italy offers to our view a picture of discord, of the dissolution of all social bonds, of dark immorality, and of misery, *compared with which, even the contemporary state of France is tolerable.* . . . The contempt of the laws of the Church was almost universal amongst ecclesiastics and laics, amongst bishops and priests. Laics no longer trembled at a sentence of excommunication, as they well knew that they who fulminated it, had, by the canons, incurred a like censure. Bishop Batherius, in whose diocese many of the Clergy were ignorant of the Apostles' Creed, had to contend for nearly every one of his episcopal rights with his priests, who were willing to except in his favour only the power of ordination. Hence we may conclude that his assertion, that it was impossible, in his time, to find a man worthy to be raised to the episcopate, can scarcely be thought exaggerated. . . . *The Othos saved and exalted the Italian Episcopacy*, by placing in the different sees Germans, or men devoted to them, but always worthy of their charge.'—P. 237.

So we see that even appointments to bishoprics by the temporal power have not been always the most unmitigated evil imaginable.

It is unnecessary to proceed further with our extracts; enough has been alleged to prove the abject state of the Church during the period of which we speak: yet, abject as it was, it was permitted, under Divine Providence, to experience a mighty revival in the 11th century. Had Mr. Maskell lived A.D. 1060, would the retrospect of the past have appeared more encouraging to him than it is now? or, to advert to a further perplexity, would he have found more definite dogmatic teaching? It is well known that the crude notions of Paschasius about the Holy Eucharist are widely different from the doctrine laid down by the Tridentine fathers. Heriger, abbot of Lobes, and Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz, on the other hand, contemporary writers, opposed Paschasius, but were not a bit nearer the modern theory. Amalarius, a priest of Metz, added a third view: Bertram or Ratramnus, and Johannes Erigena, preceded Berengarius. As late as the 12th century, Peter Lombard admits his inability to define the mode of the conversion, *i.e.* whether formal or substantial; and the many conflicting opinions which he has produced on the subject plainly attest the unsettled state of the doctrine.[1] How long was it before the Western Church authoritatively decided that the cup might be withheld from the laity? How long was it before seven Sacraments were ruled to be the appointed number: and still more, whether they were of Divine or Apostolical institution, and what each conferred? Peter Lombard himself is said to have erred in his exposition of the last point,[2] and he can only derive extreme unction from the Apostles. As for Confirmation, and Penance, and perhaps Orders,

[1] Sent. Lib. Dist. 11 and 12. [2] Ibid. Dist. 4.

he will not define when or by whom they were instituted. How long was it before it was ruled that private penance was valid instead of the public: or that it was obligatory; at least once a year? How long was it before it was settled to whom *Δουλεία*, *ὑπερδούλεια*, and *λατρεία* were to be respectively rendered; or that the last of these might be rendered to the cross and crucifix?

It is obvious that until these questions were ruled one way, contradictory opinions might lawfully be held and taught about them. Even now there are numberless deeply interesting questions, which are tossed about from side to side, and differently determined in the most dogmatic of all communions. Even the Tridentine decrees are sufficiently elastic to have been alleged by the Jesuits and Jansenists, by the Gallican and Ultramontane schools: and how long was it before it was practically decided which party was to gain the day? Now it is notorious that there is not more difference between what are called High and Low Church in our Communion, than there was between these parties in the Roman Church; and of these the Jansenists maintained their views more or less a full half-century, while the Gallican view has never been formally condemned. Again, it may still be asked, Is the difference between the primitive and modern Roman Church to be justified on the grounds of a development, the '*disciplina arcani*,' or the like? Is the Pope infallible, and how far: is he superior or subordinate to a General Council? Are the Saints in the Church Triumphant conscious of what goes on in the Church Militant through angelic ministrations, the *speculum Trinitatis*, or otherwise? Are the torments of hell material, or spiritual, or both? Has the millennium passed or not, or is it altogether a false doctrine? Is Rome designated in the Apocalypse, and how far, or in what sense? Why should we not perplex ourselves as much about what the most dogmatic Church has left open or decided equivocally, as about what the Church of England has or seems to have done; for the difference between the two Churches is really not of kind but of degree, as regards the present point.

And even assuming that the Church of England is defective or ambiguous in her teaching, does the fault lie so much with her as with her elder sister? May she not have justly recoiled from dogmatic teaching generally, from observing the unjustifiable excess to which it had been elsewhere carried; and when she saw the great portion of the Western Church making so light of the authority of the written Word; dogmatizing in her traditions, for instance, that our Lord appeared *first* to his Blessed Mother: when S. Mark expressly says that he appeared *first* to S. Mary Magdalene; dogmatizing in her discipline, that

the cup may be denied to the laity, when our Lord had commanded both kinds equally to be received; on the very verge of dogmatizing in her theology that the Blessed Virgin Mary was conceived without sin, when the Scripture doctrine is notoriously that all are conceived and born in sin, who are born in the order of nature? Whose fault is it, we ask, that our Church should be cautious and reserved in her expressions towards the departed, about the power of the keys, and about the Eucharist; unless it is owing to the enormous superstructure with which the primitive doctrines of the one Catholic and Apostolical Church have been overlaid and obscured? Surely dogmatism *did* need a check when it had overstepped piety; and though a recoil from the excess of a thing is apt to lead to the opposite extreme, and though it be admitted to have produced these results in the present instance, still in our return to a more systematic dogmatic teaching, we should be most careful to avoid the error of superseding the inspired Word, against which we have so long and painfully protested.

On the other hand, can it be said with truth, that we have not already abundant positive dogmatic teaching upon certain prime subjects; and these not so limited as Mr. Maskell would insinuate? On the doctrine of the Trinity, he allows we have. Have we *none* upon the doctrine of the Incarnation, the Atonement, the sufficiency of the Scriptures; of original sin, of post-baptismal sin, of free-will, of grace, and the Sacraments? On the last topics, Mr. Maskell affirms her language is undefined and obscure: but *it is only so with reference to the points upon which Rome has been more explicit;* and it is quite possible that there are some things connected with them, upon which the Catholic Church has not pronounced authoritatively, and upon which she still waits for the judgment of a truly Œcumenical council.[1]

[1] As for the Irish articles, the principal charge made against them by Mr. Maskell* depends upon the sense to be attached to the term Regeneration, which has never been settled. Our Lord speaks of the general resurrection as 'the regeneration,'† and it is possible that our regeneration may be a continuous act, commenced indeed at our baptism, but not complete before the resurrection of the body; or again, there may be a first and second regeneration, in the same way that, according to Roman theology, there is a first and second justification. The article about the Eucharist expressly limits what is said, however confusedly, to 'the outward part' of the Sacrament.‡ As regards what is said of the power of the keys,§ a similar view was once common in the Roman Church, whatever her more modern views may be; a plain proof her dogmatic teaching is not always unimpeachable. Delahogue says, 'Secunda (opinio) est Magistri Sententiarum . . . scilicet L. iv. Dist. 18, principii instar supponens in pœnitentibus requiri contritionem perfectam, ut a sacerdote valide absolvantur; hinc deducit quod sacerdotes peccata

* Second Letter, p. 29.

† Ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ = ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει —Theophylact. S. Matt. xix. 28. Compare the prophecy applied to the Resurrection of our Lord, Acts xiii. 33.

‡ Second Letter, p. 31. § P. 30.

Alas! that one needing the *benigna interpretatio* so much as Mr. Maskell does, should be so merciless towards his own communion. Would it be believed that so ruthless a censor, and a dogmatist, should have laid himself undeniably open to a charge of Nestorianism in his sermons? Who would have believed that one claiming to be a theologian should have penned the following heretical sentence:—

'*Christ suffered, and the Godhead suffered not: suffering is not to be attributed to the Second Person of the blessed Trinity. But suffering must be attributed to the Man Christ Jesus.*'[1]

We do not deny that what is implied in these words is inconsistent with the doctrine set forth in the next page; we do not deny that it is negatived in the very context. Meting, however, the same measure that Mr. Maskell does, we should be following his example if we interpreted his orthodoxy by his fresh heresy, and made the above passage speak for his real views. However, quitting personalities, let us suggest to Mr. Maskell, in the last place, that the Church of England may have been engaged since the Reformation in a widely different work, which left her little time to dogmatize upon what may be called esoteric questions. The Church is called to different offices at different times, according to the different circumstances in which she finds herself. Her dangers are not always the same; and she would show little prudence in occupying herself exclusively with one sort, when others still more formidable were active and at her doors. The great outlines of the Faith the Church must of course ever maintain inviolable; but it would be wanton and unpardonable waste of strength in her, to be busy in systematizing its details with scientific precision, when a philosophy was abroad sapping its very foundations, and threatening its existence; and such was just the case during the last two centuries in England. The English Church had something more pressing to do than to dogmatize; she had to check that which would have rendered all dogmatizing needless. She had to meet the Deistical philosophy, as the early Church had first to combat not so much theological innovators like Arius, but philosophical speculators, who struck at the very idea of an exclusive and final

---

dimittunt vel retinent, *dum dimissa a Deo vel retenta fuisse judicant.* Idem sensere S. Bonaventura, Gabriel, Major, Alensis, aliique nec pauci nec infimi nominis Theologi.'—*Tract. De Pœnit.* c. ii. Art. 2. Moreover, it might have been more dutiful in *Mr. Maskell*, at least, to have interpreted them to the best of his ability in the sense of our Articles, our Articles having been equally received by the Irish Church. On the other hand, assuming that his candour did not permit him to gloss over awkward facts, why did his candour omit to allege the Scotch, or in a material respect even the American, Communion office in our favour, as regards what he calls 'the Catholic doctrine of the Sacrifice in the Eucharist?'—P. 61.

[1] Sermons. p. 31, and that in *the second edition.*

Christian revelation—the infidel heresies of the Gnostics and Manicheans. If similar dangers have revived in later times, who shall dare accuse the English Church of sloth, or of unfaithfulness to her trust, if, instead of shutting her eyes to them, and going on her way as if they did not exist, she boldly recognised the true character of the crisis, and put forth her whole strength in meeting it? and who further, shall dare to say, that she met it unsuccessfully?

We are as far as Mr. Maskell himself from undervaluing dogmatic accuracy, though we may differ from him in our estimate of its tests. But for such a work as this, and performed as it was performed, we take leave to think that the English Church might well leave the perfecting of her dogmatic system to times of less anxiety and peril.

ART. VII.—*Parochial Work. By the Rev.* E. MONRO, M.A. *Incumbent of Harrow Weald, Middlesex.* Oxford & London: J. H. Parker. 1850.

READER, have you ever set out unwillingly on a weary and anxious journey—beginning from the moment you left home to count the hours that would elapse ere you should see it again, and full of that heavy burthensome care, which occupies minds that know themselves unequal to the work they are setting about? and has it chanced to you in the early morning to have your attention arrested by a labourer singing at his work,—singing or whistling with all his might and main, as people do when they are deep in their task, yet thoroughly enjoying themselves in it? and were you not loth to pass him by? did you not look back with a sort of envious wistfulness, longing to join him in the field, or change places with him? and if duty chased that feeling away, yet it may be the remembrance of such a moment was afterwards a stay and comfort to you, and helped you to sing inwardly, when your trouble was at the highest. Somewhat of the like wholesome and cheering effect we may well imagine to have been produced in many a mind by the appearance, just at this time, of such a book as Mr. Monro's. In our daily fight and trouble, in our prayer and strife for the very being, and not only for the well-being of the Established Church of England, endangered now by a heresy which amounts to no less than the denial of all Sacramental Grace: it is a great thing to have attention called to such a specimen of Parochial Work in that Church; to read the report, and to believe, as we have all reason to do, that, allowing for human imperfection, it gives a faithful picture of the parish and of the man. In one respect, indeed, it may be far from cheering to most of us: as each man, in the Sacred Ministry especially, shall compare his own doings and his own arrangements with what he finds here, well may it serve to depress and confound him, as all good and great examples do in proportion to our own conscious deficiency. But if there be any manliness in the heart, this will be a wholesome depression and confusion, and the effect will soon show itself in more regular and self-denying ways, and in a happier state of things between the pastor and his flock. For ourselves we must own, that were it not for some such hope, the very perusal of the work, much more the task of reviewing it, would seem almost too much for us. As it is, we are fain to undertake it as we may.

We are fain, in the first place, (however it may put the greater part of us, clergy and laity, to shame,) to recommend

this short treatise, for the points to which it refers, as the best 'Country Parson' that has appeared in our times: the most effectual help towards bringing our authorized machinery to bear in special on our present tasks and emergencies. We could wish to see it studied, (with the exception perhaps of one portion, which we need not specify more particularly, than by saying that its very title in the margin implies it to have been intended for the eye and thought, almost exclusively, of the guides of souls, and, therefore, we have sometimes doubted whether it had not better have been written in Latin:)—with the exception of those pages, we could wish to see Mr. Monro's work very familiarly known to all among us, who love God's Church and His poor. We know of no such help, *for the points to which it refers*:—a necessary limitation, since it does not profess to be a complete Treatise on Parochial Work. In all earnestness and reality it is limited to what the author knows of his own knowledge: chiefly, therefore, at least primarily, it treats of the condition of poor agricultural parishes; and while it abounds in original views, and deep sayings of Philosophy and sacred Polity, enforced often with most touching eloqence, it is marked throughout with that which is perhaps the most unequivocal note of reality and truth—that its generalizations are everywhere visibly bound to the author's own definite and clear experience: in his widest range he never loses sight of the cottage fire-side, or school-room, or confessional chair, whence the course of thought on which he is employed had its origin: like the poet's lark;

> —'while the wings aspire, both heart and eye
> Are with his nest upon the dewy ground. . . .
> Type of the wise, who soar but never roam,
> True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home.'

This is his tone and manner—the very tone and manner (if we may venture so to speculate) which indicate one naturally gifted to become a propagator of the Church's Sacramental system: to whom it is a recommendation, not an offence, when he finds much made of very cheap and ordinary symbols: whose joy is rather to begin from the smallest event or reality around him, and trace it upwards and onwards to something very great, than to imagine perfect things at a distance, and long and try to bring the facts of his condition into more exact logical accordance with them. To this, as to so many other points of character, we may perhaps without irreverence apply the Divine maxim, they that are most like little children are meetest for the Kingdom of Heaven—best prepared to teach and work in the Church. For we all know how local, personal, and domestic little children commonly are, both in their speculations and in their

attachments: and what a reality this gives to their sayings and doings, compared with those of the full-grown and conceited world.

In substance, then, Mr. Monro's work may be described as a series of earnest and original remarks on the subjects which shall be now set down in their order. First, the sad and fallen state of English society: concerning which, he says generally:—

'To do more than sketch the evil which exists to be remedied would exceed our present space. It is the alarming and astounding fact of millions of baptized Christians, living, in cities and villages around us, either in utter ignorance of the religion they profess, or the victims of a deep-rooted and withering infidelity. By the side of the splendid palaces of luxury and ease in the metropolis and other large cities, and within a stone's throw of their doors, are alleys and darkened streets, where in garrets and cellars whole families are grouped, in squalid poverty, filth, and disease, and what is far worse, in a state of ignorance of their awful responsibilities and future destinies which would appal a Hindoo. And often in a space which, if for a moment cleared and unoccupied, would present the features of scarcely more than a small yard of ordinary dimensions, have arisen piles of benighted dwelling-places, whose very mazes and intricacies give one the idea of magnitude, whose occupants never mention the Almighty's name but to curse it, or look on death with any other feeling than as the escape from the miseries of life into nothingness and annihilation; theatres, gin palaces, and gambling houses, have far outnumbered schools and churches; and long after the latter have closed their doors for the day, the former pour forth floods of light to lead thousands into their accustomed resort of sin and intoxication. Churches stand dark and silent against the night sky, while these houses of vice blaze with light till the streets cease to echo to the feet of the passing traveller. Nor is the power of evil active alone to satisfy the sensual tendencies of men. Their intellectual yearnings are gratified with an activity, an energy, a zeal truly surprising and worthy of a better cause; schools are open throughout the hours of the evening, where socialist teachers inculcate their tenets and preach their doctrines to thousands, who feel they have rational powers, which no other body has attempted to call out or give food to. In this way a population is fast growing up around us, bound by no law of God, under the influence of violent passions, far too strong for human law to restrain, ready to burst forth beyond all control against the checks of authority and the call of order; this is the evil, and this evil many men hope to remedy by the lowest form of mental education. The result will show the wisdom of their expectation; a far more effective remedy seems to me to lie in the full and active working of the parochial system.'—Pp. 5—7.

Then passing to the state of the agricultural poor in particular, he speaks of their notions of Prayer, of the Sacraments, of Doctrine, their want of reverence, their impurity and dishonesty. We cannot deny that in what he says there is a great deal of sad truth: still we must hope that in very many parishes his statements would appear almost too highly coloured; it perhaps would have tended to mitigate them, had he been *all his life* conversant with this section of the poor, which we rather apprehend has not been the case. For instance, he is disposed to think a good deal of their calling the Creed a Prayer, and using

it as such: now this, we apprehend, is simply a relic of the old form of devotion, used from time immemorial in all branches of the Catholic Church;—the form of adding the Credo to the Pater Noster: and their calling it a prayer is no proof that they mistake its meaning: 'prayer,' in their usage of the word, means much the same as our phrase 'devotional formulary:' it is said on their knees, and said to God, and that makes it, in their sense, a 'prayer:' they do not stand upon the logical difference between 'prayer,' 'thanksgiving,' and 'confession of sin, or of faith:' any more than Jesus the son of Sirach did, when he gave the title of Prayer to the eucharistical and moral hymn at the end of Ecclesiasticus. And surely the Creed, said solemnly as in God's presence, is to all intents and purposes a prayer: it is bringing our spiritual armour, day by day, and night by night, to be blessed: it is making the Sign of the Cross, so to speak, upon our very souls: and who will doubt that such acts have in God's sight the force and virtue of a Prayer? We are the more earnest on this point, because we are quite sure that in *some* cases the using the Creed as a Prayer, and so denominating it, is no such token of ignorance, as Mr. Monro's saying would seem to imply: and it is very undesirable, for many reasons, that our people's state should be made out worse than it is; very undesirable, also, most assuredly, that anything should be said which might have the effect, however indirectly, of discouraging the use of that form of sound words in our devotions, which have need of all possible help against Evil Spirits. Any such result, we are sure, must be the farthest from Mr. Monro's intention: he is well aware that in all our best and most authoritative books of devotion, since the Reformation as well as before, the Creed is prescribed as part of morning and evening prayer. Before the Reformation the Ave Maria was prescribed also: why has not this been continued by our people, as well as the other, if they were merely clinging to a relic of their ancient usages? In fact, they returned at that period, in this as in many other particulars, to the rules of the Anglo-Saxon time: when it was specially enacted in this Church that 'every one imbued with the Christian faith should imbue 'his children also with the same faith, and teach them the Pater 'Noster and the Credo.'[1] And again, that every one should learn the Pater Noster and Credo before he be buried in consecrated ground, or judged meet to receive Holy Communion, or to be sponsor to a child, or to be confirmed.[2] No mention at all, it will be perceived, of the Ave Maria; which in English canons a few centuries later is carefully inserted into the like

[1] Can. 17, sub Edgaro. ap. Hard. tom. vi. 661. [2] Ib. can. 22, A.D. 967.

enactments.[1] All this makes it credible, that the customs of our English peasantry concerning the Creed are no token of special ignorance, but arise from the same kind of traditional sense of duty, which works such wonders elsewhere in keeping up the Roman system.

Again, in respect of another usage, which he seems to regard as merely childish, and we have no doubt that it is so in a great many, perhaps in most instances: I mean, the sort of invocation to the Four Evangelists, which comes into some part of very many of our poor men's devotion:—

> 'Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
> Bless the bed that I lie on:'—

we could wish to bring to his notice a passage in S. Chrysostom on 1 Cor. Hom. 43, § 7, Oxf. Transl. S. Chrysostom recommends an alms-chest near the place of prayer, and says, 'As 'often as you enter in to pray, first deposit your alms, and then 'send up your prayer, ... since not even *the gospel hanging* '*by our bed* is more important than that alms should be laid up 'for you; for if you *hang up the gospel* and do nothing, it will do 'you no such great good: but if you have this little coffer, you 'have a defence against the devil, you give wings to your prayer, 'you make your house holy, having meat for the king there laid 'up in store; and for this cause let the little coffer be placed 'also near the bed, and the night will not be troubled with 'fantasies.' With somewhat of the like feeling, it seems to have been usual in ancient councils (at Ephesus, for example, A.D. 431), to 'set the Holy Gospel on a throne in the very midst, indicating the presence among us of Christ Himself.' (Hard. i. 1441.) May not then the familiar couplet alluded to be regarded as a wish or ejaculation addressed to the Almighty, rather than as an invocation, properly so called, to the Saints: a wish, in meaning akin to that ancient Benediction of the Church, 'May the reading of the Holy Gospel be to us salvation and protection?' According to this interpretation, (and why should it seem unreal or far-fetched?) our people are no more superstitious in their use of this, than of any other formula, the words of which they do not properly understand: neither can it be strictly called 'an address to objects short of God.'

Under this head, it startles us a little, as an instance of verbal incaution, to find Mr. Monro saying, 'the forms in use are equally deficient [with the postures]: *with the exception of the Lord's Prayer*, no other is generally in use, but,' &c.: as if the Lord's Prayer were a slight exception. Our own experience, again, would not confirm his implied statement, that in principle

[1] Ib. tom. vii. 278 E, A.D. *circ.* 1237.

our rustic poor abjure prayers for the dead, so that in mentioning friends departed, as they commonly do at their devotions, they are only showing their prayers to be 'in truth a form gone through with a feeling of mere superstition.' On the contrary, we have found much reason to think that the remembrance of the dead in their prayers is a thing consciously and regularly practised by very many, who would be dismayed, beyond measure, at any idea of Roman worship. For instance, an aged dame, who expressed perfect horror of the cross being but mentioned in an inscription over her son's grave, saying, 'the people would surely say, Mother so and so was turned Catholic,' said in the same conversation, that as a matter of course she prayed for her son every night of her life.

We have ventured on these few remarks, partly in justice to our simpler brethren, whose usages, it may be, we are sometimes apt to pronounce upon as hastily as we do on their provincial words and tones, when a little more knowledge of Church antiquities in the one case, and of Anglo-Saxon in the other, would lead to a less severe judgment: partly from a special fear which we have of over-statement on these matters, knowing the kind of use which is but too likely to be made of it: feeling sure also that it will lessen the effect of Mr. Monro's general representations, which, after all allowances, cannot be denied to be sadly and fearfully true.

Under the head of popular ignorance, he says:—

'Our poor are also singularly ignorant on all points of distinctive religious creed: and even on some essential doctrines, as that of the Blessed Trinity, and the Incarnation, they have scarcely gone beyond the impulse and outline of natural religion. They do not realize, with any degree of keenness or consideration, their relation to any one of the truths of Christianity. Adults of a certain age, amongst our labouring classes, will have the appearance very frequently of being religious and devotional in their daily life, and that to a degree to which the poor of many other countries will not seem to have attained, while all the time, on examination, it will be found that they are scarcely more than conscious of their devotion being paid to the Maker of the universe, who will one day judge them. This is in most cases the limit of the objective creed, which they are conscious of, and in reference to which they live religiously. Any distinct views of our Blessed Lord's position with regard to them, of their true condition as sinners, their state with regard to holy Baptism or the Catholic Church, are far from being realized. Or if they do by expression imply an inward consciousness of any such relation, it is in words and sentences so vague, and indefinite, and fruitless, as to convey to one's own mind the impression of great unreality; for instance, the acknowledgment in general terms of being a great sinner, but being unprepared to mention any fault of which they are aware, and their astonishment at being told of any deficiency actually and practically existing in their own character, which they have just pronounced to be materially deficient. In the same way many will be utterly unable to mention on what their hope of pardon is founded, and yet they will at once, if helped to it, fall into a statement of our Blessed Lord's death on the cross. And this absence of consciousness of an objec-

tive creed is one of the striking features of our poor when considered religiously, distinguishing them from the poor of nearly all other nations, and all forms of religion. The faith and ceremonies of heathen systems call out more conscious devotion from the disciples of their creed, more living reality of practice and feeling, more burning zeal with respect to the particular fact, than we generally see approached by our own people. The one would die for the object of his faith, which lives before his soul, while the other is scarcely conscious of any such object to die for, not that he has not got the natural religious impulse to do it, but he lacks the intellectual conviction and grasp of any such object. Consciousness of the points of an objective creed, when keenly defined, gives a reality to expression, a fervour to the life, and an individuality to the faith, which are utterly lost in the more undefined plan of natural religion. We need the revelation of Christianity to make us aware of certain relations we stand in, which we were not conscious of, and of which being conscious, a new energy, life, and reality is imparted to the religious practice. I do not here deny the general religious tone of our poor, and that perhaps in comparison with the poor of other nations it is greater, but this proceeds from what we would call the sincere efforts of a conscientious people under the guidance of the Holy Spirit received at Baptism. I firmly believe, that under catechetical examination our people would lamentably fail, and show an ignorance which would not only shame but astonish many among us. There is, as I said, no lack of a general goodness of disposition and character among the English poor, they are, compared with other populations, singularly moral and well inclined. It is an intellectual deficiency I am complaining of, produced partly by external circumstances, and partly arising from a natural slowness of apprehension. The co-operation of these two causes is seen in many other results, and produces the same vagueness and unreality which has been complained of in their daily use of prayer. *E. g.* they will constantly tell you, if asked about their performance of the duty of prayer, that they "pray all day," and never "cease praying," are "always at prayer," expressions to the last degree unreal, as the very person who has used them will be unable the next moment to give you one clear answer as to what prayer is, or what they pray for. If we look through the great number of phraseologies in use among them, we find the same character attributable to the same cause: expressions with regard to our Blessed Lord's atonement, with regard to the Holy Communion, and the Last Judgment, all taking the same unreality of form. All conventional phrases imply a certain degree of unreality. Modes of expression received from father to son will be found nearly the same in all parts of England, and will be adhered to with a tenacity truly surprising. Certain modes of believing and speaking about Holy Communion have so little reason as to defy all the batteries of reasoning and moral authoritative teaching, and yet with the best intention possible they will cling to them to the last gasp. The forms of expression seem to arise from a certain inward desire to do right, and a conscious dependence on God's providence, which a strong natural religion works within them: but which when receiving definiteness and expression, assumes a form of unreality. The fact is, no people are more real in their actions than the English people, and whatever there is good in them is truly and deeply so, but few are more unreal in modes of expression, and ways of thinking; a condition easily accounted for, from the co-operation of the two causes of a natural intellectual dulness, and the want of any catechetical training.'—Pp. 24—28.

We have made this long extract, chiefly for its own beauty and instructiveness' sake, in part also for the sake of intimating

a doubt, similar to what we have ventured on above, whether sufficient account is here taken of most Englishmen's great inability to express in words, what, nevertheless, they feel and know with a very real feeling and knowledge. How continually does it happen, that in speaking with our people on grave points, although it may be they cannot answer a word, we are sure they understand us, by the very expression of their countenances; and if asked, they profess that they do, in a manner which quite satisfies one at the time, and ere long something happens which shows that one was right to be satisfied. This occurs constantly in teaching the duller or shyer sort of children, and in preparing persons for Confirmation and Holy Communion: and unless it be borne in mind, there will be some danger lest persons endeavouring to act on Mr. Monro's hints, do harm by pressing always for definite answers, discouraging the timid, and damaging in many that precious quality of 'reserve' and 'want of consciousness,' on which he so truly and beautifully goes on to remark:—

'There are few people amongst whom the subject matter of deep poetry resides more than among the English poor, still there are few who perhaps are less consciously poets. Take the case of the feeling of the wife; there are not many instances of freedom from selfishness and of self-denying devotion to be found in the world, more striking than that which we find shown by the wife of an English peasant towards her husband. She will bear patiently with outbreaks of the most unreasonable passion, will toil herself for her children when the father spends his earnings on a sensual life; will go without any but the plainest food, that he may have sufficient for his daily work; will screen his faults to the last, when those faults consist in the most cruel treatment of herself; will place herself in numberless difficulties in order to save him from just punishment, and yet with all this she will be scarcely conscious of any definite feeling towards him, and in conversation would give one the impression of indifference and want of affection.'—Pp. 29, 30.

'Verily I say unto you, This poor widow hath cast in more than they all:' but surely we have no reason to imagine that she was herself aware of what she was really doing: but much to apprehend, that had she known, it might have been a snare unto her. The praise and the caution would appear to extend to all other subject matter, as well as that of alms-giving. Let us beware how, in training our people, we interfere with that happy unconsciousness which appears to be the φυσικὴ ἀρετή,—the natural ground—of true Christian simplicity.

It will be seen that the exceptions which we have hinted at in regard of some of Mr. Monro's statements, relate chiefly to what he says of the better sort of poor persons, and the more promising side of their character. With his confessions regarding the sad prevalence of certain deadly sins among them as a class, we can but in sorrow and shame concur: and yet

we are fain to hope, that the severe bodily labour which is the lot of most of them, may have tended to preserve them in some measure from that utter and reckless voluptuousness—the common and fearful penalty of abused leisure. Nevertheless, it is a sad case, nor has Mr. Monro said a word too much of it.

It is a sad case; how is it to be met? In abstract, perhaps, many answers might be given; to us, in fact and in deed, one only. *Spartam nactus es; hanc orna.* We have, for the present at least, our Parochial system: let us try and make the most of it. What is the Parochial system? It may be defined as an arrangement by which the cure of souls is delegated by the Bishop for certain purposes, according to the terms of institution or licence, to one or more persons, to be exercised within certain bounds. If this be allowed as a correct definition, it would seem that we have implicitly settled by it one of the greatest and most fundamental points, which are apt to be debated among zealous persons, when the question is, How may the Church do her work? Practically, we know, at least to a great extent, people seem to have answered this question for themselves, by determining to be satisfied with the Church's work, when they see 'the Clergy *generally* leavening the people, and giving a tone to society.' But the 'cure of souls' surely implies something very different from this. It may be that in some cases from insufficiency of numbers, in others from other causes which need not be here specified, it has become impracticable for the Priests of our Church to apply themselves severally to each particular soul: but is there any where any one who would deny, that apart from such difficulties, the thing is in itself desirable, and should be the standard at least, for each one of us to measure his work by, how sadly soever he may feel that he falls short of it? Indeed, the word 'cure' by itself tells its own story in this regard; who would think of being 'cared' for, medically cared for, without telling his case to the physician? Who would be satisfied if only care were taken to dispense good medical books among those who were in danger of taking a complaint, and to see to it that the books were read and understood by them? This appears to us such plain common sense, as to admit of only one sufficient answer: the answer of the extreme Protestant. *He* may allege that the whole illustration is idle: that there is no analogy between the two cases, the care of each man's soul being left so exclusively to himself, that it is a sin and an absurdity for any fellow-man to interfere at all between man and his Maker. What sort of a tenet this is, what consequences, if carried out, it would end in, we are not now considering: but at least those who hold it may consistently reject altogether the principle of private confession:

they, and as it seems to us, they *only*. All others must admit the thing to be desirable, however they may differ as to its practicability, or the details of its application. Mr. Monro has illustrated this from the practice of the Wesleyans and others. He has also adverted to some of the ordinary objections: dread of 'Priestcraft;' supposed encouragement of a sort of indolent or idolatrous reliance on man; weakening of the sense of responsibility: to which, perhaps, might have been added, a kind of partial and unhealthy excitement, to which the weaker classes in mind and heart seem liable, especially when entering on the practice; as though they were at liberty to spend all the zeal of which they are capable, unreservedly, upon this one ordinance, and the preparation and direction connected with it: and to provide out of it an ascertainable test of their own and others' condition, much as another school might regard a supposed process of sensible conversion. According to what little experience we have been able to gather on the subject, this is a very real danger: but we mention it here, chiefly for the purpose of remarking, that in common with the other abuses above specified, it applies less, perhaps, to the ordinary population of our villages, than to any other class of persons which might be mentioned. They are usually, as the Monro of a former age has described them, 'thick and heavy, and hard to raise to a point of zeal and fervency, and need a mountain of fire to kindle them.' They have commonly a hard burden of work, and of out-door work, and very often the realities of family care pressing on them at home: so that they have no leisure, no room in their heart to indulge themselves in sentiments and fancies, secular or religious. When they can be brought to pour themselves out to you at all, they do it in a calm uncompromising tone, which proves to you better than any words could, how determined they are to give a true account of themselves. Then as to the notion of abuse in the way of priestcraft (so called) or undue dependence on man, it is not here as in Ireland: our peasantry are, generally speaking, very much bound to their landlords and employers; the most popular clergyman in mixed matters could hardly expect from them more than a divided allegiance; not such as he might gather to himself, if he sought it, from the half-starved denizens of a crowded town, where he might chance to have come into fashion. Then the comparatively reserved and silent habits, of our labouring men at least, would obviate one principal inconvenience which has been sometimes found to attend on the revival of confession among us—the disposition of some under direction to 'gossip' and 'compare notes' even on that sacred subject: on which account, by the by, as well as on many others, it seems highly desirable that all penitents should be

bound by promise to say nothing of what passes (except to persons to whom for some reason they are accountable) as strictly, almost, as the confessor is pledged to silence by the very law of the transaction. As to the idea that confessing sin to a Priest according to the Rubric of the Church of England, and so receiving our Lord's Remission, has the least tendency to unnerve and enslave the spirit of the English yeoman or peasant who avails himself of it, and to deprive him of proper self-respect: it seems to us, we must say, the most foolish and unreal of all possible apprehensions:—a panic raised (we say it in all seriousness) by the only Being who counts it his interest to keep us bound with the chain of our sins. Talk of liberty and enfranchisement!—What is untying of earthly bonds, or escape from earthly tyranny, compared with the sense which the faithful heart has, or feels that it ought to have, of that absolving sentence? It can only be expressed in the words of the Psalm used constantly in reference to Christian Confession, and inspired, no doubt, for that very purpose; 'Thou art a 'place to hide me in, Thou shalt preserve me from trouble, 'Thou shalt compass me about with Songs of Deliverance.'

The most valid by far of the objections raised to this ordinance is the fear lest with many, perhaps with the greater part, it may tend to diminish their sense of personal responsibility. But this is obviously a plea, not against confession and absolution, but against over-minute direction: a practice perfectly separable from them, and discountenanced by many who are most eager for them: and among the rest by Mr. Monro himself, who says, p. 38:—

'I wish to be clearly understood as not advocating the direction of people's actions. People surely are not at liberty to devolve moral responsibility upon another. Conscience is God's voice within each of us; and a far higher director for most purposes than any human guide, however exalted in spiritual wisdom; and that guide who, on light grounds, ventures to impose his judgment for its inward guiding voice, runs the hazard of interfering with the operations of the blessed Spirit. But since conscience is deadened and dulled by sin and ignorance, in the case of so many, our duty is to awaken the moral ear to its whisper, to convince of sin, and furnish each man with the especial weapons for its subjection. The priest must see that each is clothed with the whole armour of God. This well done, the detail of daily life in all its relationships may safely be left to the individual's own control. The relationships of man with man are generally so refined and delicate, as to be beyond the power of explanation to another, and how can we expect a safe judgment when the case can, in the nature of things, be only imperfectly stated? A strong-minded and conscientious man would feel himself to be a loser by frequently obtaining a too favourable judgment. Any less stern judgment than conscience would have given, must effeminate the character. But the case of our people does yet demand from us help and sympathy commensurate with the peculiar difficulties and temptations of each.'

In connexion with this subject we may remark, what has of late become but too evident to some who are occasionally invited to act as directors, that the apparent longing for direction (strange to say) is in certain cases but a subtle form of self-will—a feeling about for an excuse to take one's own way. For instance, in points of doctrine people say, 'We want to be 'told so and so,—let it be the need of Auricular Confession, or 'a particular view of the Eucharistic Sacrifice,—by a direct 'decree of the Church immediately binding upon us indivi-'dually: we will not be content with less; if we cannot see '*that* where we are, we must go elsewhere.' Or again they say, 'We have made up our minds that the note of unity in the 'Church differs from the note of sanctity in this respect, that 'the latter may be in great measure a mere unrealized ten-'dency, whereas the former, in order to exist, must be carried 'out perfectly even here in the eyes of men: show us that what 'you call branches of the Church are one with each other in 'this sense, or we will not believe that any but one of them can 'be in the Church at all; and we will go to that one which, in 'our judgment, alone teaches this opinion of ours:'—or in some matter of personal practice, devotional observance, or the like, they give one plainly to understand, that a particular way of going on is *in their judgment* necessary for their souls' good, and they are sure they cannot do without it; forbid it, and they must become sceptics or something else. We might go on enumerating many such cases: in which the petition to be guided has just about as much reality in it as a Congé d'Elire, or the summons at Bow Church when the elect of Manchester or Hereford had to be confirmed. The unfortunate 'director' can in general plainly see, from the very beginning of the interview, that all it means is, 'I have made up my mind, but I would fain have you responsible for it:' but he has not the courage, or the harshness, whichever it should be called, to cut matters short: so he says in an embarrassed way what occurs to him for the time, and tries to be patient, when the result, which from the first moment he anticipated, actually occurs. Instances like these may well make one afraid of a certain unreality, which has to be guarded against in the use of Confession and Pastoral advice: and which, we apprehend, is hardly separable, except perhaps in some very rare and high cases, from the habit of requiring *minute* and *incessant* direction. Those who have been humoured in such ways are almost sure, sooner or later, to stumble upon some point in which they have a strong will, yet their customary dependence on their guide will not let them be contented without his sanction: and so they are tempted to wander more or less from straightforward truth

and simple dutifulness, under the guise, it may be, of high self-devotion. It is the Priest's business to watch against such abuses, and to give no occasion for them: but they have no force at all as an objection to the legitimate and authorized mode of personal intercourse which the Prayer Book virtually enjoins: on the contrary, it is quite plain, that the more *that* is appreciated and practised, the more easy will they prove both of detection and of cure. Especially as to the class of persons of whom chiefly Mr. Monro is speaking—the working *men* of an agricultural parish:—refinements of dealing, such as we have now exemplified, are little likely to occur among them: rather, we should fear, might we apprehend an obstinate unwillingness to unburthen the mind at all: where that is once got over, (and the experience referred to in this work is enough to show that faith, hope, *and love*, will in time effectually subdue it,) there will be a force, simplicity, and courage in their communications, most refreshing to those who have to deal with them. As in their bodily, so in their spiritual work, their blunt common sense added to dutifulness, will (by that Aid which is sure not to be denied) scarcely find any thing too hard for it. But it will never come into their heads that they can free themselves of responsibility, when they have once fairly accepted the Doctrine of a Judgment to come. On the contrary, their very object in seeking the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, was to enlarge their responsibility, by obtaining deliverance from the chain of past sin, and better principles to guide them for the future. They felt that their consciences were in a manner seared; they longed to be thoroughly awakened, and made aware of God's Presence and Guidance: but the morbid craving for minute direction seems rather to imply that people count themselves too conscientious—it savours of the mind of those who besought Jesus to depart out of their coasts. A wise steward of the precious sacerdotal grace will know how to correct these latter, and teach them to have root in themselves, without discouraging the earnest desires of the former. He will keep up his pastoral authority, and avail himself of his personal influence, such as he may have, without allowing them to tempt themselves to 'Hero Worship:' if so we may denominate a tendency, which of late years has been and is harming us, and spoiling our good, to a sad and fearful extent.

We pass with Mr. Monro from the question, whether personal intercourse is desirable to another, much harder to be answered:—how it can be sufficiently realized. Mr. Monro puts the following case:—

'Let me suppose a clergyman called to the cure of 1,000 people, 350 of whom are adults, and the remaining 650 minors, ranging from sixteen to

infancy. Let me instance the case in an agricultural district, and the habits of the people as we find them in such neighbourhoods, the men employed on field work till six o'clock in the afternoon on an average through the year, increasing in length towards the height of summer, when the harvest calls on them for later employment. The women during the principal part of the year occupied in domestic work, but during the early weeks of spring employed at planting and couching, and in the time of hay and corn harvest able to earn an additional trifle. With such a population and such occupations, it would not be hard for a clergyman to devote three evenings in the week from six to nine, for the express purpose of seeing such persons individually, in a room either in connexion with the church, or in his own house. Suppose one half of that number communicants, and the ostensible reason for coming, the preparation for Holy Communion once in the month before reception, if Holy Communion be only administered monthly, and the remaining half invited to come for the purpose of preparation for first Communion, or for some other purpose, which I will suggest presently (passing by for a moment the difficulty of inducing them to come at all), in the course of the month the clergyman will have been brought into direct personal communication with each one of his flock for a quarter of an hour before each Communion. It would be easy to expand or to shorten this time, according to the amount of the population, but this is simply suggested as a possible mode of doing it. This kept up continually and systematically, tells wonderfully on the character; the interview looked to and prepared for, becomes a point in the daily life of the individual, up to which and from which his self-examinations tend and date; it becomes the magnet to his character, it gives point and meaning to his religious life, and destroys vagueness; in those few minutes the nature of sin becomes clearer, the difficult work of self-examination is aided by being suggested through the questions of the spiritual adviser. The habit of self-reflection is given, and an interest is created in watching spiritual progress by the expectation of inquiries to be made at the next interview. A habit of watchfulness is formed by the expectation, and with watchfulness prayer and daily effort.'—Pp. 52—54.

Now to this, we know, scores and hundreds of clergymen will say at once, 'Alas, this is too high for me: it is very well for a 'gifted person, but I have not the gift either of persuading my 'people to come, or of dealing with them to good purpose when 'they are come:' we shall say this, and well may we say it; but let us not, therefore, turn over the page in despondency. After all, it is but an instance of that which we must all feel in every part of our pastoral office. From beginning to end a man seems to his own conscience to be 'exercising himself in great matters which are too high for him.' Every little child that he has to deal with proves to him how powerless, how unworthy, what a lifeless wooden creature he is; and yet he knows that he must go on: 'a necessity is laid upon him; yea, woe is unto him if he preach not the gospel:' he has opened his mouth unto the Lord, and he cannot go back: he has put his hand to the plough, and he must not look behind him. Therefore he need not be too much cast down, if in this, or in any other instance, he lights upon a pattern or standard, clearly intended for his use, yet as clearly (to his thinking) beyond all imaginable reach of his.

True conscientiousness, true energy, true and cordial good meaning will be shown in such a case, not by looking on (or looking off) in a kind of despairing admiration, but by taking at once in hand so much of the suggested course of action as one's own immediate calls and circumstances allow, and by watching and praying for opportunities of doing more. All this is so obvious, that we are almost ashamed to set it down. But such truisms have their use, both for writer and reader, properly taken: they are like breaking out in the clear morning air into some bold and familiar tune, by way of driving off thoughts that perplex and haunt you, though at the bottom you know them to be unreal.

Let the guide of souls look at the matter in this plain common sense way: let him first, as need shall require and occasion shall be given, rid himself of his own burthen, and one by one, by quicker or slower degrees, he will be made to perceive how he may help in taking off the burdens of others. In his suggestions, let him avoid language which is sure to be misunderstood, and which is, therefore, in the particular case, false, although some, perhaps, might adopt it through excess of frankness: *e.g.* such phrases as 'direction,' 'auricular confession,' and the like, however one may desire to use them for sympathy's sake with holy men abroad and their writings, are yet better not used by us, not merely lest offence be created, but also because they would really cause misapprehension; associated as they are in almost all minds with something more absolute, peremptory, and indispensable, than we should practically mean by them.

In this, as in almost all other respects, the Prayer Book will be found the best help. Its requirements cannot be carried out, in our dealings with either the sick or the whole, without bringing this matter, of opening their minds to the Priest, clearly before them. It is well to make this plain, when in our ministrations we first introduce the subject: people ought by all means to understand clearly that such is our plain duty according to the Rubric; that it is not we who speak, but the Church in the Prayer Book. Now, if men are really borne down by the weight of their sins, and not embarrassed with Ultra-Protestant prejudices, it is morally impossible that those sayings of the Prayer Book, fully and gravely set before them, should not sink into their hearts: but it will be often necessary to allow them a great deal of time; we must deal with them in the gentlest and most gradual way; we must not be too much like children, always wanting to stir the ground where they have put in some favourite seed, to see whether it have begun to shoot. From time to time the hint may be repeated, both in public and in private advice; and for this, as for other reasons, it will be most desirable, when it may be prudently and effectually done, to enforce generally

(not universally) the Church's rule that all Communicants should give notice a while before celebration. That this rule may be enforced, and that without giving offence or suspicion, we happen to know, by the practice of a good and devoted Priest of what is called the Evangelical School, who kept it up, we believe to very good effect, during many years' ministry in a town parish. How he proceeded with those who gave him notice, cannot of course be known: one can hardly conceive but that many must have been induced to open their minds to him; at any rate, his practice showed that the rubric in question need not be always a dead letter.

The mere enactment, too, of that rubric by our Church, is a strong fact in favour of the system of personal intercourse here recommended, especially if we are to understand the term 'open and notorious sin' in the sense of 'known and flagrant,' rather than of 'commonly discoursed of,' which interpretation, we should have thought, plain common sense forces upon us; for otherwise we are driven to conclude, that if the Priest were personally aware of a candidate for Communion having committed murder or adultery, still he ought not to refuse him the Sacrament, unless the congregation were also aware of it.

No doubt, if this simple rule of the English Church could be generally kept, it would help us more than any one thing towards that habit of personal intercourse, in which our best hopes of successful ministration must lie. It would give us the same vantage ground with our Communicants, towards perseverance and improvement, which would be given us towards Non-Communicants by that other rule, of receiving three times in the year, Easter being one. Whoever will reflect, will perceive that these two rules, duly made known and followed up, would constitute a regular and effectual system of Church Discipline with Adults, even as the rules about Sponsors, Catechising and Confirmation would secure a complete Church Education for children. The machinery is there; we need only the moving power. Let there be a religious and living sense of Church authority, and the work of discipline, as well as doctrine, is done for us.

But this is a digression. We were about to observe on one result of these or similar processes being adopted as Church rules, which at first sight might appear trivial, but which many persons will know by experience to be of no small practical consequence. It takes off at once all the awkwardness and difficulty of breaking ground on these matters between the Priest and the members of the flock. Without practice, one would hardly conceive the amount of hindrance in our pastoral relations due to this one cause; aggravated as it is among us by our Anglo-Saxon shyness,

or pride, or reserve. The Priest visits house after house, and comes away again leaving unsaid that, which to express was the very object of his visit. The parishioner meets or receives the Priest again and again, and is ever on the point of making some disclosure, and as often his heart fails him, and they pass by as they met; and all for want of some distinct rule or custom, some recognised, formal, conventional mode of communication, which should free what is said and done of personalities, painful or agreeable, and cause it to be all taken as in the way of business and duty. This would be in good measure supplied by the more general acknowledgment of Church Rules, such as we have referred to.

Another great and (in one sense) never-failing help, in such embarrassment as we have alluded to, has been found by some, in making a rule to open all such conversations with a short and silent act of devotion:—*e.g.* before one begins to speak to a Parishioner concerning any case of conscience, or to examine a Candidate for confirmation, one might use one's self and them to say the Lord's Prayer severally in their hearts. People have seemed to find great help in this.

Of course it is of the very greatest importance that every thing should be *sub sigillo, on both sides:* but on this we have spoken before. One point which did not then occur, we may just advert to in this place: the need of care to avoid, in these pastoral interviews, all gossip and personal talk about others—a thing which has been sometimes even ludicrously complained of in foreign Penitentiaries; and it will be found perhaps that conversations with communicants, and people supposed to be more or less advanced in religion, are more dangerous in this respect than when we have to do with beginners. In speaking of how to do others good, and of the cases of conscience which have occurred relating to them, very well meaning Penitents are apt to glide insensibly into disquisitions, most foreign to the purpose for which they came to the Priest.

A few grains of old English common sense, or rather of Christian prudence and charity, applied to the realities of English life (a grace to be specially prayed for as well as cultivated), will effectually guard us from all these and the like absurdities, and will be rewarded, through God's blessing, with many a repetition of that sight, dear to angels, (if one may say so without presumption,) of a noble-hearted English peasant on his knees in humble confession, making an unreserved offering of himself, and never dreaming that what he is about is at all out of the common.

The foundation of Parochial Work being thus laid in personal

intercourse, the several usages and ministries of which it consists, in church and out of church, fall into their several places, and assume more and more of their true meaning and importance in the eyes of those who are to be profited by them. The Daily Service, for example, with or without its choral and architectural helps, will necessarily wear quite a different aspect in a parish which is duly and constantly visited, from what it does in a cathedral town, or in a village less happily circumstanced. Many who, in the one case, would esteem it a mere 'crotchet' of the Minister, will, in the other, be led to regard it in its true light, as an exercise of Divine communion, and a means of obtaining Divine help. We once, indeed, knew of a resident in a parish which was served by a most active and zealous Clergyman, saying to his Vicar in a fit of spleen, 'And then there is your Church bell continually going—the sound of it is never out of one's ears:' but the man was an avowed Dissenter: had he been one of the flock, he would soon have come to understand the purpose of such constant resorting to the Chief Shepherd: he would have seen something of the wear and tear—the forebodings and misgivings incident to the cure of souls: he would have thought it well that one so anxious, so determined to spend and be spent, should have a place where he might go to rest awhile in the Life-giving Presence, and to keep up his heart and strength for the work. On their own account, too, as well as on their Minister's, they will have thoughts about the daily service, which they would not have had but for the aforesaid personal intercourse. In proportion as they become aware of the value of their own souls, and of Christ's intercession, will they think more of the Church Prayers, even those prayers which they cannot attend on themselves: they will think it a great thing to be so remembered and prayed for: absent in body, they will try to be present in spirit: the plough or the loom which they are guiding will seem in a manner to keep time to the sounds of 'Mr. Herbert's Saints' bell ringing to prayers:' and the beautiful custom of other times and countries will be in effect revived among us—men will pause for a moment from their hard work to acknowledge the Church's warning of each sacred hour as it comes on.

For it is a great mistake to measure the effect of Daily Service altogether by the number of attendants on it. The fact that it is going on, if it be thought of at all, (as it will be if associated with the labours and character of a priest who is much among his people,) will tell upon the place, gradually and in insensible ways. To aged and infirm persons, persons who for any cause are 'laid by,' the visit to the Church will be the event of every day, to which they will look forward and backward with a

sort of home feeling, inexpressibly soothing to old age. Those who are familiar with such, know how frequently they refer to it, how they anticipate the renewal of it after any slight interruption, what music the contemplation of it makes in their minds, by their quiet firesides, or as they lie awake in the night. It is out of all reason that this should not make some difference to those who wait upon such arm-chairs, or sick beds: here and there one or another of them must needs begin to think there is something in it: Martha cannot be for ever busy about Mary, and not find out something of the secret of her calm happiness.

The attendance of children, again, is a great point: and here we are rejoiced to find Mr. Monro's sanction unequivocally given to the practice of including the village school in the daily as well as in the Sunday congregation, in spite of certain obvious difficulties. Our own experience fully justifies the rule: supposing, of course, that care is taken to enforce outward reverence and attention. However listless and dreamy many of the little ones may seem at the time—however restless their eyes and fingers, (provided their voices are kept quiet, and they are not allowed wilfully to disturb one another,) it is not in a child's nature not to love and revere the place where he is so taken day after day: the sounds, and ways, and other remembrances of the place will enter, if permitted, into all the corners of his heart, and will haunt him for his good as long as ever he lives. And it may be found, perhaps, where circumstances allow it, that there is no better way of teaching Scripture history, than by catechising on the daily lessons in Church immediately after the service—the place and time assisting to maintain that religious awe, which ought always to accompany that part of young people's instruction, but which is too likely to fail when it comes in as a portion of the common routine in the school-room. Thus, too, the important point is being continually realized, that Holy Scripture is, in fact, taught us by the Church, not by the individual instructor.

To us it appears of so great consequence that the very old and the very young should have their respective parts, and feel their interest, in the daily service, that for the sake of it we can be content, at least for one of the two offices, to forego the chance of more general attendance on the part of the labouring poor: and it has been partly, we apprehend, with this view, that the hours of matins and even-song have been fixed, in some instances, at the times so severely animadverted on by Mr. Monro —10 A.M., for instance, and 4 P.M. The schools, the aged people, and in some cases, certain invalids who had much claim to be considered, were found to be strong arguments for the arrangement which he objects to. But further experience seems

to have shown that 10 P.M. and 7 or 8 A.M. are, on the whole, the most likely hours to be convenient in a country parish.

Of course, when Mr. Monro says that men must be first worked on individually—that it is unreal, and untrue, to expect men to attend daily service, when they are not leading lives fit for it;—he does not mean that we should wait till the parish is reformed before we begin opening the Church daily: he himself says, 'I would not be supposed to say that daily prayers should not be used in untaught parishes:' since, even in the most neglected, there would be found, by God's blessing, a few who would deem the open Church a privilege, God's secret discipline having prepared them for it. And since such privileges are intended and offered, where only two or three can be gathered to claim them, it should seem that the minister, in such case, has, strictly speaking, no choice, no right to withhold them. Still, though in order of time both may be commenced at once and go on together; in the order of cause and effect, personal intercourse, or the discipline equivalent to it, must go before daily service. 'Before thou prayest, prepare thyself;' before thou invitest thy people to pray, do what thou canst to set them on thinking of God. In substance, it is much the same sentiment as that of Bishop Taylor, when he directs his Clergy, 'in 'taking account of the good lives of themselves and others, to 'take their measures, *last of all*, by their observation of the 'ordinances and exterior parts of religion.' Last of all, in order, not in importance,—as the top and crown of all the rest; unmeaning or worse, without discharge of other duties, but quite necessary, to make them signs of real goodness.

One point there is about the daily service, and that one of the deepest importance, on which Mr. Monro's words appear to to us peculiarly precious:—

'There is a soothing influence in the act, a freedom from excitement which all who know it, love. It seems to expect and soothe the awe which the objects of religion must wear to the soul, it prepares men for the solemn and terrible in the things of God. Excitement in religion raises the awful without allaying it. Men are not conscious of it at the moment, nor often know the real effect of excitement till it is past. If men consider it, they will see, that excitement in religion has always left an indefinite awe behind, a sense that the feeling of excitement has been unduly exerted, that the object of it was far beyond it, that it was a feeling unworthy of its end; the latter was too great, too vast to bear such a mode of approach. It is a case which is met by the calm monotony of daily prayer, where the truth of the object is taken for granted, and no further search into it allowed; there it is made the ground-work of devotional exercise, the unquestioned and uninvestigated subject of constant petition. It seems to enable us to meet the solemnities of God without undue terror, it allays the feverish excitement and consequent alarm and suspense of frequent search, and forms in men an humble, devout habit of mind. We appeal to men who have tried it, to answer to the truth of what we have said. That men do fall back

on it, as the more real of the two states, we appeal to the fact, that while the services, attendance at which is made to depend on the excitement of preaching, are awhile attended with eagerness, and services which are divested of everything save the act of "monotonous" devotion are little used or valued at first; on the other hand, the attendance on the former gradually dwindles away, and that on the other, by degrees, becomes more settled, more frequent, and more devoted. Men do really love and yearn after sameness. It is tedious and irksome in the end, though at the moment it may be pleasing, to undergo excitement. How truly the Church has seen and answered this part of man's constitution! She becomes the calm home of her children in all their troubles through this scene of strife; she is the same, though they change; she alters not, however altered they may be; she recalls her children, by the oft-heard voice of daily prayer, to leave the world and come to God. Who can tell the tranquil peace created by returning, day after day, at the same hour, to the same house, to say and hear the same words? We go there when friends are cold, and are led to One who never changes; we go there in sorrow, and her sentences fall into accents of sympathy and comfort; we go there in prosperity, and the echo of sorrow has not left her walls; we are reminded to rejoice with trembling; her sorrow is sweet, her joy softened; we go there when our hearts are cold and tinged with the world's spirit, and we find the power of our warmer feelings, our closer communion, still clinging to her prayers and exhortations, still bound up, as it were, with her very stones, and we are melted into tenderness again. When we have grown worldly, the prayer we used in sorrow brings us back, for it is the same prayer, the same power still, though we have changed; the words we sent up with fervour, in our days of deeper devotion, again arouse the feeling when it has fled from our mind. She is in every tone, form, and detail, the sweet and kind remembrancer of better things. On the ear of death, the same voice falls which claimed us at baptism, and cheered us ever since. She is one voice with many tones, but whether the tone sink on the room of sickness or death, whether it fall on the unconscious sense of infancy, or the opening mind of youth at confirmation, or whether it consecrate the changes of life, or call us to oft-communion, it is the same sweet mother's voice, recognised through the medium of its thousand tones.'—Pp. 83—85.

Then, after speaking of the Church's associations with antiquity, he dwells on her soothing power to recal the times of our own boyhood: and so to satisfy that natural yearning,

> 'The child is parent of the man,
> And I would wish my days to be
> Bound each to each by natural piety.'

'It speaks to us, not only as members of one body, but, as I said above, as individuals made up of successive periods of existence. She is our mother; she had our first love, and heard it often repeated at her altar, and will speak to us with an accustomed love in our last hours. Her daily prayers are the links of the chain which unites the first with the last day of our life, reminding us of the sameness of our being, and that the highest view of sameness is our connexion with God. When the world has touched us with its icy hand, she melts its grasp with the recollection of the simplicity of childhood, of the trusted truth of her catechising, of the fresh energy of her confirmation. She remains simple; she reminds us we were simple once, when we, perhaps, have almost forgotten simplicity. The feelings we had at the dying hours of those we loved, and the changes in us they made, the world has perhaps chilled; but we go back to her and she re-opens the fountain of tears which had dried up, and

places us again by the side of those whom the world would have us forget. Their spirits are still with her, and we find them there. Her creeds are a word about them; the world would have us forget them when we left them, but she continues on through the dying hour; with her it was but a change from one state to another. All this belongs to her associative power; these and a thousand more are the objects she offers to our feelings, which yearn after association; feelings which will, which must, have a home; and the act which applies all this to each individual is daily prayer. In doing thus, does she not consecrate a natural desire to God? Does she not, in the meantime, refine and chasten the whole character, intellectual and moral?'—Pp. 86, 87.

All, more or less, are aware of this as a fact; but all are not quite aware to how great an extent it depends on a certain monotony, a low unvarying accent, a 'brooding over her own sweet voice,' which marks our Mother's enunciation and manner, as distinctly as sameness of doctrine—the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*—belongs to the *matter* of her teaching. The well-known tradition of the last of the Apostles, carried for years day after day into Church, and day after day repeating simply, 'Little children, love one another,' is a type and symbol of the Church's monotonous song. As another instance of it, we will mention a fact known to ourselves. An aged priest who had served God in the same parish more than fifty years, and was sincerely loved as the father of his flock, told us that, in all that time, he had never used any form in visiting the sick, except the office in the Book of Common Prayer. It was not that he prayed without any form—*that* was not at all his line—but we understood him to mean that he had such faith in the authority and wording of that Office, as to deem and find it sufficient, like the Lord's Prayer, for all the calls of the sick bed, so various and varying. And now the very mention of the Lord's Prayer suggests another, the highest of all sanctions, for thinking that our petitions may often be better suited to our needs, by adopting the same words in several associations, than if we were to provide ourselves with new forms of words. The principle of the rosary may be employed with good effect, among us as elsewhere; and especially, perhaps, in helping the devotions of the poor and unlettered. The instructing them in it may be as simple a way as any of helping them to mingle some meditation with their prayers. And (trivial as it may seem, we will venture the suggestion) why should not the fingers be used as a natural rosary, to help the memory and attention, in prayers thus made up of many parts, or in the several applications of the same prayer? in recalling, *e. g.* the names of those who are to be remembered in intercession?

It may seem, at first, inconsistent with the recommendation of calmness and monotony in devotional services, that so much should be said (pp. 90—100) in favour of extemporary preaching;

but the experience of those ages and countries, which all would agree to call Catholic, is appealed to, and the appeal can hardly be resisted. It would appear that exact forms, and measured and musical devotions, prepare and brace men for free and energetic preaching, as soldiers are prepared and braced for single combat, when it shall be necessary, by the restraints of the drill, and of orderly manœuvring in masses. It may be that Mr. Monro has a little over-estimated the power of speaking without book, merely as such:—its effect, we mean, in touching and interesting the poor. Perhaps the frequenters of the House of Commons, and of our Courts of Law—sometimes even the attendants on extemporary sermons—might tell us that dulness is not seldom incident to that mode of oratory. Quite as often, we suspect, as to the other, in proportion to the number practising each. Perhaps, too, such a passage as the following, true as it undoubtedly is in its literal wording, might mislead eager persons endeavouring to act upon it.

'Any conscious gulf or distance between them [the poor] and their moral teachers at once repels them, drives them off, and makes them feel they are not standing on level ground. The general that will gain the sympathy and confidence of his troops, must sleep with the private soldier, and share with him the rough food of the campaign; the latter will then realize that he is commanded and addressed by one who speaks to him from a level ground, shares the same nature, and undergoes the same hardships. And the clergyman who will gain the trust and confidence of his people, must be as they are, and do as they do, show he can suit himself to their understandings, their ways of expression, their ideas; must make them feel he is in earnest by appearing as one of them.'—Pp. 92, 93.

Is there not here some danger of unreality? at least, would it not have been well to point out that some (we should say, not a few) overshoot the mark in this respect, speaking to their people, as nurses to children, in a way which savours of affectation, and which the people themselves discern to be unnatural? and they are not slow in such discernment. This, however, applies more to common discourse than to sermons. There is no harm just now in a little jealousy on this point. After all, the distinctions of learned and unlearned, clerical and lay, gentle and simple, are real distinctions, and the poor are most willing to recognise them. They feel it but an indifferent compliment, though in the way of amusement it may attract them, when one who is not as they are, makes believe to be so. Sympathy, true love and sympathy, taking trouble in all ways to do them good; and among other ways by plain and affectionate speech—*that*, of course, is what they want: it will not the less do its work, because the person feeling it is of another rank, provided he take no pains either to conceal or to show that he is so.

Simplicity in this kind will need to be insisted on, according to present appearances, with a view to another class of teachers also: we allude to those who appear to be coming forward to our aid (not before they were wanted) from the middling and even from the lowest ranks of life. Most desirable it is that as many such as possible should receive proper training, and be ordained: but as in those just mentioned, we may apprehend a sort of affectation of 'low life,' so to these we should say, Do not be grand, do not be pompous, do not think it necessary to appear a scholar or a gentleman. Simplicity, in short, ought to be the watchword of both—nothing will quite make up for the want of it, among our English poor especially.

We have said this much by way of qualification, but in substance we quite agree with Mr. Monro, that preaching without book, where it may be well had, is most desirable: but why? because in order to be effective it must in general partake of that calmness and (almost) monotony, with which the Church in her services speaks to her people. For without calmness and self-possession, how can one have even plainness of speech? the sentences will surely become involved and unmeaning, the latter end of them will forget the beginning, and what becomes of edification then? But the earnest and sober inculcation of truths and practices acknowledged to be right will of itself savour of monotony: except so far as strong conviction and anxiety will from time to time force a person (as S. Paul says) to 'change his voice:' and about this no man need trouble himself; if it ought to come, it will come unconsciously and naturally. A parent, advising his children for their good, does not trouble himself with rhetorical artifices. The drift of all this is, that as in reading or writing, so in preaching, that course is probably best for each person which most enables him to forget himself, and to think only of God, his hearers, and his subject: although we may allow the preference to the extemporal way.

Two great subjects remain, Sacraments and Ceremonies, and Education: to which heads may be reduced the greater part as yet untouched by us of this most interesting work. That of Education, including here Confirmation and First Communion, we must, however unwillingly, pass over *sicco pede:* though to the world at large it is so especially associated with the name of Mr. Monro, that omitting it would almost seem like leaving the spring out of the year. But our readers, we trust, will be all of them *his* readers also. They will find that he deals with boys as with men. Personal intercourse—the Priest's eye and heart—the never quite losing sight of any body, or ceasing to sympathise with him:—this is the turning point with him in

the school as in the rest of the parish. The principal fault which we expect to have found with this part of the book especially, is its requiring too much. People will say, 'Such 'things may be done at Harrow Weald—in some one or two 'instances, a person may be found who seems to be every where 'at once: but to us it is simply impossible.' To all this the sufficient, and in some sort, comfortable and satisfactory answer will be, 'Very true—the thing *is* impossible—just as perfect 'virtue is impossible—but only *try*, only *do your best*—after all, 'it is but one way of "never ceasing your labour, your care and 'vigilance, until no room be left in your flock either for error in 'doctrine or for viciousness of life." You are a soldier, and it is 'the heat of battle; you cannot be at rest, but you may win a 'great reward. What is your reward? Every soul that comes 'from under your forming hand, prepared by the grace of God 'for the sacramental life: every worthy and persevering com-'municant: nay more, every one, who, whatever may be his 'own sentence, will be constrained to own to the Judge, At 'least, it was not my Pastor's fault.'

We are trespassing on ground rather too awful for our province: but the special matter to which we would now draw attention, is the Sacramentality (so to call it) of this system of Parochial Work, as being the special secret of its reality and success. By its Sacramentality, we mean its depending entirely on the means specially ordained by our Lord for commencing and nourishing our real participation of Him; its using grace received in Baptism, and taking away all bars to the further grace of Holy Communion. In this system everything else is subordinate to these things. It takes for granted, from beginning to end, that its subjects are all of them in a supernatural state, living among miracles, as the Jews were in the wilderness; and that all that happens to them, all they do, is proportionably ennobled and embased. Now, as the course and order of Moses' law was realized in the camp of Israel, so is this system realized in any parish obeying the Prayer Book in the manner here sketched out: and by such parishes, and the results upon them, is the Prayer Book to be judged of, not by what happens where its enactments are slighted, and its doctrinal definitions set aside at the will of aliens. It is no more reasonable to object to the system of the Prayer Book on account of what happens in such parishes, than it would be to object to the very Decalogue because the Israelites worshipped the calf. We want this to be well considered: we say, there is a reality, a substance, a harmony of parts, in Mr. Monro's sketches of Church work, which is utterly wanting in those views of the pastoral care, which leave out or extenuate the Sacramental element, as also in parishes attempted to be conducted on those views.

Admit the supernatural life of the baptized, as we state it, and all the portions of our Prayer Book, all our parochial doings will fall around it into their proper place: it is the key to the whole cypher, the screw which adjusts the whole machinery; deny it, and the whole, both of the Prayer Book and of the parish, is confusion; no two men will find their way in it alike. This appears to us a strong argument, both for the sacramental view itself, as being the intended view of God's Holy Spirit in His Church (if it be not irreverent for Christians to argue such a point on such grounds); and also for its being, most unequivocally, the view of the Church of England in her formularies. It is the only way to make sense of them, or to carry them out in practice. It brings along with it the same sense of reality, as compared with the popular and State view, which the great sceptic acknowledged to accompany certain common-sense notions, as compared with his own theory. 'I dine,' he says, 'I play 'a game at backgammon, I converse, and am merry with my 'friends: and when I return to these speculations, they appear 'so cold, so strained, and so ridiculous, that I cannot find it in 'my heart to enter into them any further.'[1] So it is, if men would but confess it to themselves, when they come back to real parochial work, from their Calvinistic or Puritan theories. This is acknowledged, in fact, by the patrons of such theories, some of them by station of high authority, when they enforce the necessity of treating all the congregation as regenerate, though in the same breath they allow it to be affirmed that their regeneration is merely hypothetical. Common sense is in this instance too strong for their consistency.

But if this be so, then it is evident that the concessions to Puritanism, on which many are disposed to rely as proving the unreality of the English Church, are in fact entirely alien to her. They are defects in discipline, not in doctrine. They touch her well-being, not her being. Sinful connivance they may prove; they never can prove formal heresy. And in this way such pictures of the English system of work as this volume contains, may have a deep providential use just at present, over and above their moral evidence: they show that the Catholic interpretation of our formularies is that which most strengthens our hands, and causes all the means in our power to act together most effectually and easily. A sensible, dispassionate observer will recognise here the right interpretation, no less certainly than a ripe and good scholar in a language does the true grammatical construction of a sentence.

For remaining differences between us and the like principles as developed in other countries, Mr. Monro would in good mea-

[1] Hume, as quoted by Bishop Horne, Works, iv. 334. Ed. 1818.

sure account from differences of national manners and character. He may have laid rather too much stress on this: we will not now enter into that question, but undoubtedly, in such measure as it *is* well-grounded, it is a good point in corroboration of our English theory. *In dubiis libertas:* of two systems, *that* is the more Catholic which in such things gives freer scope to the varieties of country and race. And it will be found, perhaps, that our English theory does this as compared with the Roman: we do not say, our system received in practice, fettered as it is, and benumbed in every joint and organ, by the cold, cruel, unbelieving State; but we are speaking of our theory and principles, which, if ever by God's merciful interposition we are left free to carry them out, will prove themselves, we are persuaded, far more elastic and powerful, more applicable to all men in all their needs, than most of us have any idea of.

Let men say what they will, the Prayer Book has really done its work in our country parishes to a wonderful extent, considering all things. And O, that the Bishops and Clergy of England would throw themselves in faith upon it, in this moment of our agony! It is not for us to dictate, or even to suggest: but even concerning our superiors there are thoughts which *will* at times force their way out; and we have read of 'a little maid,' who in love and faith spoke out her wish, and it was blessed to the healing of a leper, and the conversion of 'a mighty man in valour.' We too will speak out our wish: and it is this—that our Bishops did but know how entirely sacramental (generally speaking) is the religion of our country congregations, so far as it is sincere: how utterly, with the ordinary sort, the 'Evangelical' movement, (so to call it,) has failed. It is all very well to point to good persons of one's acquaintance, and say, 'See here, or see there; what excellent fruits have grown upon the stock which you decry;' but surely the tendency of a system must be judged of by its results upon the ordinary and average sort. A few very good persons may not be the worse for 'Low-Churchmanship:' (although who can say how far their goodness may be due to sacred things which they seem to undervalue, more, however, in word than in heart?) but—we say it without fear of effectual contradiction—whoever comes with an unbiassed mind to a parish where these views have had sway, will find that with the generality the effect has been simply immoral, except so far as it has been assuaged by constant use of the Prayer Book, *i.e.* by the sacramental principle so far lingering among them. Because, whatever be men's purity and sincerity, if there be an Antinomian element in their teaching, there is always one at hand who knows how to make the most of it: and if a zealous self-denying Clergyman, blinded so far by hereditary prejudice, or

by misapplied logic, or by some other human infirmity, says to a man, 'Your Baptism may have been only a form;' the interpreter in question will presently suggest the thought, 'I am 'not then perhaps in a supernatural state and relation; I am 'not in possession of any special inward privileges; my sins, for 'aught I know, or my neglects of duty, have no particular 'tendency to "quench the Spirit;" of course they are bad, but 'not so very bad: it is not the case of the unclean spirit return-'ing.' We know too well, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, what the end of such a process as this will be.

Well, this experiment has been tried on a large scale in our parishes now for two or three generations; and the result is, as we have said, that devout and thoughtful Churchmen have been thrown back more and more on the literal meaning of the Prayer Book, as their only safeguard against a most fatal self-deceit. For themselves and for others, they have been made to feel, more deeply as their experience has been more abundant, how greatly this security is needed, and how very thankful they ought to be, that our trumpet in this matter gives no uncertain sound, how frequently soever unfaithful or ignorant watchmen may decline to give it utterance. Now, there is not in all the land one such as we have now described, who is not prepared, consciously or unconsciously, with all his heart to welcome and support any measure which our Fathers in Christ may think proper to take, for the effectual disavowal of the false doctrine which an intrusive Court has just sanctioned, overbearing the Courts of the Church. For instance; if the many Bishops who have expressed concurrence, so far as doctrine goes, with addresses deprecating that decision, would openly declare themselves resolved, as no doubt they are resolved, to refuse institution to any one notoriously holding that doctrine; such a declaration would awaken and attract, far and near, sympathies which they dream not of: and would reassure the hearts of hundreds, who are even now fainting for want of it; scarce knowing whom to trust, or what to believe. Or if such declaration were thought unadvisable, as bidding what might seem premature defiance to the civil power; at least a well-considered statement of their Lordships' own judgment might be put forth in the nature of a Pastoral Letter, implying that there should be a limit *somewhere* to the range of hypothetical interpretation. Anything, we had almost said, (and we believe it to be next to an axiom for the due discharge of the Pastoral care in all cases,) anything is better than the mere ignoring of difficulties, and professing not to see why people are disturbed.

On the other hand, we cannot conceal it from ourselves, that if representations such as we have now indicated to our spiri-

tual superiors ultimately fail, and the 'ignoring' system be left to produce, far and wide, its natural results—tempting many to defection and unbelief, and wounding the hearts which, by God's mercy, will not be tempted—it will not be the fault of one order only in the Church: the parochial Clergy will have to bear, it may be, the largest share of the burthen; for how can they expect the Bishops to have faith in the Prayer Book, and to trust the Christian people as having it, when they have it not themselves? We speak what we know of our own knowledge, when we affirm that in an average rural parish, whoever will have the patience to explain to the communicants of his flock the true meaning of the doctrine which is now disturbing us, and the kind of authority by which it is enforced, will find a very general consent, and by no means an unintelligent one, in any reasonable and temperate remonstrance which he may see fit to address to those who are set over him. He will find that few parents are content to be taught, or to have their children taught, that infants carried out of church after Baptism are, for aught we know, in no better a spiritual condition than when they were brought in. He will find that few religious and thoughtful Englishmen love to have their most solemn services associated with all sorts of sophistical evasions, and the elementary instruction of their children so worded, as to require from beginning to end a set of notes and illustrations, explaining it away. He will find few persons of common sense (supposing them always to have *some* sense of religion) who will think it wise and good to leave people open to contradictory teachings with equal authority, on an article of the Creed which bears immediately on every moment of their daily life. Those, even, who cannot read, will tell him at once,—and, as one used to their ways, he will feel sure of their telling him true,—that they understand the case, are shocked at the oppression, and abhor the false doctrine. As he goes up and down the village street, he will be accosted by persons anxious on the subject, wanting to know what they can do, or whether the truth is likely 'to win the day.' One man will say, 'Our Lord bade children come to Him; He did not say, Bring some, and leave the rest.' Perhaps some aged person, trembling with eagerness even more than with years, will half whisper as she makes her mark, 'To think that this should have been taught so many hundred years, and now they be for doing of it away!' Another will ask, 'If they don't believe this, whatever *can* they believe?' Here and there, one more thoughtful than the rest will report that 'he has been looking in the Prayer Book and Testament,' and as far as he can make out of what he finds there, 'if it be as this new teaching says, why did our Saviour die? surely He must have died in vain.' One who knows better

than the rest what contrition and confession are, may remark, with an anxious look, 'If this be so, I don't see how poor wretches be ever to get out of it:' meaning distinctly, that such dealing with Baptism shakes the foundation of the doctrine of Penitence also. And should there happen to be there one leavened with another doctrine, the chances are that while he declines joining in remonstrance, he will frankly own that there is a grievance for all who love the Prayer Book: 'for surely these sayings tear the Prayer Book to pieces.'

Experience tells us, that where the Prayer Book has been but fairly allowed to have its own way, the impression on the mind of a congregation of the average sort will be such as has been above exemplified: now what hinders, but that English priests should employ themselves, at such a time as this, not only in fixing and deepening such holy traces, and in getting their people to act consistently with them, but in reporting them also, by signed memorials or otherwise, to the Chief Shepherds, with distinct intimation how keen and vivid the feeling is, and how impossible it must be, that so believing we can ever be contented to give up the security which we have hitherto enjoyed against being disturbed in that faith?

It seems due both to our Bishops and our Laity, that we make them mutually aware of what is going on— that we 'suffer not things to pass away as in a dream.'

The strength of the Church now, as in all times, must be in the poor of the flock—taking that phrase in its widest extent and meaning; and our best chance of prevailing, that is to say, of not losing our hold on the consciences of the people of the land, must be, to throw ourselves unreservedly on those whom the Scripture so designates: or rather, through them on their Lord. Let us take with us first to our heavenly Father the hearts and prayers of the devout and poor people, by solemn and special intercession: *e.g.* by occasional or regular use of the Litany, 'For the Church of England in her present distress,' on Wednesdays and Fridays in the early morning. Then let us take with us the same hearts and prayers, with the blessing which we trust they will have received, to our Spiritual Fathers on earth, and make them understand that neither they nor we can have rest—in a homely phrase, 'they will never hear the last of it,'—until the Church's liberty be asserted, and her doctrine vindicated. As occasion shall require, let us tell them, boldly or gently, that much as we may value the so-called protection of the State, we love the Truth of Christ and the souls of His redeemed, more; and that we earnestly hope the day will soon come, when they, our Bishops, shall discern what to us is palpable already, that the Church's temporal privileges and endowments would be well parted with, if need be, for

liberty to confirm her own Bishops, to declare her own doctrines, to enforce, vary, or repeal her own spiritual canons, and to grant or withhold participation in her own Sacraments. These are the four points, so to speak, of the Church's charter, in regard of which she is now grievously wronged; not, we will hope, by intention of any statesman or party, so much as by the unforeseen result of enactments made on other grounds. Still, the effect is what it is—oppression and profaneness—and now it seems as if we must add heresy also. For obtaining redress on these four points, we have sometimes wished that we could bind ourselves one to another, as in former days, by a holy Catholic League: if, indeed, we be not already bound enough by our baptismal vow of faith, and some of us by engagements at Ordination. At any rate, it is a work to which we cannot address ourselves too solemnly; there must be no hurry, no impatience; we may take a lesson from those who lie in ambush, from the deer-stalker, or the angler; determined to bide our time, be it never so tedious, but equally determined to lose no chance of striking.

We seem to have wandered very far from Mr. Monro, and, indeed, when we commenced this article, we had no thought of touching on such unquiet matters; but the truth is, they meet us at every turn; our spiritual, our pastoral, our parochial life hangs, as it were, in doubt before us, 'until this tyranny be overpast.' And with deep misgivings of conscience we perceive and acknowledge, that the whole danger and mischief is due, among other sins, to our own and our forefathers' neglect of parochial work—of parochial work on high sacramental principles, such as this volume is designed to recommend and exemplify. The remedy is obvious; but it is manifold, and we must have long patience for it. With patience, and the blessing of God, it cannot fail. So much the heavier will their burthen be, who shall mar it by fretfulness on the one hand, or by apathy on the other. Alas! it is what too many seem prepared to do. We wish them no severer penance, we can hardly wish them a more pointed and effective warning, than the careful perusal of Mr. Monro's work. May it be blessed in every way; by showing the discontented how much there is worth working for, and by stimulating the easy and self-satisfied, not just to the very exertions here detailed—for no two Clergymen, no two parishes are exactly like another:—but to faithful and religious industry, each in his own place, and in his own line! That course is the likeliest to tell upon the age, in preserving the outward framework of the English Church: and what is more, it is morally sure to tell upon Eternity, in saving souls.

ART. VIII.—1. *Report of Debate in the House of Commons, May* 6, 1850, *on Mr. Gladstone's Motion concerning the Colonial Church.*

2. *Report of Debate in the House of Lords, June* 3, 1850, *on the Bishop of London's Bill for amending the Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical Matters.*

TWO important events, since the time when we last met our readers, have happened, in that struggle which we then said must commence between the Church and the Government. Two important debates have taken place on points connected with the established state of things on ecclesiastical matters; one in each house of parliament. A demand has been made distinctly and firmly on the part of the Church, and on Church grounds, for changes which all sides assume to be important ones; and important ones it cannot be denied they would be, important in their actual effects, and still more so in the principle which the concession would involve. The demand has been refused, as was to have been expected. But they show that Churchmen have begun in earnest to move; and further, while they show clearly the dispositions of the Whig ministry towards her, they also show the hollowness and inconsistency, as well as the undefined fear and perplexity, which accompany opposition to her claims.

The first of the debates alluded to, is the one on Mr. Gladstone's proposition in behalf of the Colonial Church. And though this but indirectly affected the Church at home, the place, and the character of the discussion, and the circumstance of its being the first move, gave to this debate a degree of interest equal, or even superior to that of another, which followed at a month's interval, in the House of Lords, on a matter which formally touched us at home more closely.

For it was the first step taken, towards regaining for the Church of England the power of speaking and acting for herself—the first public, practical step, as opposed to mere wishes or declarations or protests. The subject has now been mooted in the House of Commons. It has been brought forward seriously; not by some ardent parliamentary novice, but by men of experience and political importance, who are likely some day or other to have the government of the country in their hands. And it has been received seriously by the house—not more so

than its importance required, but more seriously than the first movements towards an important change are usually received by the House of Commons. The character of the debate, and still more, the division lists, disclosed no ordinary amount of interest in the question, and of strong opinion existing in the house; and the supporters of the claims of the Church, though a minority, had no reason to be ashamed of their show, either in point of argument or numbers. The immediate point in question had, it is true, no direct reference to the ecclesiastical system of this country. That which was asked for was, that the Church in the colonies, which has not the privileges, should be freed from the bondage, of the Church of the mother-country —a splendid bondage, it may be, at home, but bondage without the splendour abroad. Yet all parties felt, that the whole question of Church liberty was opened. The mother Church has been far more than repaid for all that she has done for the colonial Church, by the noble example, for which that Church has supplied a field, of episcopal faithfulness and zeal. She may, perhaps, have to thank the colonial Church, for the precedent of a freer, more elastic, and more effective constitution.

The debate of the 6th of May was a remarkable and instructive one in many respects. In the first place, it is not often that a debate takes place, in which the balance of argument was so indisputably on one side, as it was on this occasion with Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Page Wood, and Mr. Roundell Palmer. If we wished to point to a discussion, where the whole ingenuity of one side was employed in searching for various modes of expression to disguise the simple announcement, that they did not like a conclusion against which they could urge no valid reason, we should refer to this one. In various ways, according to their several characters and abilities, Mr. Gladstone's opponents struggled with the vexatious fact—that they had nothing to say—nothing at least that they could respectably say. Mr. Labouchere laboured under an unaccountable obtuseness—his clear head, and his memory on ecclesiastical law and the 'history of Christendom,' were both at fault. Sir George Grey was equally pertinacious in maintaining the incomprehensibility of Mr. Gladstone's proposal. It was indeed highly amusing to see, how both gentlemen, when they found themselves at a loss, turned instinctively to the hacknied charge against Mr. Gladstone of being obscure. The expedient had, it is true, as they must have felt, something of the flatness and tameness of a worn-out joke, and was singularly unhappy on this occasion, for Mr. Gladstone was particularly clear in what he proposed—but Mr. Labouchere affected quite to lose himself in trying to follow the perplexing consequences of the

motion, and Sir George Grey represented himself as in the difficulty of a man not knowing exactly what he is to vote upon—'he was not sure that he understood the motion correctly, on account of its obscurity.' On Mr. Roebuck, the effect of this 'obscurity' was quite oppressive—it tormented his clear and straightforward intellect—he staggered and reeled under the transformations and introversions suggested by Mr. Gladstone. 'United Church of England and Ireland,' 'Colonial Church,' 'Convocation,' 'Establishment,' 'Jumpers,' danced before his eyes in ever-changing union, separation, and substitution, and with apparently the same painful effect as the whirling of a thaumatrope would have on the brain of a man with a headache. Mr. Roebuck's speech represented, probably intentionally, the confusion and disorder which, as he alleged, had been produced on his mind by Mr. Gladstone's enigma. His rhetoric was of the mimetic kind. As the great musician represented the uproar of chaos, or the crawling of insects and swarming of flies, by strange combinations of dissonant sounds, so, probably, Mr. Roebuck, with refined and consummate art, struggled to convey the impression,—by studied incoherence, by bursts of impatience, by a servile imitation of that which he is known to hate most, the oratory of the platform,—of the hopeless entanglement of ideas into which he had been plunged by Mr. Gladstone. But much as we may admire the honourable speaker's art, we feel that it is art still. He is only acting the baffled thinker; he has lashed himself into merely artificial, and very transparent paroxysms of bewilderment.

But the difficulty of understanding, which these gentlemen profess to have experienced, shows that they do not like the subject—this is the next point to be noticed in this debate. Set the privileges of the Church, as they are now, at the highest, there yet remains a balance of disabilities, restrictions, and special penalties against her, which no Whig statesman could dream of removing, unless compelled, and which yet are embarrassing enough in argument to the professed champions of religious liberty. The Church has certain very strong legal and moral rights, which she is, and long has been, debarred from exercising:—they have not hitherto been pressed; but when they are, they will be far more easily disposed of by force than by reason; and Whig leaders may well be excused for not wishing to be driven back on the rude measures of arbitrary government. Without distrusting the sincerity of their liberality, love of consistency would alone make this natural. So Sir George Grey uses that most convenient allegation of indistinctness against Mr. Gladstone, to understand him to propose for the Church new and excessive privileges. The Attorney General disposes

of the difficulty professionally; with the utmost politeness, he places his law at the service of the Church; and volunteers the comfortable intelligence that out of the United Kingdom *præmunire* is harmless—a piece of consolation, however, which after the doubts raised by Mr. Walpole's scepticism, it might not be quite safe to trust to, even on the assurance of the Attorney General. The suggestion no doubt marks the learned gentleman's good-nature; but it is very suspicious, as he must know, to meet claims against you with good-nature; and under such circumstances, the greater the good-nature, the greater the suspicion.

Lastly, the delicate and dexterous tactics of this debate are worth attention in another point of view. All indications given by the genuine instinct of parties are valuable. The dispositions manifested, and the tone of speaking adopted, disclose in what quarter spiritual power is felt to exist for practical purposes, and in whose hands it appears formidable to statesmen who do not wish to be interfered with by rival influences. Mr. Roebuck may affect to play at hide and seek with the subject of Mr. Gladstone's proposition; but his puzzle was, as we have suggested, a rhetorical figure. Underneath those various designations there lurked, as that clear-sighted and shrewd gentleman well knew, one and the same actually existing body, which as soon as he returned from his search for its definition in the clouds, he knew that he would find, waiting for him, and very much in his way, on the earth. Ingenious as was his counterfeited perplexity, it was not enough to hide either his knowledge or his feelings. Temper broke through its disguise, and condensed itself in some very clear sentences. Some of our liberal friends have been felicitously explicit, of late, in their sayings about the Church. They have put them in a bold shape, which impresses itself on the memory. We have been told of the 'sharp bit and tight rein, with which we are to be ridden.' In like manner, Mr. Roebuck has told us, in words which profoundly impressed the reporters, who have marked them as a sentence meant to be historical, what measure of liberty the Church may look for at his hands. The idea of 'Convocation sitting by the side of Parliament' acted like a sting on Mr. Roebuck; if the liberties of England had been threatened he could not have been more emphatic or oracular—'We have put down that, Sir,' said the hon. member, (between inverted commas,) 'and we do not intend that it shall ever be revived.'

From Mr. Roebuck, therefore, the Church has nothing to look for but all possible opposition—on Church questions, be it understood, his ordinary liberal principles, and his sense of justice are to be laid aside for the time. He hates the Church,

and therefore very naturally will not feel bound by any abstract liberal doctrines to do any thing for her. But though, as we have said, Mr. Roebuck acts very intelligibly, yet reason is reason; and he must be content to do without the benefits of reason on his side, in this question. Reason is here not partially but wholly, not doubtfully but clearly, on the side of the Church, and of those who are claiming for her, in reality, rights which in theory not even Mr. Roebuck would dare to deny her. And a debate which has exhibited this so clearly, is no unpromising beginning for those who think that the condition of the Church in its relations towards the civil power requires improvement, and who do not despair of that improvement.

The result of the debate in the Commons was a tolerably clear augury of what would happen in the Lords. Government was far too well satisfied with the Privy Council's decision to allow it to be so rudely treated as the Bishop of London's bill threatened to treat it. They had the power to defeat the bill, and of course they used their power. But having this power, they conceived themselves dispensed from the necessity of backing it with reason. That element of the feudal noble which lurks so ineradicably in the Whig aristocrat, that tyrant temper in the blood, to all that seems weak and yet thwarts him, broke forth through the customary blandness and amenity of the government spokesman. Lord Lansdowne was 'impetuous.' The veteran indifferentist, so easy and impartial about all creeds, the accomplished government respondent, so skilled in parliamentary fence, so self-possessed and so serene, whose smooth ambiguity no question is keen enough to pierce through, and whose intrepid assurance no case can look ill enough to disturb, was provoked by the Bishop of London's solemn and earnest appeal for justice, into a heat of temper which even he himself felt to have been out of character. But the old Whig tradition was contradicted and the old Whig instinct alarmed, when it was suggested that Church functions and powers were more than a convenient and elaborate fiction, and when Bishops, whose duties towards the Faith he had been accustomed to class with those of Knights of the Garter towards oppressed innocence, spoke of being anxious about doctrine. The old Whig antipathy boiled up. The man betrayed the statesman. It was not necessary to disclose such dislike, or exhibit so much passion. There were a hundred ways of dextrously eluding, or politely baffling the claim of the Church: it would have tasked the Lord President's practised ability but little to have done so. But he preferred to meet the appeal with a rude and peremptory refusal—the tone of a master towards intrusive inferiors. How dare the Church or the Bishops set the interest of their

doctrines against the threatened authority of the Privy Council? Had not Edward the Confessor long ago settled that such matters were no business of theirs? And was not the Queen's Supremacy a sufficient guarantee against all danger, and at any rate, her prerogative an incontrovertible reason, why they should hold their tongues? Such was the amount of argument deemed sufficient for the occasion; pointed and enforced by no sparing admixture of contemptuous sarcasm and angry warning. Such is the way in which the Whig government has received one of the most solemn and emphatic remonstrances ever made by the English Bishops. 'And the king of Egypt said unto them, 'Why do ye, Moses and Aaron, let the people from their works? 'get you unto your burdens . . . For they be idle; therefore 'they cry, let us go and sacrifice to the Lord our God. Let 'there be more work laid upon the men, that they may labour 'therein; and let them not regard vain words.'

Our thanks are due to them. Their language and tone bear the stamp of genuineness, and reveal their intentions. The Church knows now what she has to expect from them. When she asks that decisions, which every one sees to affect her most deeply, should be committed to her own authorities, she is told, that ecclesiastical usurpation must be repressed. If she dares to have an opinion about her own interest, different from that held by men who care nothing for her and are even aliens from her communion, she is warned to be on her good behaviour, to beware of 'betraying symptoms of aggression.' If she appeals to rights as ancient as her own origin, and as indefeasible as the liberties of England—if she appeals to the known and acknowledged constitution of the realm, which speaks not less of the spiritualty than of the crown and the temporalty, she is lectured about 'giving rise to well-founded 'suspicions of an intention to encroach upon the functions and 'attributes of the other constituted powers of the State,' about 'assuming powers and privileges not clearly her own'—about 'seeking to be clothed with power which did not by law belong 'to her:' and, with gratuitous and irrelevant insult, the insinuation is introduced—we regret indeed that it should have come from Lord Carlisle,—that she 'is seeking to acquire pecuniary resources from the national funds.' Come what may, it will be a singular passage in the history of Lord John Russell's ministry, that having to defeat the attempt of the Church to be really the judge of its own doctrine, they could find no better argument to use against it than the most strained interpretation of the Prerogative—and that they were not ashamed to use it.

Meantime, their prejudices and their convenience are consulted for the present, for they have power in their hands:

but this does not change the state of the case. If the Church of England is a body, joined to, but yet not identical with the State; if it is a body of divine origin, with definite doctrines and functions peculiar to it—as the laws of England and the documents of the Church lay down, as the great mass of Churchmen have ever believed, and as no Whig minister has yet dared to deny in terms,—the claim so temperately and guardedly advanced in the Bishop of London's bill, is the plainest and undeniable reason. As in the Commons so in the Lords, common sense and common justice were clearly on the side of the Church; and with it were all those qualities which men wish to see on their own side—manly straightforwardness which persuades, deep and earnest feeling which touches, boldness which commands. They have been defeated: it is our own fault if they have been wasted. We start from a greater advantage than did the Roman Catholics and Dissenters. We start from a recognised position, a position which no one can deny to be distinctly given us by the Constitution of England, and which has never been forfeited. We start with a power on our side, which, if it once shows itself in earnest, no minister will venture to trifle with. And further, we have this additional advantage, that our opponents dare not use their *real* reasons, and have to fight under fictions and technicalities, which no one believes in, less than they themselves.

It is plain, it must be plain to Government itself, that these debates are the beginnings of a movement and not the end. The want which has hitherto pressed hard only on theological students and theorists is now felt to be a want by practical men also. Men of experience and weight in parliament, like Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Roundell Palmer in the Commons, and Lord Stanley, Lord Lyttelton, and Lord Redesdale in the Lords, have not made up their minds to speak out on this matter for nothing. When they thought it right to urge on Parliament the principles which they enunciated in the debates referred to above, it was not meant on their part for a demonstration or protest; they did so because they felt that the time was come to think of practical measures. And it is no ordinary occasion that could induce the English Bishops to come forward in a body almost unanimously, and commit themselves to a formal and earnest demand to Parliament for an immediate change in the law. It is not their fault to be precipitate, or their line to agitate, or their custom to act together. When they, not without caution and reserve, yet emphatically and publicly, respond to the feeling of a great body of the Clergy, and in the teeth of Government give that feeling expression in Parliament by a joint act, almost synodical in effect, if not in form, it is a sign that some-

thing much deeper and more serious than usual is working in the Church and its Clergy.

The question, therefore, is fairly and practically opened, Why should the English Church continue in the anomalous, indefensible, unreasonable condition in which past circumstances have left her? Why should she any longer be without a real and legitimate organ of government? Why, now that she is awakened to unprecedented activity, to a deeper sense of responsibility, and a greater desire to acknowledge it, should she be crippled and fettered by antiquated restrictions, for which no better reason is assigned than the conservatism and nervousness of such statesmen as Lord John Russell and Lord Lansdowne, or the bitter dislike of everything ecclesiastical on the part of such Liberals as Mr. Roebuck or Lord Grey.

The question is opened; and it is one to excite both the interest and anxiety of every Churchman;—his interest, because it suggests the hope—beyond that of the mere restoration of a venerable form, or of a more technical conformity to the models and practices of ancient times—the hope of bringing, in a way unknown and impossible hitherto, the feeling and good sense and earnestness and energy of the Church to bear with greater effect on her vast and increasing interests:—his anxiety, because every great hope is accompanied with great fear; and it is undeniable that greater liberty and greater power, as they are the condition of doing greater things, may also be the occasions of great mischief.

Thus the course of events invites the thoughts of Churchmen to the question of an ecclesiastical representative assembly; invites them most naturally. It cannot be said that mere love of theoretic consistency or systematic completeness has led them to feel and express the want of such an organ. The present emergencies, and the prospect of the future make it a practical question. And if following the leadings of the time, we beg our readers to turn their attention to it, it is not because we think a Synod, or a Convocation, or a tribunal of Bishops, will put an end to all our evils, or because we think it absolutely necessary to save our theological and ecclesiastical character, or because we think that the Church is powerless and without influence without it, or because we are ignorant of its attendant inconveniences, or because we hope to extort it as a demonstration, and without much delay or trouble from Parliament;—we cannot suggest any such extravagant hopes. The machinery of government in the Church is not exempt from the shortcomings and disappointing imperfections which we are familiar with in that of the State. Its good is mainly to be seen only in the long run, and on a large scale; the details are often questionable, often repulsive. Yet government is a

necessity, and becomes more necessary in proportion as the sphere of a body widens and gains importance, and its activity increases; in proportion also to its increasing self-reliance and freedom. We should be content to acquiesce in the anomaly, strange as it is, that the English Church, as has been remarked so often in the last few months, should be absolutely the one religious body in Christendom, Latin, Greek, Lutheran, or Reformed, under despotism as well as in free countries, which has no power of taking counsel or deciding on its own concerns—and that, in the land, pre-eminently, of representation, and of local and mutually independent powers: we should have been content to leave alone a mere anomaly—all our institutions are wisely full of them. But the only defence of anomalies is their practical advantage, or at least practical harmlessness; when they are practically mischievous, their theoretical unreasonableness loses its only shield, and provokes a double share of hostility. It is because the English Church, for its practical interests, wants a real, understood, lawful, authoritative government,—because it will want it every day more and more, and the necessities of our own day are no measure of those of a still more energetic and important future, —that we wish Churchmen to look fairly in the face the appearances and symptoms of the time, and consider whether, as the Church becomes more alive to her power, her duties, and her proper aims—finds new sources of strength in herself, and perhaps loses some of her privileges from the State,—it will not require opportunities of deliberation, and means of united action, of a very different kind from what it has now.

There has long prevailed a strong feeling against calling into activity the deliberative organs of the Church. We are speaking now, not of those who would dislike them as contributing to the real or apparent power of the Church, but of sincere Churchmen. The revival of Convocation is feared and deprecated by many, even of those who would wish their misgivings groundless, High-Churchmen as well as Low-Churchmen. In truth, the real reason why we have not Convocation at this moment, or something equivalent to it, is that the Church as a body has not wished to have it. Had she thought it for her advantage, it is idle to imagine that she could not have obtained or even extorted it from ministries, who have had to yield to the Roman Catholics and the Dissenters.

Doubtless such feelings have much to justify them. After so long an intermission, and chiefly *because* of so long an interruption, the resumption of powers which mainly impose responsibility and disturb ease, is both perilous and disagreeable. The intermission of Church assemblies, which has left us without the

habits and traditions which are so important in all deliberative or executive meetings, and has added to the imaginary as well as to the real difficulties of proper Church action now, is a legacy of our fathers; had they been less studious of their quiet, more content to submit to the necessary evils incident to all government, the Church might perhaps have passed through some stormy and even some painful passages; the records of the Synod might have exhibited the same mixed character as those of the English Parliament: but experience would have been accumulated; the practice, forms, and habits of an ecclesiastical assembly kept up; and we should not be finding ourselves—unaccustomed and strange to the very idea of such functions—at a loss about its rules, its sphere, its composition, its business; and from being so unused to it, and unqualified for its duties, shrinking from the thought of it. We may well complain of them for having left us so much at a disadvantage; but our children will pass judgment on us; and they will have a still stronger charge to make against us, if they find themselves impeded in what they might do well, but for our precedent supineness, or prejudice, or weakness.

The great and fundamental objection to such a resumption of Church power, is that it would give a fresh stimulus, and a more open and dangerous field, to that party spirit, which every Church in Christendom regards with such anxiety, and by various means according to its opportunities endeavours to keep down. Parties, it is urged, are a fact in the English Church; each claims it for itself, but in reality they divide it, and each has, not good reasons for its exclusive claim, but good right to its own ground of occupation. They work against one another now, but it is mainly by a rivalry in useful labour, and their bitterest form of controversy is confined to books. But confront them in an assembly invested with authority, and possessed of power—where votes, resolutions, and canons may save the trouble both of self-devotion and thought, and the passions of party will be whetted with the prospect of an easier and more complete gratification;—if the two parties are equally balanced, their struggle will be only the more obstinate and envenomed; if one conquers, it will be content with nothing short of the authoritative condemnation and expulsion of the other. You probably will have extermination—you are sure of war.

This, as it is not without its truth, and is far from irrelevant, would be conclusive against the expediency of calling such powers into exercise, if party strife were the only evil to be considered; or if the only or most effectual way to disarm or baffle its outbreaks were to hinder the Church from meeting in

Synod; or if it had not been found by experience, both in former times of the Church, and in the political history of modern times, that the conflict of parties was not an invincible hindrance to the march, and in the long run, the successful march of free and active powers of government. But if the existence of parties is the condition of all earnestness and all freedom—if they always have been in the Church, and in its separate branches,—if the art of man has in nothing tasked itself more severely, and at the same time more vainly than in attempting to get rid of them in the world,—and if in spite of this, Churches and nations have accepted, and with as much success as attends human things, the risks and duties of government,—if, as we know to be the case in practice, government can be carried on with effect and advantage, notwithstanding the utmost freedom possessed by most discordant and irreconcilable parties, and in spite of the difficulties which their mutual opposition raises,—the mere general fear of party spirit and even of its aggravation is not a sufficient reason against the resumption of its functions by the Church, if there are other evils against which this resumption would be the fitting remedy, or advantages which it is the only effectual way of gaining. The presence of an evil which is inseparable from all united action, is not in this case, any more than in so many others, a ground for depriving ourselves of benefits which are only to be obtained by such united action. We cannot get rid of parties by doing without a synod; we cannot get rid of their greatest evils; why should we be so afraid of them, as to let this fear tie our hands, and keep us back from aiming at positive improvements, called for by our circumstances, warranted by reason, by precedents, and now by the practical judgment of experienced men;—improvements with the full effect of which party-spirit may doubtless interfere, but which there is no reason to think that it will neutralize or turn to simple evil?

It may be true of a Church, as well as of a people, that it may not be ripe for liberty; that it may have to serve its apprenticeship in bondage. Yet it is equally true, that it will not become ripe by instinct; it must learn, and learn by its own efforts and trials. If the English State had waited till party-spirit had become extinct, before it began to bid for liberty, by making proof of it by degrees, we should not have yet learnt that parties may be more unmanageable and dangerous without Parliament than with it. If the Church of the Nicene century had been daunted into inactivity by the chance of Arianism being confirmed, or truth proscribed by a General Council, many scandals might perhaps have been avoided, much trouble saved, some disagreeable recollections and some apologies spared to the

Church historian; but putting aside the question of doctrine, so momentous and critical, the influence and importance of the Church would have sunk, when she declined the responsibilities of action; and that authority and command, which earnestness and boldness gave, and which mistakes, quite as keenly appreciated then as now, did not take away—the instrument which Providence was reserving for the greatest purposes—would have been lost to her, and lost to the barbarians she was to convert and civilize.

This objection may take another shape. With an authoritative organ, it says, you are in danger of authoritative change in the fundamental basis of the English Church; possibly a series of such changes, either in one direction, or alternately backwards and forwards. The objection in this shape weighs with many, even more than the mere prospect of conflict. It is feared that with the power of speaking authoritatively in the name of the Church of England, would come the disposition to rule points in such a way as to alter the present position of the Church. And the possibility of this affects all sides equally—the change might be in the direction of laxity and toleration, or of stringency; might reinforce or extenuate the old dogmatic phraseology; might supply what is now indeterminate by decisions either from the schools of the middle ages or from those of Geneva and Germany. One such change, it is supposed, might be fatal to the faith of the English Church; the continual liability to it must keep men always unsettled and anxious, and make all confidence in the guidance and stability of the Church impossible.

Accept this objection in its broad and literal form, and you come to this, that the Church cannot be trusted with her special office of preserving and declaring truth, because humanly speaking, there is a chance that she may use it wrongly. Councils, according to this, were a danger which she had no right to risk at any time, and the theory of a single oracle, inspired, or *accepted* as inspired, is the only thing which can support the Christian's faith. Into this theory of course we are not now going to enter. Meanwhile it is admitted on all hands, that when the great fundamental outlines of faith were clearly settled, it was done in Councils, and Synods. Councils, with all their attendant hazards to stability, to confidence, to the truth itself—hazards which were not less recognised in former days than they are now—were the means which the Church used from the first to carry on from age to age her tradition of faith—not the only means, but the more solemn and authoritative ones; and even those who tremble at the dangers she incurred, thank her now for having incurred them.

The difficulty is one of that very numerous class which meet

us all through life, which it is impossible to deny or get rid of in theory, but which solve themselves in practice. The changes which actually happen are yet but a small part of those which seem inevitable. In creatures such as we are, who do change so much, who know so little around us and before us, and to whom time is ever bringing something new and unexpected, the marvel is that we can resist any change; we are continually altering our point of view, learning what we did not know, finding ourselves in circumstances which we had never imagined: yet, on the whole, individuals, and bodies of individuals pursue the path in which they started: opinions alter, laws are changed, yet constitutions last, and character is preserved. And if this seems like trusting to the chances of the natural course of society to preserve the Church, we answer that we are merely meeting an objection drawn from that course of society, to a particular measure. If the English Church is what we believe her to be, she is in keeping which secures her from any chances. But the argument against the exercise of her powers by the Church, drawn from the possibility of human variableness, may be answered by the experience of human constancy.

But, practically speaking, nobody can look for any great or fundamental change from an English synod. It would be for the present simply defensive. It would keep things where they are. It would resist those measures whose danger is that they threaten the very idea of a Church. It would exhibit the fact of the Church. It would give an emphatic contradiction to the assumption that it is in its external organization, a function of the State—a philosophy as regards individual belief and conscience. It would exhibit the Church as a body declaring itself the depositary and witness of a certain revealed truth in the world. It would undoubtedly restore English doctrine to that point of definiteness which it possessed before the decision of the Privy Council sacrificed the plainest meaning of words to a false idea of comprehension. Beyond that, it is in the highest degree improbable that it would at present move. But it would give and secure to all parties the ground, on which they have hitherto been content to work within the Church, however much they might think that she fell short of what she ought to be. It would preserve, preserve without mutilation, all that great body of positive truth which is embodied in the English formularies, while declining to add or remove, as it assuredly would decline at present, what one side would consider defective, or the other superfluous.

The office of such a Synod, if we may judge from examples elsewhere, will be, as far as concerns fundamental points affecting the present position of the English Church, to guard and maintain it. Changes are not what we need fear from it. Nor

are they what in the first instance we ought to wish for from it. We may wish many things amended, many things cleared up, many points settled; we are not wrong in wishing them, and are not disloyal to the English Church, in wishing for her what we think would be for her good, while we thankfully accept her as the witness to us and teacher of Christian truth. But it is not by looking forward to votes in her Synod that we can hope really and effectually to work upon her. It would be little good, even if we could do it, to pass decrees and theological decisions by a majority there, if we had not first gained over to our view the hearts and minds of her members. We believe that the English Church has a faith, not merely in her formularies, but in her living members; and therefore we wish for a Synod to declare and re-affirm it. But we do not suppose that she is prepared to return a dogmatic solution to any dogmatic doubt, or to enter on the consideration of every practical measure which might be suggested for her improvement. It is not to be wished for the present that her temper and attitude should be other than cautious and conservative. We are not yet prepared, and it is no wonder, for any very decided and strongly marked line of action. We are as yet, after the stagnation of the last century, but novices in the *science* of theology; and though we believe that an ill-informed and confused theology is no measure of the life and reality of faith, it must be a source of incalculable mischief when it finds its way into the formal proceedings of the Church; and the influence of the Church on men's ideas and sentiments, in its broad and permanent forms, is directed by crude and arbitrary prejudice, without knowledge, without thought, without practice, without either precision of method or largeness of view.

What we say then to the objection from the danger of change, is,—that sweeping change of any kind is highly improbable; that neither the present temper of the English Church, nor the general character of ecclesiastical assemblies warrants the expectation; that though we do look forward to the gradual disappearance of much that now seems to us alien to the true character of the English Church, it is not to the decisions or the impulse of a Synod, but to the progress of sounder and more accurate views, which seems to us to be going on visibly among Churchmen, that we look for improvement; while the danger of change in a wrong direction, of the Church being carried further away from the great universal standards of faith, or committed by her authoritative representatives to self-destructive acts of compliance and surrender, seems to us so little to be practically feared, that it cannot enter with any weight into the argument.

But even if the possibility of such misfortune were greater, it would not be conclusive against pressing for a representative organ for the Church. We wish for it, and think that it is greatly needed for the freedom and efficiency of the Church. But its importance and authority must not be over-stated. Great as this would be, it could not be, in every matter, equivalent to the Church which it would represent. A formal decision of such a body would necessarily settle most things, and be binding on the whole body of the Church; but it would not necessarily and at once settle all. Even with a Synod, it *might* become necessary to contend for the faith, as it has been without one. The decision of a Synod might compromise without finally overthrowing the Church, just as much as on the other hand it *might* arrest danger, and yet fail to save us.

It seems to be of importance, that at a time when the question of Synods is canvassed, their province and authority should not be mistaken. We must not look for too much from them; we must not over-estimate what they can do; we must not confound their formal and technical power with their real. The formal nature of their acts cannot be the only measure of their final weight and conclusiveness. The subject matter of their decisions—the state of opinion and belief in the national Church, and in the Church generally, —the state of parties—must all come in, in due measure. It cannot but be so in fact, whatever it may be in theory. They cannot speak with the same authority, and therefore with the same conclusiveness, on a detail of business and on a principle —on a principle of action, and on matter of doctrine; and for the plain reason that the whole Church delegates its authority necessarily in different measures, and does not the less reserve it on the more important or more difficult matters, because it confers it without reserve in the less important and clearer ones. Great questions may always be re-opened, as long as there is opinion and conviction to re-open them. It is a condition of our state here, an advantage as well as an inconvenience. The decision of a representative Council cannot of course but be of the utmost consequence; it may compromise, incalculably entangle, or incalculably assist the Church; but the approbation and sympathy of the Church as a body, must ratify the act of its representatives, and give it a real force which it only has formally and technically in itself, before it can be taken as the final and deliberate expression of the Church's sentiment and will. If this seems too indeterminate to be practical, we ask those who think so, if they can fairly make out that the faith was established in any more technical definite way in the fourth century.

The whole history of that time goes most strongly against the assumption of the *decisiveness*, once for all, of single acts even of the representatives of the whole Church. Important of course they cannot but be; decisive too, they *may* be; but they *may* only prove to be steps, not conclusions. And they do not always bear the evidence of their character on their face. They are not necessarily decisive in fact, because decisive in their form. Fifty years were then not too much to clear up the faith of the Church on the most vital point of religion; fifty years, marked throughout their course by formal acts of the Church, which appeared, at the moment, final and irrevocable. The contest between heresy and the faith was not settled, but begun at Nicæa. Council after council succeeded. Some of them at the moment must have appeared not a whit less imposing, less august, less regular, less authoritative. The Church—not parts of it only, but the whole, might have seemed at the time as much and as fairly represented by Ariminum and Seleucia, as by Nicæa. She seemed committed to them at the time; committed by formal acts, done by those who seemed to have the right to speak in her name. Why was not her faith lost? Because her faith depended not merely on her representatives, but her members. Time was necessary to make this plain, but time, the clearer up of many doubts, did show it. Councils and their acts were but the steps and movements in the great warfare, (very important, for each might be the decisive one;) but how the battle had really been going, which of these various acts of her representatives really had expressed the mind of the Church, time was required to show, time only did show. The Nicene Council was, in appearance, but the watchword of a party, and a beaten party, till the very close of the century to which now it gives its name; till the Church at length showed indubitably, that the bishops of Nicæa, and not those of Ariminum, had truly caught its mind, and interpreted its faith, and gave to the Nicene Creed the preeminence which it has since held, among all other decisions of the Church.

We appeal to this extreme instance, as a practical example of the way in which, as a matter of fact, a great question was settled in the Church. Councils alone did not settle it. Separate decisions, beyond which at the moment there was no appeal, did not settle it. The judgment of individual bishops, great by position or reputation,—or their practical measures of excommunication, or restoration to communion, did not settle it. The energetic interference of the state did not settle it. All these influences came in, and that on both sides; but they were only the machinery by which the truth was ventilated and sifted, the

means of testing and ascertaining the real object matter of the living faith of the Church. Each side stated its belief as that of the Church; each successively with great appearance of authority. But it was not till gradually, insensibly, in a way which history is not observant enough to record, nor philosophy subtle enough to analyse, the belief of the Christian world cleared itself up, and showed itself with a distinctness not to be mistaken, that it was seen which was right. The question *was* settled; settled not without Councils, and their formal acts and decisions; but settled by formal acts, which were elevated above a host of others of the same character, and invested with a far higher than a merely formal authority, by the acceptance of them as genuine, accurate, and appropriate expressions of its common and immemorial faith, by the universal body of the Catholic Church.

What then, it will be said, is a Synod wanted for, if not to rule points of faith? You admit the possible practical danger from party violence; and on the other hand, the best thing you hope for it is, that it will not be forward in meddling with theological difficulties; that is, that it will decline the very business of a Synod.

We put the objection in its extreme form; because a synodical decision of some questions of doctrine must of course be wished for by all who wish for a Synod. We want a Synod to restore to us ground, of which we have been unfairly and indirectly deprived. It has been hitherto held in the Church, that the Church has and teaches definite doctrines on *some* points, and that she has standards and tests to which to refer those doctrines. She allows, indeed, of latitude of opinion, of open questions; but all questions are not open because some are. We have hitherto believed, with the great mass of Churchmen, that some great points were not open questions with her. It has recently been asserted, not with her authority, but yet with high legal authority, that they are. This assertion, so far as it is of weight, alters the ground of any man calling himself a Churchman in England; and authorizes a principle, that not merely *some*, but *any* doctrines, enunciated in her formularies, may be open questions; for the principle of free interpretation, which all must admit to a certain extent, was applied to an extreme case, and pushed to its utmost length. If the Church is to hold her old ground, she cannot but re-assert, as soon as she has the opportunity, what the Privy Council has gone out of its way to question. If she does not,—if, having the opportunity, she decline to re-assert her old definite statement, it can hardly be denied that so far she has changed her ground. It would be declining to bear out the belief of those who have hitherto held and said

that on great points, like the Sacraments, she had a definite meaning in her statements. It would be doing more than agreeing to tolerate those who dissent from that meaning; it would be taking away the necessity of toleration, by taking away all occasion of dissent.

A Synod, we should hope, would undoubtedly restore things to where they were, before the late decision; would warrant Churchmen in saying, as they have said hitherto, and still believe, that the Church has doctrines; that on certain questions, and those questions affecting the very foundations of Christian religion, as it has been understood and believed from the first, her language is plainly and distinctly on one side, and not on the other. Less than that a Synod could not do. But it might be of the greatest use to the Church, without at present doing more, in the way of theological definition.

In the first place, a beginning is wanted for real Church government. We are now without it, or, at any rate, have it in such an incomplete, incoherent, confused form, that though we are familiar with the action of separate powers, we scarcely have the idea or feeling of Ecclesiastical government. The first sittings of a Synod would not be wasted, however little they might do or produce in themselves, if they trained and prepared an organ which might rise to greater activity and importance when its time for action arrived—as arrive it surely will, if a long future awaits the Church, and all it may hope to achieve and to be is not measured by its present limits of influence and usefulness. It is time to think of preparing for greater things, even though we have little chance of seeing them.

In the next place, there are a number of practical objects, which are now in the hands of bodies, not altogether unauthorized by the Church, but whose authority falls far short of that which would be possessed by a body which duly represented the whole Church. Such bodies have been useful in preparing for it, nor would they necessarily be superseded by it, though it might lend them new influence and new dignity. Missions, education, the spread of religion and its maintenance at home, the employment and direction of an increased body of Clergy, are all matters in greatness and importance belonging to the whole Church; and in which the efforts now made might receive a new impulse, and incalculable assistance from an organ which represented it.

This was well urged by Mr. Roundell Palmer:—

'Other religious bodies possessed the power of self-expansion; the Church alone did not possess it. She, it appeared, was to be kept in the same state in which she was placed two hundred years ago. It was preposterous to suppose that Parliament would enter into the consideration of spiritual questions; and, therefore, to say that Parliament would do

what was wanted by the Church was equivalent to saying that it would not be done at all. The question then arose—it being impossible for Parliament to make such regulations as might be necessary from time to time, in order to adapt the circumstances of the Church to the wants of the Church and the society in which it was placed—was the Church to be for ever maintained, with respect to all matters affecting her spiritual efficiency, in precisely the same state in which she had stood for centuries past? Nothing had contributed so much to the increase of vice and ignorance throughout the country as the growing up of large masses of population for whose spiritual instruction no provision had been made, in consequence of there being no body in active operation capable of taking the measures which were necessary to supply the spiritual destitution of the people . . . . Let it not be supposed that the absence of such an assembly was a matter of no practical importance. Since the sittings of the Convocation had been suspended, we had seen the rise of the Wesleyans—a body founded by men of the purest motives and highest zeal, who, if not altogether dissenting from the Church, were, upon the whole, more connected with Dissenters than with the Church; and became so, because the Church had no means of taking counsel in that emergency, and enlisting their zeal in her service. Since the suspension of the Convocation differences had sprung up amongst Churchmen, which at the beginning might have been easily moderated, but which had now assumed a formidable aspect, and threatened consequences which alarmed every friend of the Church. The enemies of the Church were not opposed as they ought to be, because the Church did not possess the power of developing itself in a natural way in accordance with the spirit of the constitution.'

If it is said that such an organ will not work, we ask, why less in England than in other countries? It has worked elsewhere, in circumstances differing widely among themselves. The French Church had its General Assembly of the Clergy, which lasted all through the despotic times of the old monarchy down to the Revolution; a body with great and various functions, which met at stated times, and transacted business on all matters relating to the interests of the Church, with the same regularity and effect as any other assembly which lasted so long. Such an organ worked in despotic and Roman Catholic France; it has worked in Whig and Presbyterian Scotland. It works now in republican America, in that branch of the Church which is an offshoot of our own. Why should it be less useful, why should it be less manageable in England?

But we will not shrink from saying, that the great reason why we desire to see a Synod, is that we want it as a token and symbol of the independence of the Church; we want it as an acknowledged and visible counterpoise to the power of Government.

We are not among those, who demand an exclusion of the temporal power from the concerns of the Church. Those who make the demand ought first to be satisfied, that with a Church possessing real power and influence, such exclusion is in the nature of things possible — that it is conceivable that the supreme civil power should allow a spiritual power, which is

more than a mere form, to expand and act, without claiming, and if claiming, without enforcing the claim, to have some practical control over such an important social element. They ought to be satisfied whether, *in fact*, the Church has ever gained and held a great position without becoming thereby subject to the action upon itself of the temporal government, restraining very materially the exercise even of the Church's proper spiritual functions; and whether this interference and control has not been in exact proportion to the importance and energy of the Church, except during those brief and dubious periods, the precursors of a long and heavy retribution, when the Church, to save its own rights, itself usurped those of others. In England, certainly, the Church, whether in communion with the Pope, or independent of him, never did stand free from the State; and except working concurrently with the State, it could not be what the Church of England ever has been since the Norman Conquest. But it is one thing for the Church to work with the temporal power—another to be merged in it. It is one thing for Government to have great rights of interference in the Church, or for Parliament to legislate largely for her, and claim to be consulted on her affairs, as being the supreme guardian of all great social interests—and another, for Government and Parliament to ignore all rights, all powers, all freedom of opinion and action in the Church, but their own. And we would leave it to every fair man to say, whether the denial of all independent Church rights is not involved in the language of the Government in the recent debates, and whether such a denial is not absolutely necessary to justify it.

In a question of doctrine, in a matter to herself of the deepest interest, and in which it is no wrong to Lord Lansdowne and his colleagues to say, that they feel very small interest, they have peremptorily refused to leave the decision in the hands of her authorities. They have peremptorily refused the proposal of her Bishops, to give them a modified and restrained control over decisions affecting doctrine. They have peremptorily refused even to see whether a compromise could be effected between this most moderate and modest proposal, and their own objections. They have absolutely and imperiously rejected a claim which, on the supposition of the Church having any inherent authority and power at all, falls short of what is reasonable by asking so little. They have rejected it as if it was an unheard-of and unprecedented thing in this country, for ecclesiastical matters to be dealt with by ecclesiastical persons; as if it were actually an usurpation on the part of the Church to take them out of the hands of the ordinary lay tribunals—to ask for them for herself; and they have thrown back the conciliatory scheme proposed in the faces of its proposers, in a spirit and in

terms deserved only by those who have cast some great indignity on the Crown, or have wantonly provoked mischief, or have invaded the great conventions and understandings of society; with a scornful and impatient bitterness, which scarcely took the trouble to veil itself under the ordinary disguises of public courtesy; but which was at the same time a significant indication of the consciousness, the uneasy consciousness of that Church power, and those Church rights, which were outwardly so gravely ignored.

We make bold to say that the principle involved in this ministerial doctrine is new in the constitution of England. It has, indeed, been long threatening us; it was to be expected that sooner or later it would make its way to the surface. And now it has done so, in too formal and positive a manner to be passed over without contradiction, by those who hold that the Church has authority of its own which it does not hold of the civil power. But the assertion that the Church has no such authority is contradicted by all that has gone before in our own history.

We again quote from Mr. Palmer's argument :—

'By constitutional law, at this moment, the Church of England had as much right to have her spiritual necessities considered by the Bishops and Clergy in convocation, as the citizens of the state had a right to have temporal matters considered in that house. Every important change made at the Reformation, and since the Reformation, in the doctrine and discipline of the Church had been effected by the Convocation and Parliament—that was to say, by the Parliament acting on the previous resolutions of the Convocation and the crown. By the statute of Henry VIII., defining the royal prerogative in matters ecclesiastical, it was laid down that the constitution of England had always been a combination of temporality and spirituality, and the latter was represented by Convocation. When the Book of Common Prayer was revised, in the reign of Charles II., it was stated in the preface that it was the duty of the Convocation, as often as necessary, to debate matters connected with the spiritual welfare of the Church of England. The constitutional rule respecting the Convocation continued in active operation until the reign of George I., when it was suspended under these circumstances :—The minister of the day appointed a person to be a bishop who did not hold the doctrines of the Church. Bishop Hoadley was a man eminent for his learning and ability; but it was a fact now well ascertained that he belonged to that class of persons called Unitarians. The Convocation was about to address the crown on the subject; but the crown suspended the sittings of that body. By that act the crown did to the Church of England what Charles I. attempted to do to the state when he dissolved Parliament after Parliament, and prevented the legislature meeting for the despatch of business. The law still stood as it formerly did, and the Convocation ought to assemble, and did in point of form assemble with every Parliament.'

But with such a doctrine, announced by Government as that on which they are acting in respect of the Church, it surely is not too much to say,—that the Church requires safeguards and securities which have hitherto been, we cannot say unnecessary, but not indispensable. No one can doubt the great and

increasing power of Government in this country. But the very reason why it is so powerful—more really powerful even than that of the most despotic state—is that we are not afraid of it. There is no cause to be jealous—no cause to be distrustful and on our guard. Each great element of power in England which lends Government its strength does so without misgiving, because it conceives that it has its security against the pressure on itself singly of those combined forces to which it has contributed. But without some real security, no class or interest in England could long cope with that organized and central power, which is the result of the co-operation of the rest, or struggle against its absorbing tendencies. Never was there a time when Government was more formidable to any body of its subjects, which claiming rights and functions of their own have not a legal and recognised organ of their power and their wishes.

And such the Church has not. Even her Episcopate has no collective character. There is no body, which, when the interests of the Church are threatened, can claim to speak in the name and with the authority of the Church, and remonstrate or negotiate with Government; none which can pretend to represent the Church, with even that informal but recognised character possessed by a Manchester chamber of commerce, or a committee of the Stock Exchange. Doubtless it is highly convenient very often to ministers that there should not be such a body; but it is no longer safe for the Church.

It would seem to be against the very elementary rules of mere political wisdom that such a body should be recognised in the State, and yet have no public and recognised representation. It cannot be wholesome that there should be such a real power in the Church—an acknowledged power, surrounded by all the marks of public reverence, and working actively and continually throughout society, in its highest as well as its lowest spheres; and yet that this great power should be cut off, by the prejudices or the jealousy of Government, from all legal and authorized modes of expressing its sentiments and regulating its concerns, and should be forced to make its feelings and its power felt in all sorts of irregular and private expedients for union and concentration. *There* is the power; *there* are its sentiments and its plans; Government cannot get rid of them at the moment; it is very sanguine if it hopes to outlive them. It ought, in the history of the last eventful half century, to have learnt the inconvenience and the peril of driving a legitimate and undeniable power to have recourse to the machinery, and tempting it to admit the temper which ought to be reserved for faction.

But however this be, the Church, though it has long allowed its right to representation to be in abeyance, has

not lost its corporate character; it has not yet lost, in fact or legally, those special attributes and features which it had before and at the Reformation, and which, up to the present time, have given it its unity, its identity, its distinctness. Claiming to be the continuation of the Church of the first times, the inheritor, witness, and transmitter of the truths which that Church received and handed down, she is still recognised, *as such*, by the law and constitution of England. Further, the Church is, in fact, in itself a real, living, organized body, with its own spirit, its own ideas, its own rules of judging, and native modes of thought and feeling, as well as its own formularies, defined functions, and hierarchy of offices. Theory has tried to identify it with the civil state—policy has tried to entangle and fuse it with civil government, like the army or the law; but it has resisted stubbornly: it remains distinct, and popular feeling and language attest, while they condemn, and seek to overcome its obstinate maintenance of its separate and independent character. It is more than a sect, for its traditions and history are inseparable from those of the English realm, and it still commands the widest, and, if not the most clamorous, yet the deepest sympathies of the English people: yet it acknowledges an origin higher and more ancient than theirs, and possesses a law and a creed more definite in its limits and its requirements than all of them are willing or are compelled to submit to. Thus it falls short of the nation; yet in the nation it is a great and recognised power.

It has a right therefore, a constitutional right, to claim the securities necessary for its independence. It has a right, in times of change, when every year brings its crisis and its movement, to demand that it alone should not be condemned to the results of a stationary and unalterable position. It has a right to claim that its inherent authority and functions should be placed out of the reach of the prejudices or the designs of an ephemeral ministry. It has a right to claim from the equity and good sense of Englishmen, that they should not apply to its concerns a theory of government which it is their most common and proudest boast to have exploded for themselves; and that, for the honour of English statesmanship, they should discountenance and disavow the political hypocrisy of a party which, after having arrogated to itself, as its inherited glory, and characteristic badge, the limitation of arbitrary prerogative, has not been ashamed to rest its opposition to the Church on a doctrine about the prerogative more extreme than that of the Tudor and Stuart crown lawyers.

We ask for a Synod, then,—and we use the word without stopping to define it, for any assembly which should be recognised as holding a commission from the Church to act for her,—

because it appears to be high time to make preparations for the future,—when it is inconceivable that the Church, if it expands as it is doing, should be able to dispense with some far more real government than it has now:—because, in the practical business of the Church, and in bringing its influence to bear on the various important objects of the time, such an organ, representing the authority of the Church, and exhibiting its powers united and combined, would add greatly to its force and efficiency:—and lastly, because, amid the pressure of rapid and continual change, it is not safe for the Church to be without a standing proof and memorial of her inherent authority, and an acknowledged legal guarantee of the position which she has hitherto held among the constituted powers of England; because it is fair that those who really represent her spirit should have more direct influence over her course of action; and that she should not be left—alone among the great interests of the country—to be taken care of solely by those who may be in the highest degree alien from her genius, and hostile to her great principles and purposes, and who at least, from the nature of their absorbing cares, cannot be expected to have more than a limited sympathy for her, or to give her interests more than a subordinate place in their thoughts. In such an age of activity and forethought, no one can reasonably ask that she should be left to such chances as these.

We must now leave the subject, and we earnestly commend it to the thoughts of Churchmen. We beg of them to reflect seriously whether such an organ is not become necessary; and if so, to consider in what form it may best suit our condition, and meet our wants. We cannot think that they are absolutely bound to the imitation of former models, though it may be convenient or necessary to start from them. But whatever be the form of it, it is time for them to make up their minds, as they are accustomed to do on practical matters, on the necessity of it in *some* form. If it can be dispensed with, without risk to the Church, and unfairness to our successors and our children, there is little in the thing itself to make it an object of desire. But if it cannot, let not the preliminary difficulties, or the attending inconveniences, or even hazards, deter us from attempting what is right and just. If it is part of our trial, and of the struggle to which we are called, let us accept it with an even and resolute mind; not forgetting the inevitable conditions of all human effort and action, its blots and flaws, its disappointments and embarrassments, its wearisome delays. There is always the temptation, proportionate to the zeal and earnestness with which a cause is embraced, to isolate it from its real connexion with the tangled confusion of the rest of human affairs, to wish to labour for it in a higher sphere, to detach it from all that clogs, and all that

lowers it. We want, when pursuing a great purpose, to get rid of the conditions of ordinary ones; we want to get rid of time; we want to get rid of party; we want to get rid of the vulgarity of the conflict, of the pain of its uncertainty; as if in attempting something noble and heavenly in its end, we deserved to be something more than men. This, if we desire to succeed, we must restrain. Besides having perseverance, energy, and courage, we must know both how to wait without impatience, and how to fail without despair. On these terms the Church has kept up her struggle, her chequered, yet real and manifold struggle, with the spirit of the world—on these terms and no other. On these terms we also may do good and effectual work in our day; not, indeed, satisfy all our aspirations, or achieve the perfect work which we yearn after, but do our part in the span which is allotted to us, and leave behind us something, faulty indeed and defective as it is sure to be, yet genuine, and having a principle of life; something which shall last.

For ourselves, we can only say, that we are prepared for these terms. No power in this country can command results just when it wishes: it must bide its time, it must wait for its opportunities. We are aware that we have powerful influences against us—and that this must add to the discomfort, the tediousness, nay, and the uncertainty of the struggle. But we feel so convinced of the deep strength of the English Church, and of the means at her disposal for influencing opinion, if she once resolves on it, that we cannot, for our own part, think of suiting the convenience of either of our antagonists, by relinquishing that vantage ground, which, if we think lightly of, they do not. We will not play the game of the liberals, by taking up,—at a time when the real feeling of the Church has been more unequivocally evinced, and in a more remarkable way than it has been for generations,—by taking up, at just this time, the cry, that the Church has betrayed her faith and forfeited her birthright. It is indeed one way of declining the responsibility of combatting a real danger, to choose to interpret it as a token of dissolution, and proof of apostasy. Men make very free to tell us, what position the English Church holds in the sight of Almighty God, in consequence of Lord Langdale's judgment, and find no more difficulty in solving such a problem than in pronouncing on the fact of physical death, or local change. We must leave such persons to the positiveness which they require, and which they think themselves warranted in assuming. Meanwhile, they would do well to reflect on something which they may *see*. It would be worth their while to give a thought to what the English Church actually is in this lower world. It has been, and is, as a matter of fact, the great and real barrier between Christianity and unbelief in England. If ever any Church has fulfilled that distinc-

tive office of the Church,—to be a standing witness of religion, to keep up the tradition and belief of it amid the manifold dangers, intellectual and moral, of human society—to keep it up on a great scale, and with great influence—to secure for it, even among the many, attachment and respect,—the English Church has done so. Put at the highest what the Church abroad has done in leavening the population in general with religion, the English Church has not done less; and it has done so, in a manner and to an extent absolutely unexampled in any nation of equal freedom and equal intellectual culture. And those who complain of the vagueness and indecision of English popular dogmatism, compared with that of the Latin Church, ought, in the first place, to set the strength and permanence of the great outlines against the faintness of the details; and in the second, to set against that foreign precision of doctrine the price at which it has been bought,—both of corrupt additions, defended only because now inseparable from it, and of alienation of intellect from religion, and open abandonment of all faith, on a scale never yet seen in England.

There must be something much more serious and conclusive than anything that has yet happened, or as yet threatens to happen, to make us think that this is no longer the work and mission of the English Church—that no communion can rightfully, or can successfully preach the Gospel in England, but one which, great and admirable as it has shown itself in many points, on its own ground, has here, in spite of individual efforts and individual exceptions, invariably degenerated in its noblest features, and displayed in exaggerated forms those which are most uncongenial and repulsive—which, though claiming exclusively all that is lofty, and pure, and glorious in religion, has escaped none of the coarseness, or the childishness, or the unscrupulousness, or the intriguing and rancorous sectarianism, which it has been its wont to charge on Protestantism. We cannot think that we are yet summoned to this—to leave the Catholic and Apostolic traditions of our forefathers in the sole keeping of such a body as the branch of the Roman Communion in England has as yet shown itself to be—to leave English people to choose between the Christianity of Rome, with its extravagant dogmatism and ostentatiously anti-national spirit, or that liberal philosophy, which may hold Christianity in suspension in minds of high tone and religious training, but can be intelligible to the masses only as broad infidelity. Conscience has of late been freely appealed to, sincerely we doubt not, whether well or ill-informed. For ourselves, we cannot find it in our consciences, to leave the truth which God has entrusted to us, to encounter such risks, without a clearer and more commanding call than we have yet received. We cannot so betray the ancient faith in England.

NOTICES.

Mr. Grinfield has put forth a very spirited 'Apology for the Septuagint,' (Pickering,) vindicating its claims to Biblical and Canonical authority, and we trust that his work will do much to remove the undue prejudice which commonly exists against the LXX. Version, and to re-instate it in the honourable position which it once enjoyed in the Western, and has never lost in the Eastern, Church. Such a course would prove a salutary check to German Biblical science, which, as a general rule, pays little or no regard to the LXX., and consequently sets at nought such allusions made by the New Testament writers to the Old Scriptures, as are based exclusively on that version. This and many other considerations are eloquently and persuasively urged by Mr. Grinfield, who has thus placed, so to speak, a graceful capital upon the goodly structure of his former works in connexion with the Septuagint. Many of his positions, doubtless, call for careful consideration and discussion; and this, we trust, they will meet with. But in the main we are disposed to acquiesce in them. One suggestion he has thrown out, which we think important, and well worthy of adoption—viz. that an English New Testament should be brought out, in which all the citations from the LXX. should be printed in italics, or otherwise indicated. This would enable the English reader to estimate the amount of LXX. matter contained in the New Testament. And if, in addition to this, the Old Testament were printed with a correct translation from the LXX. of all such passages as are quoted or referred to in the New Testament, the same English reader would have before him what now he has not, that form of the Bible (as far as regards these passages) under which the writers of the New Testament referred to it.—Mr. Grinfield has also published a 'Letter to Dr. Wiseman' (Pickering) remonstrating against the retention in the LXX. of the undoubtedly spurious verse in Deuteronomy, prohibiting marriage with a wife's sister. He is simply taking critical ground, and every one must agree with him, that however firmly they may believe that union to be implicitly forbidden in Holy Scripture, nothing can justify the foisting in of an explicit prohibition of it. One point of some critical interest is involved in the question. The spurious verse in question rests on the authority of the Vatican MS., and unless it shall appear that it has been inserted there by a later hand, it must tend to lower, in no small degree, the estimation in which that great rival of the Alexandrine has always been held.

'Catechetical Lessons,' (J. H. Parker.) The Clergy of S. Barnabas, Kensington, have published two most useful little helps to the Clergy in the important work of catechising. The first contains the Apostles' Creed, and the second the Ten Commandments, to be followed up by the other divisions of the Catechism. Doctrinal points are well brought forward, a numerous selection of texts judiciously chosen, and the whole plan adopted stands the test of general application.

'An Elementary Course of Geology, Mineralogy,' &c. by David T. Ansted, M.A. (Van Voorst.) The subjects embraced in this book have hitherto been difficult of access in a concise and simple form. Too great

elaborateness of detail, or too great mixture of speculation have accompanied geology; and its plain obvious truths, with their practical bearing on those branches of knowledge essential to all education, have consequently been shut out from many, anxious to keep pace with advancing science. This want is admirably supplied by the present work, which is sound, accurate, and comprehensive. It is invaluable as the completion of school geography, interesting to all elementary students of natural science, and useful for reference with all who cannot possess a numerous and well-assorted scientific library. Mr. Ansted's former works, though inferior to this in design, yet have established his literary and scientific qualifications for undertaking the labour so well and ably completed.

'A Physician's Holiday, or, Month in Switzerland,' by John Forbes, M.D. (Murray.) A hasty tour and off-hand description of places, things, and people. No one subject is dwelt on for above a few lines, but as any great profundity is thus avoided, so also is weariness of style. This book is partly a guide and partly a substitute for real travel, in the same manner that the overland route, or any other quick succession of pictures, may be so considered. As in most hasty productions, the writer's peculiar line of thought assumes an unfair prominence, and medical subjects too often cross his Alpine path. His notices of the Romish Church are commonplace, but inoffensive, and it is well that the theoretical illusion of Romanism should be checked by the evidence of the sight; for on many sides we are reminded that the most Protestant travellers do not much exaggerate the practical evils of that Church in its living actual character.

'An Essay on the Origin and Development of Window Tracery,' by E. A. Freeman, M.A. (J. H. Parker.) An interesting inquiry into a part of ecclesiastical art, which in these higher latitudes is of the most obvious importance. This is another wholesome effort to unravel the principles as well as copy the models of old times. The development of one kind of window into another through every age, is an admirable subject for an essay, and the result is worthy of its importance. The illustrations are numerous and well-selected.

'The Church School-master,' by the Rev. Sanderson Robins, M.A. (Rivingtons,) is an earnest, sensible, and practical work on Education, well suited to the present crisis, without any apparent direct reference thereto. It is evidently the result of long and intimate acquaintance with the working of parochial Schools, and at the same time abounds in maxims and principles affecting all who are concerned with education in any form. The author's style is simple and unaffected, but not the less forcible, and there is an earnest and authoritative tone throughout, which causes all his suggestions to carry conviction with them. The work has the great merit of being at once liberal and sound, earnest and sober, and the writer's powers of condensation have compressed into a small 12mo. volume the matter of a complete and standard manual of the subject.

'A Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece,' by William Mure. (Longman.) Colonel Mure's work has excited considerable expectations among scholars, and we think that those expectations are fulfilled. It is probably the best book that has hitherto appeared upon

the subject, and will supersede Müller, who, with many excellences, is wanting in good sense, and often wanders beyond the evidence. The learning is great and the style good; and in the latter respect, this book is strongly contrasted with the equally learned, and perhaps more able work of Mr. Grote. The length is the worst part of this, as of so many good books in the present day. Three good sized octavo volumes have not brought the subject down to Pindar. We shall be glad when Colonel Mure reaches the dramatic poets; but if he treats them on the same scale as he has treated the minor lyric poets, his voluminousness will exceed all bounds. The great point of interest, and the strong point also in the present volumes, is the Homeric question, which we think Colonel Mure may be said to have almost set at rest. We have always been firmly convinced ourselves of the single authorship of the Iliad, and therefore, perhaps, we are more easily satisfied than a Wolfian sceptic would be, of the validity of arguments in favour of that hypothesis; but to us it appears that the theory which makes the Iliad to be a collection of ballads by separate authors is laid in the dust for ever. The objections taken by Lachmann and others on the ground of discrepancies and incongruities in different parts of the poem, never seemed to us to weigh a feather against the clear unity of design, uniformity of genius, and substantial development of character. Such as they are, however, Colonel Mure deals with them very successfully, and shows, that even if such incongruities are more numerous in Homer than in other poets, the only inference to be drawn is, that Homer was more regardless than other poets of minute accuracies of detail, and more exclusively careful of the general poetical effect. A direct confirmation is added by an ingenious observation of certain recurrences of thought or expression, too minute to be the result of imitation, and still too marked to be fortuitous; and an indirect confirmation, which, however, is the best of all, results from a general analysis of the poetical method, phraseology, characters, and ethics of Homer, which is performed with great ability. Another point is made against the Wolfian party, by showing the unfairness of which they have been guilty in always beginning with the Iliad, in which the incongruities are more numerous, and a plurality of authors more conceivable, instead of considering the support which the unity of the Odyssey lends in every way to that of the Iliad. But for our own parts we should be almost content to rest the unity of either poem on the single argument which results from the pervading uniformity of transcendent genius. Is it likely that among all the sons of men the first place in poetry should be due to Shakspere, the second to a dozen Homers?

Mr. Henry Hughes, a London Clergyman, has published a defence of Lord Lansdowne and 'the Government Scheme of Education.' It is published, which surprised us, by the Messrs. Rivington. We think that Mr. Hughes has earned, what we do not say that he had in view, 'the substantial gratitude,' as was lately said in Mr. Roebuck's case, 'of Her Majesty's Government.' Anyhow, Mr. Hughes' little pamphlet, and Mr. Dawes' preferment, synchronize.

'Goodsir's Arctic Voyage' (Van Voorst) has only its very creditable object, a contribution towards the search after Sir John Franklin, to recommend it. Though a manly, unaffected narrative, it is destitute of in-

formation—an ingredient which we are constrained to think necessary to all books. We regret to say this, because we have a very distinct prejudice in favour of all Mr. Van Voorst's publications.

A great religious poem has appeared; its author is George Marsland; its publisher, Mr. Pickering; its title, 'Regeneration;' and it is dedicated to a Mr. Dixon, 'President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference...one of the greatest and best of men.' It quite equals Milton—in impiety: and surpasses even Sir William Blackmore—in prolixity. As the world knows nothing of its greatest men, we desire to show how the Wesleyan muse strikes the epic string. Mr. Marsland shall present specimens of his own views, moral and historical. His versification may as well speak for itself.

> 'Precocity excited for display,
> Before self-consciousness is barely found,
> Betokens not a spirit for emprise;
> 'Tis often seen that he who 's peopled most,
> With habitants of highest walks of life,
> Is longest ere appearing in the field
> Of literary competition, as
> The greatest army calls for longest time,' &c.—P. 89.

> 'Were I to hold an order up to view
> Of universal execration, as
> Unfit to live, the serpents of our race,
> The Jesuits are the men; no words can reach
> So low to meet their case; a libel on
> Our race; who scruple not to dress, in garb
> Of deep sincerity, the wicked heart
> That has conspired,' &c. &c.—P. 112.

'Pope Adrian IV.' is 'an Historical Sketch,' by Mr. R. Raby, (Richardson.) It is by no means equal to its subject; and Mr. Raby has lived so long at Munich that he seems to have forgotten his English. Either it is very badly printed, or the writer spells proper names in an unusual way. As a Roman Catholic publication, we should not say that Mr. Raby's views were either high or distinct.

We think very highly of a little practical book, 'Sickness; its Trials and Blessings,' (Rivingtons.) But this perhaps more in an indirect than direct way: its great use, *we* think, to the Clergy, is in getting them to enter into and understand and learn what sickness is. The writer is an invalid, and very minute and conscientious in her analysis; but this does not of itself make the present work useful to the sick. A manual for confessors is not the best book to put into the hands of penitents. There are many most excellent Clergymen, themselves of strong frames and robust health, who miss many opportunities of doing good from sheer personal ignorance of suffering. Successful visiting can only be secured by sympathy; and he cannot have the most sympathy with

> . . . scars, who never felt a wound.

Not that we say that this work will not be very useful also to those for whom it is primarily intended.

Bishop Torry has added to the many services for which the Church of Scotland has to thank him, by a reprint of the Scotch Prayer Book, (Edinburgh: Lendrum.) It puts into rubrics the Scotch traditions, handed down from the times of Laud by such men as Falconer, Archibald Campbell, Rattray, and Jolly, to the present venerable editor. Thus the Reserved Sacrament, the mixed cup, the order for the 'reserved gifts,' the method of reception, are committed to writing instead of being any longer left to oral tradition. Thus also the Summary of the Law, and the Collect —'O Almighty Lord and Everlasting God,' are allowed to be substituted for the Commandments and Collect for the Queen. We need not add, that the peculiar Scotch rites, which are certainly in accordance with ancient precedent, the omission of the words '*militant here on earth*,' the formal Oblation after the words of Institution, the invocation of the HOLY GHOST, and prayer for the transmutation of the elements, and the rectification of the position of all the parts (with the one exception of the *Gloria in Excelsis*), are here carefully retained. The publication was most timely, and the book itself most valuable; nor must we forget to mention that its getting-up reflects great credit on the publisher. We trust that in the Diocesan Synods, now soon to be held, it will be recommended as *the* Prayer Book of the Church of Scotland.

A pamphlet reaches us called, 'What has hindered the Anglican Movement?' &c. (Baldwin.) The author answers the question by detailing how in certain Churches the Clergy read the services too fast for his taste: and how their Sermons were not eloquent enough for his standard. Among the remedies for the failure, he 'heartily wishes that the Bishops would *force* the Clergy to have at least one metrical psalm at every Sunday service,' p. 15. Also he recommends that there should be attached to every Church, 'a room for the use of those who may be faint and unwell, furnished with an easy chair, sofa, smelling-bottle, and a discreet matron,' p. 18. Is any subtle connexion here suggested between this formidable Church appendage, and the metrical psalms? Certainly we approve of the forethought which attaches the smelling-bottle to the exciting sermon: but then the 'other obvious conveniences for invalids' (*ibid.*) are vaguely put.

A very different complaint is urged in a pamphlet which has attracted some attention,—'The Morality of Tractarianism.' (Pickering.) Many feel that this very pamphlet is exactly an instance of what it professes to deplore: unreality, and undue reserve. Under the plea of friendship for and interest in our own communion, this writer may be consciously doing the work of another, and to us an antagonist, cause. If as a fact the writer of this pamphlet is not of the English Church, what of his, or her, 'Morality?' But, waiving this question, we cannot see in this production any thing more than an artificial and somewhat sentimental mode of putting the not very new objection urged against the Church of England, that she is not explicit on every point of doctrine. This we are content to bear. But, under another aspect of this matter, it is sufficient to say, that this charge of unreality, or subtle interpretations, if fairly resolved, meets all religions: most especially does it lie against that Communion which, whether of purpose or not, this pamphlet seems to try to subserve. We have one set of teaching in our authorized books, and certain Clergy adopt some

sort of *disciplina arcani*, and practically screw up the implied doctrine to a higher pitch than the letter of the formularies warrants. This is ensnaring: it is deceit to attach this lofty interpretation to the indeterminate letter of the Prayer Book. So, if we adequately conceive it, runs the objection. Now, whether this is moral, or immoral, how stands the case in other quarters? That, as a fact, there is a whole body of teaching above and beyond the doctrine of Missal, Breviary and Tridentine Decrees, largely, popularly, and all but universally inculcated as *the* exclusive truth. If on such subjects as the Intercession of S. Mary, the Immaculate Conception, the adoration due to images, and, above all, the especial privileges and even powers attached by local authority to particular images, what is generally taught, and held, and practised as Divine Truth be such, we have in the Roman Communion just as much a right to complain of the hesitating stammering language of the Roman Books on these subjects because they do not speak out, as, *cæteris paribus*, we have of our own. And then how easy it is to retort the kindred arguments of this writer:—*e. g.* the wretched common-place from popular estimate: it is doubtful whether the Church of England 'teaches the verity and sanctity of the priesthood,' because 'the people seldom regard the Clergy as more than "kind gentlemen,"' p. 31. How, it may be replied, 'if the Church [say of Spain] teaches the sanctity of the priesthood, how is it that the people seldom regard the Clergy as other than *the* class whose morality they can never trust?' For this, we appeal to all travellers, is more true of the Spanish estimate of the Spanish Clergy—deservedly or not, is obviously not the question—than the alleged common English estimate is of the English Clergy. We much fear that if this sort of test is to be applied to any Church, infidelity will be the chief gainer.

Mr. George Williams is one of the most fearless and uncompromising writers of the day. It is cheering to find such an earnest, honest, yet practical declamation against inveterate abuse as is displayed in his 'Letter to the Provost of Eton College,' (J. H. Parker.) This is the true spirit in which College and University Reform should be urged. It is satisfactory, also, to find at Cambridge an echo of the same warning, which has not only been urged, but acted upon, at Oxford.

It is impossible to keep pace with the necessary, and in many respects, very thankworthy, rush of pamphlets from the press, on the all-absorbing topic of the day. And the less will be required of us in the way of criticism, because all that are worth reading have been read, and opinions fixed upon their merits. The little that we can in this place do is to mark the more able. In the first rank we place, of course, 1. 'The Bishop of Exeter's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury,' (Murray.) Were not these times in which in months we live through the work of years, it would seem incredible that this letter has appeared since our last number. 2. Dr. Mill's University Sermon: 'Human Policy and Divine Truth,' (Deighton.) 3. Dr. Wordsworth's important—we cannot say unexceptionable—'Occasional Sermons,' now completed in a volume, (Rivingtons.) 4. Archdeacon Harrison's extremely valuable 'Charge,' (Rivingtons.) 5. Mr. Kerchever Arnold's searching and temperate 'Examination of some portions of Mr. Goode's Letter to the Bishop of Exeter,' (Rivingtons.) 6. 'Mr. Watson's

Reply to Mr. Goode,' (Masters.) 7. Mr. Irons' 'The Judgments on Baptismal Regeneration,' (Masters) One unlucky instance of overstatement is the citing on the title page as 'Opinion of the Irish Church,' an article from a (very respectable) Irish newspaper. 8. Mr. Cavendish's 'Letter to Archdeacon Hare,' (Ollivier.) And 9, extremely valuable with reference to the quarter from which it emanates, Dr. Croly's 'Theory of Baptism,' (Rivingtons.)

Dr. Pusey's 'Treatise on the Royal Supremacy,' (J. H. Parker,) has been remarkably successful. It expands the argument lately advanced in our own pages, in an article on 'Church and State,' which has been reprinted by our publishers, the Messrs. Mozley.

'Church Guilds,' (Masters,) is an essay on a subject really very important; and against the restoration of these institutions we see no practical objection. But, somehow or other, it seems rather unreal to enter into such minute formularies before a single guild is in existence. We say nothing of the questionableness of the details brought before us.

Mr. Dodgson's 'Advice to Candidates for Holy Orders,' (Murray,) is interesting not only from the station of its writer, but from its own intrinsic merits. May we be pardoned for hinting something on the excessive price of some of these publications? Mr. Dodgson, or his publisher, charge three shillings for 100 pages of what certainly is below an 8vo. size. One of Mr. Maskell's pamphlets, 22 pages of extravagantly large type, is priced at 1*s.* 6*d.*

We are not at all certain how far it is right or safe to recommend to our readers a very small tract on 'Baptism,' by Mr. Thomas Carlyle, (Bosworth.) We are quite within prudential limits when we say that it is exceedingly well worth reading; especially we particularize certain remarks in the preface. Lest, however, we should be entrapping purchasers, we may say that its author is an Irvingite, and *not* the Carlyle.

In his plain-spoken 'Challenge to those who impugn the position assumed by the Church of England since the Reformation,' (J. H. Parker,) Mr. Foulkes finds a decisive proof of our Church's standing within the Divine Economy of the Church in the consistent, and in many respects solitary, witness which she has borne against modern European infidelity.

Four very important publications on the Gorham Case reach us only in time to be acknowledged,—1. 'Gladstone's Remarks on the Royal Supremacy,' (Murray.) 2. 'Analysis of the Gorham Case, &c. by Lord Lindsay,' (Murray.) 3. 'Archdeacon Clerke's Charge,' (J. H. Parker.) 4. 'Mr. French Laurence's Letter,' &c. (Vincent.)—On the main subject we have to acknowledge a sermon, as sound as well written, 'The Divine Life,' &c. by Mr. Craik of Louisville,' (New York; Stanford.)

It would be extremely unjust not to be thankful to Mr. Gresley for the affectionate and cheerful tone of his 'Stand Fast and Hope,' (Masters.) The same publisher has just sent us two 'Sermons' by Mr. Coope of Falmouth, and a 'Complete Statement of the Church's Doctrine of Baptism,' by Mr. C. S. Grueber, which appears to be close and systematic.—Neither can we use sympathy with Mr. W. W. Malet in his vigorous crusade against alienation of tithes. A cause, if good, prosecuted with such singleness sincerity must win its way. Mr. Malet has just published on this ject a Tract, 'The Funds of the Church,' &c. (Masters.)

Among several publications which have reached us from the office of the English Churchman, we can specify 'A Catechism on Baptism,' (Batty.) —And which is on several accounts worth preserving, a 'Report of the Case of Mr. Moorhouse James,' on his refusal to marry upon a Registrar's Certificate. (Batty.)

An interesting and correct 'Essay on the Life and Writings of Bishop Butler,' (Baltimore, U. S.: Robinson,) by Professor Passmore, encourages us in the conviction that the greatest of our ethical writers is well appreciated and studied in the American Church.

Among Tracts we can commend 'Unity,' (J. H. Parker,) by Mr. J. H. Edmonds: 'The Holiness of a Christian Child,' (Masters,) by Mr. Edward Walford, and 'Plain Answers on Confirmation,' (Rivingtons,) by Mr. B. Wilson.

Archdeacon Wilberforce's most important 'Charge,' (Murray and Mozleys,) of which published reports have attracted much notice, reaches us while at press.

Mr. W. A. Butler's 'Letters on the Development of Christian Doctrine,' in answer to Mr. Newman, have been reprinted from the *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, and edited by Rev. J. Woodward. (Dublin: Hodges and Smith.) Professor Butler had a peculiar advantage for his task, besides those of a deeply thoughtful mind, vigour and eloquence of style, and a strong appreciation of Church principles: he had no personal relations with Mr. Newman. He had neither known him as a friend or a teacher, nor as a [redacted] opponent in a long and deeply agitating controversy. His feelings towards him are free from that strong bias either of reverence or dislike, which few writers in England have been able to escape from. This independent power of judging and speaking strikes the reader at first sight as a new, and we may almost say strange feature in Mr. Butler's pages. The work in its present form is a posthumous one, and comes before us therefore with the disadvantages of an unrevised performance. But, unfinished as it is, it is by no means an unworthy reply to the bold and remarkable book which it is designed to meet. Mr. Butler can meet Mr. Newman with the courtesy and self-possession of an admiring, and therefore not daunted, adversary. He appreciates to the full all Mr. Newman's great gifts, and the tempting nature of many of his ideas. There is not a word of bitterness in the volume. He is calm enough to venture occasionally on quiet irony; but his temper is imperturbable. And he appreciates also the difficulties of the case. Yet this does not prevent him from bringing out, with striking force, the self-destructive character of Mr. Newman's theory — the significance, which the adoption of such a theory by such a man has, as to the value of the facts and arguments on which the old Roman controversialists relied, and with which the new theory is absolutely incompatible; and the entire failure of the theory itself, as applicable exclusively on behalf of the Roman claims to absolute truth. But the effect of Mr. Newman's book lies not in its argument. Mr. Butler's estimate of its force and drift is a true one. 'Probably,' he says, 'nothing would wholly destroy the effect of such a work, but some equally 'clever *rival theory*. An intellectual romance of this kind is, in this respect,

'like a religious or political novel; you cannot meet it effectively by mere 'argument: to put it down at all, you must win the public ear and fancy, 'by a *counter*-novel.' But a theory, like a novel, may introduce a train of thought, not the less fertile in consequences, because at first indeterminate and difficult to seize and limit,—to meet or to support by definition and argument. Mr. Newman has introduced such a train of thought, and he will be no more able to stop its consequences, as regards his new communion, than he was willing to do as regards his former one. He has raised questions, which if England cannot answer, Rome cannot either. For these consequences, so far as he gave his authority to a theory which he had not mastered, for an end which he wanted other means to bring about, he is deeply responsible to the whole Christian Church.

We are glad to notice that the Bishop of London has published, in an authentic form, his 'Speech on the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Appeal Bill,' (Fellowes.) In a short Preface, the Bishop 'indorses' Mr. Gladstone's able pamphlet on the Supremacy.

Mr. Chapman has forwarded to us Mr. F. Newman's 'Phases of Faith.' We extract one passage:—'A new stimulus was given to my mind by two 'short conversations with the late excellent Dr. Arnold, at Rugby. I had 'become aware of the difficulties encountered by physiologists in believing 'the whole human race to have proceeded in about 6,000 years from a single 'Adam and Eve; and that the longevity (not miraculous, but ordinary) 'attributed to the patriarchs was another stumbling-block. The geological 'difficulties of the Mosaic cosmogony were also at that time exciting much 'attention. To my surprise, Dr. Arnold treated all these questions as mat-'ters of indifference to religion; and did not hesitate to say, that the 'account of Noah's deluge was evidently mythical, and the history of Joseph '"a beautiful poem." I was staggered at this.'—Pp. 110, 111.

Of Sermons we have several to acknowledge, practical as well as controversial:—of volumes: one by Archdeacon Wilberforce; 'Sermons on the New Birth of Man's Nature,' (Murray:) one on the 'Church Catechism,' by Mr. John Miller, of Worcester College: a valuable volume, 'One Lord, one Faith,' (Rivingtons,) by Dr. Besley. Mr. Sewell's warm-hearted Discourses, 'Pilate and the Spirit of the Age,' preached at Whitehall, (J. H. Parker;) a volume by Mr. Vaughan of Leicester, (Rivingtons;) another by Mr. Henry Hughes, (Rivingtons;) six impressive sermons, 'The End of the Year,' &c. (Pickering,) by Mr. Anderdon of Leicester: and of single Sermons, 'The Spirit of the World,' &c. (Skeffington,) by Mr. Jackson of S. James's; 'Adelaide, the Queen Dowager,' (Batty,) by Mr. Bedford of Hoxton; an Occasional Sermon, (Hatchard,) by Mr. Jefferson of Thorganby; and two exceedingly important Sermons, on a subject which it is as necessary as difficult to treat with faithfulness and propriety, preached at S. Peter's, Radley, by the Warden, Mr. Singleton, 'Uncleanness,' &c. (Masters.)

The following Erratum was corrected in part only of our impression of No. LXVIII:—

Vol. XIX. *page* 342, *line* 30, *for* Samosata, *read* Antioch.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

OCTOBER, 1850.

ART. I.—*The Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes, respecting the Treasure of Harpalus. The Fragments of the Greek Text, now first edited from the Facsimile of the MS. discovered at Egyptian Thebes in* 1847; *together with other Fragments of the same Oration cited in Ancient Writers. With a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes, and a Facsimile of a portion of the MS. By* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, M.A. *Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.* London: J. W. Parker. 1850.

THE reflections suggested by the recovery of any fragment of Greek or Roman antiquity, are of a very chequered character. Few scholars are so extravagantly unreasonable as not *really* to be contented with the range of classical literature, which has withstood the ravages of time, or the inroads of the Goths and Vandals. It is indeed an area sufficiently ample for a man to expatiate in, during the hours he can appropriate to such studies from his term of threescore years and ten. And yet an involuntary feeling of regret will occasionally steal over us when we reflect upon the loss of ancient literary treasures. Could not the ruthless hand of time have spared us a few more plaintive odes of Sappho—a few martial songs to which Alcæus attuned his golden lyre? Would that we had inherited Pindar's bequest of his soaring Dithyrambs, however arduous a task we might have found it to decypher their meaning!

> 'What rapture! could we seize
> Some Theban fragment, or unroll
> One precious, tender-hearted scroll
> Of pure Simonides.'

No one can read of the effect which Phrynichus' great tragedy produced upon an Athenian audience, and not deplore the loss of the *Capture of Miletus*. And Menander too, the originator of the New Comedy—the idol of his contemporaries—whom St. Paul quoted and Terence imitated—what would we not give even for *one* of his truthful and polished dramas! Of the Greek Historians, Polybius has left too little, and Timæus and Dicæarchus

have totally disappeared. In Latin it is the same. Had more remained of Cincius Alimentus, or of Cato's *Origines,* Niebuhr would have been saved an immensity of labour. Varius the noble Epic, and Gallus the Elegiac poet, 'known with his Lycoris to the East and the West,' now only live in the encomiums of their contempories.

But by the side of these vain regrets there arises in the mind a suspicion (a horrid one, perhaps,) that we could have spared somewhat from our present abundance. Neither Thucydides nor yet the garrulous Ionian would come within this category: but some few of the most unintelligible dialogues of Plato would scarcely have been missed, nor, it must be admitted, should we greatly grieve at the loss of some of the treatises which pass under the great Stagirite's name. We should, individually, experience no great shock at the abstraction of some of Cicero's most laboured orations—including the Verrine, aye, and the Catilinarians; but always excepting the Milo and the Cluentius. The number of his philosophical tractates might also, we think, be diminished, with no perceptible disadvantage to the reading public. To say that we would willingly surrender any portion of Livy's pleasing narrative, would perhaps appear ungracious, and yet the news of the discovery of another decade, especially now that the moderns have come to such an amicable and satisfactory arrangement on the subject of Roman history, would indeed be alarming intelligence to older heads than those which adorn undergraduate shoulders.

Such opinions (of course we mean with regard to the entombment of authors we have—not the exhumation of authors we have not,) are strictly esoteric, and can only, without danger, be advocated anonymously. To promulgate them, *in propriâ personâ,* among classical scholars, if it did not immediately suggest the statute *de lunatico inquirendo,* would at any rate call forth cries of prevarication, disloyalty, and treason,—terms but too feebly expressive of the wrath which convulsed the auditory. The loathing and abhorrence in which the unhappy wight, whose evil genius had tempted him to reveal the Eleusinian or Cabirian mysteries of old, was held among the less profane initiated, is as nothing when compared with the obloquy and scorn which would inevitably await the renegade scholar at the hand of his quondam associates. The reason is natural and obvious. All entertain, in their heart of hearts, sentiments somewhat similar to those enunciated, and like Marshal Ney, they are anxious to prove their innocence by reviling the traitor, until a more fitting opportunity occur of joining his ranks. Meanwhile they indulge largely in the conventional

language of the classic school, and groan over the few remnants of antiquity which have escaped the wreck of ages. To their minds Plato is an unprolific writer, and Aristotle anything but voluminous. Euripides has actually left but seventeen tragedies and one satyric drama! Oh! for the seventy plays of Æschylus, and the hundred and thirteen authentic tragedies of the less niggardly Sophocles! Of Cicero they are willing to think well, but the scantiness of his remaining works prevents a due appreciation of his talents. And, finally, are not the extant poems of Ovid usually comprised in three moderately sized volumes?

But it is time that we should leave our friends to their hallucinations, and proceed more immediately to the subject of our notice. With the battle of Mantinea, fraught with such consequences to the destinies of Greece, *contemporary* historical evidence fails us. We part with Xenophon, as with an old friend—far from unprejudiced and not over-wise—whom we value principally for old associations and because we have no one to supply his place. Yet the period which followed the last conflict of Epaminondas (it was certainly not a physical, though it may perhaps be considered a moral victory) was one of stirring and momentous interest. Now for the first time appeared actively upon the stage a new character: a power not genuine Greek, nor yet actually barbarian: its government—a pure monarchy—as utterly discordant with the idea of the aristocrats on the banks of the Eurotas, (in spite of their two phantom kings,) as it was opposed to the practical principles of the Athenian admirers of Harmodius and Aristogiton: a form of government which Sparta, as well as Athens, had assisted in demolishing, although they disagreed as to the fabric they should erect on its ruins. The chief feature of this eventful epoch is the gradual encroachment of the Macedonian (the intellectual vigour of the sovereign seconded by a robust soldiery, disciplined by conflicts with their savage neighbours), first over the tributary marts of the Greeks on the north of the Ægean; thence insinuating himself into the national broils, and advancing his troops into the territories of central Greece, until the fatal day of Chæronea laid the liberties of the Greeks at his feet, and enabled his son and successor (all opposition in Europe being now removed) to found by conquest an empire, which was the greatest the world had yet seen, and was only to be surpassed in extent by one, whose colossal dimensions even now strike us with wonder and amazement. By the side of this development of force in the Macedonian, it is interesting to observe the conduct of the Greeks themselves: the oblivion of the hereditary enmity of Lacedæmon and Athens, as in the Persian war; the profligate

venality among the smaller states, and even at Athens; the heroic stand made by a band of Athenian patriots, against the aggression from the north; and above all, the superhuman, but too unsuccessful efforts of one master mind, to arouse his countrymen from their degenerate apathy, to rekindle in their breasts the heroism of their ancestors, their scorn of foreign dictation and fixed resolution to die or be free.

Such are the leading characteristics, external and internal, of this most interesting period of Grecian history. Theopompus and Ephorus are on all hands allowed to have been historians worthy of such a theme; but they are like the 'summer-dried fountains,' which unfortunately fail when their need is most sorely felt. For however creditable a writer Diodorus Siculus may be, an author in the time of Augustus can ill supply, at second hand, the want of contemporary testimony. The orators of the time ought to be *auxiliaries* towards historic investigations, but in the absence of strictly historical narrative, we are fain to appeal to their invectives, as primary, instead of secondary documents. And yet with their party views and prejudiced feelings, they must necessarily give us a coloured, if not a distorted view, of the foreign relations and domestic politics of their time. We should indeed be sorry to have to gather our information about our present relations with the continental powers *solely* from the speeches of my Lord Palmerston or my Lord Aberdeen. Nor could the parliamentary harangues of Lord John Russell or Mr. Disraeli be entirely depended upon as trustworthy exponents of our condition at home. Still oratory is a most valuable historical criterion. The truth in our own day probably lies between the apologies of the Ministry and the invectives of the Opposition. And so also in the last period of Athenian greatness we are enabled to play off in turn Demosthenes against Æschines, and Æschines against Demosthenes. Mr. Mitford's great advantage over his English predecessors as an historian of Greece was this: that he was not satisfied with merely following in the wake of the later Greek historians, but instituted a careful examination of the writings of the contemporary orators. He, however, unfortunately transferred to the fourth century B. C. the political notions of his own age, and refused to see any nobility of soul in the champion of democracy, even though that champion were Demosthenes. Would that the recent historian of England had not rendered himself liable to a similar charge, by viewing transactions, now nearly two hundred years old, with the distorting vision of his own times and party!

With the exception of the speeches of Demosthenes but little remains of the political orators who flourished in the latter half

of the fourth century before our era, although they all in their turn are represented, as having

> 'Wielded at will the fierce democratie,
> Shook th' arsenal and fulmin'd over Greece,'

and we cannot but think that it was the connexion of Æschines and Dinarchus, even in a hostile spirit, with their greater contemporary, that has preserved to us any portion of their works. At all events, of the three extant orations of Æschines, two (the *Maladministration of the Embassy*, and the *Ctesiphon)* are directed against Demosthenes, and the third is an impeachment of his zealous, but unworthy coadjutor, Timarchus. The only surviving speech of Dinarchus also is his accusation of Demosthenes on the well-known charge of bribery. In such a dearth, the lucky accident which may bring to light any oratorical record at all bearing upon this eventful period, must be a cause of unmingled satisfaction to those who have at heart the history of Greece in the great struggle which preceded her final decline. Such a fortuitous circumstance it is our lot to describe.

We have all heard of the olden glories of Egyptian Thebes; her martial prowess, pouring forth, as Homer sings, two hundred warriors, 'with chariots and horses,' through each of her hundred portals: her marble statue of Memnon, the son of rosy Aurora, which

> 'By fabling Nilus at the potent touch
> Of morning utter'd from its inmost frame
> Unbidden music:'

we should scarcely, however, have suspected that this mighty city, whose pride was laid in the dust by the Persian despot, Cambyses—so far removed from Greece, and even from the metropolis of the Lagian dynasty, should assist us in the elucidation of Athenian politics in the age of Demosthenes. Yet such is the fact. Mr. A. C. Harris, of Alexandria, in a paper read before the Royal Society of Literature, (January 13, 1848,) says, 'when inquiring at Thebes last winter for Tahidic frag-
'ments, some broken Greek papyri were shown to me for sale,
'and I purchased them. One of these is remarkable, and will
'prove to be of great interest to the lovers of classical literature.'
In the minutes of the same Society a theory is propounded that the MS. was taken from the tombs, having been buried along with a mummy. 'This MS. is unique among the contents of
'the tombs of Thebes. At first sight it would seem that, so far
'from expecting to find remains of classical literature in such a
'place, we ought to be astonished that some inexplicable accident
'should have enabled us to make this addition to our store; but
'when we reflect on the number of rhetoricians, philosophers,

'and literary men, who used to flock from Greece as well as 'Rome to the banks of the Nile, and notice a practice which 'prevailed of burying writings with the dead, our wonder 'ceases, and we begin to entertain legitimate hopes that the 'discovery of this oration may be followed by that of portions, 'at least, of many of the lost works of antiquity.' Mr. Harris first suggested that the papyrus probably contained fragments of the oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes. A copy of Mr. Harris' facsimile of the newly-discovered MS. was placed in the hand of Mr. Churchill Babington, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and the beautiful specimen of Calligraphy, whose title is quoted at the commencement of this article, shows that Mr. Babington was excellently adapted to be the depositary of so valuable a document. It is a reprint of the fragment in a Greek type, which is the nearest approximation to the real characters of the MS. that the university press at Cambridge can supply, with conjectural restorations, when the original letters are mutilated or erased, in red characters: the whole accompanied by the Greek text in the ordinary characters, for the use of those who wish to consult the sense of the fragment without the labour of decyphering the more unusual type. We must confess ourselves to be of the number of those who have experienced considerable relief from such an arrangement. A Preliminary Dissertation is prefixed, in two parts. The former, which is of less interest to general readers, shows from internal evidence that the MS. probably dates between the termini of the third century B.C. and the third century A.D. The second portion of the dissertation is devoted to the proof that the fragment is part of Hyperides' oration against Demosthenes. And this certainly seems to be made out from quotations by the lexicographers Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas, of a passage and expressions which appear therein, though the latter two may probably, as Mr. Babington acknowledges, be resolved into the authority of the first. And we really think that Mr. Babington had better have confined himself to the three undoubted references which the above-named authors make to the fragment. For we cannot see what can be gained by quoting these lexicographers again, besides Zonaras and Ulpian, in witness of expressions which occur in Hyperides' oration, but which do not appear in the Theban papyrus. They may show that such an oration did exist, but scarcely evince that our MS. is a part of it. Nor do fragments 15 and 3 require (to our mind) the quotation from Priscian to explain their meaning, and certainly are no *palpable* imitation of the so-called parallel passage from Antiphon. Of a similar nature are the references to Apsines and Alexander Numenius, *i. e.* they are

far-fetched and prove nothing. The internal evidence too is not overwhelming. The two expressions Mr. Babington selects hardly afford a presumption that the fragment belongs to an authentic work of Hyperides, on the basis of Phrynichus' remark that Hyperides employs uncouth or unusual forms of words and lengthy compounds. Still the quotations made by Harpocration carry conviction on the subject of the authenticity, and the case may safely be rested upon them. Great credit is certainly due to the Editor for the skill he has displayed in filling up the *lacunæ* of the fragment, even in those cases when the *rubrical* appearance of the restored text shows that there has been occasion to draw largely upon the imagination.

To the mass of scholars the name of Hyperides is scarcely known — except to mispronounce: for the penultimate syllable is, contrary to first impressions, a long one. Yet he was one of the ten orators whose biographies are given by Plutarch in his *Moralia,* and one of the most distinguished in the anti-Macedonian interest at Athens. Plutarch tells us that he is said to have excelled all his competitors in public speaking, and that some preferred him to Demosthenes. Cicero lauds his 'acumen' (Orat. iii. 7)—his subtlety of language (Brut. 17)—Quintilian (X. 1) characterises him—'dulcis imprimis, et acutus Hyperides.' He was closely connected with the political party of Demosthenes, and seems always to have co-operated with him except on *one* occasion. Notwithstanding, if we are to believe Plutarch, his friendship was rather a suspicious one. For he kept a private note-book of charges against Demosthenes, (much in the same way that Pope clandestinely wrote a libellous life of his *friend* Swift,) which that orator unluckily got sight of. Hyperides defended himself by saying, 'The book will do you no injury if you continue my friend; but if you become my enemy, it will prevent your injuring me.' Maetzner (the editor of Dinarchus) thinks it not improbable that in the affair of Harpalus, Hyperides impeached Demosthenes to screen his own delinquencies. And this consideration brings us to the especial object which we have in view: the question whether the greatest orator the world ever saw, did on one occasion so far forget himself and his better principles, as to accept a bribe from the embezzler of Alexander's treasure. Mr. Babington with justifiable pride remarks that the fragments of Hyperides' oration (now first published) must for the future form part of the materials for such an investigation. We shall have occasion before long to examine what practical bearing they have upon the subject.

It will scarcely be expected that we can throw much additional light upon an inquiry, which has interested the feelings and

employed the pens of so many able writers. We can only engage that the investigation shall be conducted diligently and honestly, notwithstanding a bias, to which we need scarcely feel ashamed of pleading guilty, in favour of commanding talents and undoubted patriotism though under a cloud. We do not wish to bear down opposition by the mere authority of Demosthenes' name, in the same way that Scaurus crushed the turbulent tribune: 'Quintus Varius Sucronensis ait Æmilium Scaurum 'rempublicam populi Romani prodidisse; Æmilius Scaurus negat: 'utri creditis, Quirites?' Nor yet would we adopt the custom of modern law-courts, and request our readers, as her Majesty's ermined representative does the jury, when he sums up, that they would give the culprit the benefit of any doubt they may feel, and acquit him accordingly. We hope to establish our case clearly and without subterfuge, and will proceed to summon the witnesses on both sides, and make our remarks upon the evidence. And first (to follow the forensic routine) comes the case for the prosecution.

The facts allowed on all hands are as follows: Harpalus was a Macedonian, who had formerly incurred the displeasure of Philip, for aiding and abetting Alexander in what Philip was pleased to deem very undutiful conduct in his son, and was in consequence banished from Macedonia. Alexander when he had ascended his father's throne remembered the attachment of Harpalus, and advanced him beyond his deserts. When the East had submitted her cities and her treasures to the conqueror, Harpalus was promoted to the important post of Satrap of Babylon. While Alexander was pursuing his conquests in those regions, which have been the scene of the last triumph of the British arms, and his return daily seemed more hopeless, Harpalus had been more and more grossly abusing his delegated authority. It was soon, however, known that the difficulties of nature and the opposition of warlike tribes had been alike unavailing to arrest the progress of Alexander, and that he was now retracing his steps towards the contemplated metropolis of his empire, cashiering in the way those officers who had in the interim abused their powers. Harpalus now found that it was high time to decamp from the city which had witnessed his rapacity and lust, and accordingly helping himself with both hands to the treasures within his reach, (and he succeeded to the tune of 5000 talents,) and collecting 6000 mercenaries, he fled to the coast, and thence crossed the Ægean to Athens. Here he knew that he should find a party strongly opposed to the interests of his master, and he himself had previously obtained the freedom of the state by a present, which has ever called forth the gratitude of all except Irish Repealers —

seasonable supply of food. On the appearance of Harpalus in the roads of Athens, Demosthenes in conjunction with Phocion opposed his landing, and had a decree passed to that effect. But Harpalus having left his mercenaries at Tænarus, returned to the Piræus, and threw himself upon the protection of the Athenian people. He did not trust merely, however, to democratic generosity, but secured more effectual co-operation by the disbursement of some 450 talents among the venal demagogues of the day. We shall scarcely be doing an injury to the fair fame of Demades, by laying it down as an axiom, that he considerably augmented his patrimony on so favourable an occasion. Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, too, seems to have derived great benefit from the liberality of Harpalus. Meanwhile, probably at the instigation of the Macedonian party, Antipater and Olympias from Macedonia, and Philoxenus from Asia Minor, sent to demand the surrender of Harpalus. Let a writer of approved impartiality finish the narrative.

'Demosthenes and Phocion both resisted this demand; and Demosthenes carried a decree, by which it was directed that the treasure should be lodged in the citadel, to be restored to Alexander, and he himself was empowered to receive it. Its amount was declared by Harpalus himself; but out of the 750 talents (which he had brought to Athens) no more than 308 remained in his possession. It was clear that nearly 450 had found their way into other hands. Demosthenes now caused another decree to be passed, by which the Areopagus was directed to investigate the case, and he proposed that instead of the ordinary penalty—tenfold the amount of the bribe—capital punishment should be inflicted upon the offenders. A very rigid inquiry was instituted: the Areopagus made its report against several; among them was Demosthenes himself.[1] He was the first who was brought to trial, was found guilty, and condemned to pay fifty talents. Being unable to raise this sum, he was thrown into prison, but soon after made his escape, and went into exile.'—*Bp. Thirlwall's Greece*, ch. lvi.

Dinarchus and Hyperides were his accusers.

To this universally recorded account must be appended the narrative of Plutarch in his Life of Demosthenes.

'A few days after (Demosthenes' opposition in the first instance) when they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus perceiving that

[1] It might perhaps seem an envious thing to select one of Mitford's countless blunders for exposure, yet there is a 'bad pre-eminence' in the idea that the sentence of the Areopagus, was the *judicial decision* which rendered the retirement of Demosthenes from Athens necessary! 'Doubting then the sufficiency of their (the corrupted orators) interest with the inconstant many, who, with little deliberation or none, might have condemned them to banishment or death, they procured a decree (through the exertions, it is said, principally of Demosthenes) for referring the matter to the court of Areopagus. Avoiding thus the severer sentence apprehended, that court however declared them guilty, and the fine set upon Demosthenes was of fifty talents.'—ch. lvi. (end.)

Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the workmanship and fashion, desired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being surprised at the weight, and asking Harpalus how much it might bring, he smiled and said, "It will bring you twenty talents." And as soon as it was night he sent him the cup with that sum: for Harpalus knew well how to distinguish a man's passion for gold, by his pleasure at the sight, and the keen looks he cast on it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation: it made all the impression on him that was expected; he received the money, like a garrison into his house, and went over to the interest of Harpalus. Next day he came into the assembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck; and when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he made signs that he had lost his voice. On which some of those that were by said, "It was no common hoarseness which he had got in the night; it was a hoarseness occasioned by swallowing gold and silver." Afterwards, when all the people were apprised of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to speak in his own defence, they would not suffer him, but raised a clamour, and expressed their indignation. At the same time somebody or other stood up, and said sneeringly, "Will you not listen to the man with the cup?" The Athenians then immediately sent Harpalus away.'

We wish to offer a few remarks upon the evidence already adduced. The court of the Areopagus, as the Bishop of St. David's remarks, corresponds in some sense to our Grand Jury, and naturally would not feel themselves justified in the present excited feelings of the people, (of which more anon,) in finding *no bill*, even upon the evidence of Demosthenes' personal enemies alone. And as to the trial itself—no one conversant with the nature of the Athenian judicial tribunals, and remembering the condemnation of Miltiades, the Ten Generals, and Socrates, can for one moment suppose that their adverse decision would amount even to a presumption of guilt. Plutarch's anecdote is the real ground for the transmission of what we hope to prove the calumny, to our own times. Plutarch is a retailer of anecdotes, and in his *Lives* frequently sacrifices the truth, in his unphilosophic and uncritical manner, to a racy or pointed story; and we should really have been surprised if he had not adopted so amusing a narrative as the one we have quoted, and which, no doubt, was frequently in the mouths of Demosthenes' enemies. But verily these anecdote-mongers have much to answer for. A statement frequently repeated without contradiction is often, in the end, regarded as truth; much on the same principle that Sale, the translator of the Koran, is said, in consequence of continually poring over its pages, to have set an example which has been recently followed by the invincible Bem, and turned Mussulman. The story of the interview of a strange unearthly-looking old woman with Tarquin the Proud, perpetuated for centuries a belief that the Sibylline books at Rome were of a divine origin. And to descend to later times; the tale that the infantine Pretender was surreptitiously conveyed in a warming-

pan to the puerperal chamber of 'Mother East,' had no small influence in bringing about the Revolution of 1688. But Plutarch's anecdote involves in itself great difficulties, not to say absurdities. The advances asserted to have been made by Demosthenes are, to say the least, very clumsily contrived: if the interview was in public, they were impossible; if in private, it is very unlikely that the secret should have escaped either from Harpalus or Demosthenes: that the orator should have selected a bribe, which in a peculiar manner exposed him to detection, is improbable: that he should have received any bribe, when a decree of the people had taken the treasure from Harpalus, and lodged it in his hands, seems impossible. But the most suspicious circumstance in the whole transaction is the assertion, that a speaker of Demosthenes' power should in any case take refuge in silence, especially when he appeared on the same side as Phocion!

But it is time that the disentombed Hyperides should be put into the witness box and submit to a cross-examination. The exhumed facts which bear upon the main question are, we submit (with Mr. Babington's permission), neither numerous nor important. Hyperides insinuates that Demosthenes had made an illegal seizure of the person of Harpalus, the decree only empowering him to take possession of the treasure: and that he afterward connived at his escape, (Fragm. 5, col. 2, and 4, col. 2.) This insinuation, we think, contains the key to the whole impeachment. Harpalus had escaped, and the fears of the people were excited: some of the orators had certainly been corrupted; Demosthenes *must* have been bribed to abet his escape. We should further gather from this, that the charge of corruption was not brought against Demosthenes, because he had united with Phocion in opposing the surrender of Harpalus to Alexander. Hyperides asserts (Fragm. 16, col. 3) that Demosthenes had originally declared that there were 720 talents, but afterwards made a return of only half that sum. Which clearly amounts to this: that Demosthenes at first repeated the statement which we know Harpalus to have made, but when the treasure was delivered into his hands, found that only 308 talents remained. Hyperides, of course, wishes to infer that he had kept the difference. He accuses him (Fragm. 11, col. 3) of collusion with Alexander, as Æschines had formerly accused him of being bribed by Philip:—*i. e.* Demosthenes was in the pay of the Macedonian kings, in order that he might steadfastly oppose their designs! and this although Demosthenes' alleged advocacy of Harpalus was the very thing to excite the wrath of Alexander; and although Hyperides himself (Fragm. 26, col. 3) seems to urge the danger of a war if those who had been bribed

were not punished. He charges Demosthenes (Fragm. 1, col. 2) with trying to get off, on the plea that the Areopagus had not accompanied their list of the guilty with any proofs of their guilt; whereas it was not usual with that court so to do; and their return itself ought to be a presumption of Demosthenes' guilt. He says (Fragm. 4. col. 3) Demosthenes' defence was that he had borrowed the money for the Theoric fund, (of which he seems at this time to have had the management.) This must refer to what remained of the money, viz. 308 talents; and not to the difference between that sum and 720 or 750, which Hyperides supposes Demosthenes to have purloined, and, when detected in his delinquency, to have pretended that he had placed it to the account of the city. All the other arguments are general and rhetorical: *e. g.* (Fragm. 2, col. 1).—The alternative has been offered of refunding the money and escaping condemnation: Demosthenes has not accepted this alternative: shall he go unpunished?—Demosthenes (Fragm. 5) had always been a bad citizen: he had betrayed Thebes to destruction: he had negociated with Nicanor, Alexander's agent: he had illegally seized Harpalus. Others, and those in a less degree criminal, (Fragm. 14, col. 3,) had been punished: shall the greater villain escape? The danger arising to Greece from a spirit of venality: the peculiar propriety of punishing people by their own decrees (Necis artifices arte perire suâ): the duty of the judges to shut their ears and eyes against the entreaties and tears of Demosthenes' friends;—are the topics enlarged upon in conclusion.

Such are the grounds for the charge of corruption against Demosthenes; and few will be likely to deny that they certainly present to view glaring inconsistencies. We will now bring forward evidence in defence of Demosthenes' innocence.

Dinarchus, whose speech is extant, makes no mention of the cup. Nor does there appear any trace of it in the fragments of Hyperides. This would seem sufficiently to disprove Plutarch's statement. Plutarch himself relates, in his Life of Hyperides, that that orator, when himself subsequently obliged to fly from Athens, met Demosthenes in Ægina, and *apologized for his quarrel with him*—which seems very like Maetzner's hypothesis, that Hyperides tried to remove suspicion from himself by accusing an innocent person. It goes far also to discourage the idea (which Mr. Babington revives in p. 56) that Hyperides was partly in collusion with Demosthenes, and wished to give the accusation a turn most favourable to his old friend.

If it should be thought that Demosthenes may never have seen the *cup*, and yet have received a bribe from Harpalus; to rebut this general charge we have the following fact to offer:

'Harpalus, notwithstanding the efforts of Demosthenes and Phocion in his behalf, was committed to prison, to await Alexander's pleasure. He however made his escape, returned to Tænarus, and thence crossed over with his troops and the rest of his treasure to Crete. Here he was assassinated by Thimbron, one of his confidential officers. His steward fled to Rhodes, where he was seized by order of Philoxenus, and forced to disclose the names of those who had accepted bribes from his master. The list was sent to Athens, and the name of Demosthenes—though Philoxenus is said to have been his personal enemy—did not appear in it.' —*Dr. Thirlwall's Greece*, ch. lvi.

Pausanias (II. 33) is the authority for this statement.

Before we proceed to account for the prosecution, it will be as well to quote the testimony of an author who, whenever he is going to speak about Demosthenes, dips his pen in a solution of gall and wormwood, instead of the more ordinary ink — and who would scarcely (even partially) clear him, if there were the slightest chance of substantiating a charge of corruption against him.

'Plutarch's account of this business (corruption by Harpalus) in his Life of Demosthenes, grossly uncreditable (discreditable?) to the great orator, is curious; rather as showing how, in ancient as in modern times, political parties were given to scandalize one another, than as deserving of credit for all the detail, even if he had all, from the eminent author of the time, Theopompus, whom, for one circumstance, he has quoted.'—*Mitford's Greece*, ch. lvi. § 4, note.

But to understand fully the circumstance under which the charge of corruption was preferred against Demosthenes, it will be necessary to examine into the state of parties at Athens. In our own time we have seen in the feebler states of the Continent parties formed in favour of this or that great power. Señores Mon and Pidal were looked upon as favourable to the extension of the French influence of the Orleans dynasty in Spain, while the Duke of Victory was more disposed to the English alliance. So in modern Greece, Mavrocordato supported the English connexion, while Coletti was a partisan of the French King. Such political divisions of modern times are perhaps more nominal than real, conjured up by the French or English Foreign Office to procure the sanction of a reluctant legislature to their own political schemes. But in the Greece of Demosthenes, the case was very different. There existed at Athens a class of politicians, powerful in talents as well as numbers, devoted to the interests of the Macedonian court, who had all along cooperated with Philip in his schemes for rendering himself paramount in Greece. Some of the Athenians who espoused the Macedonian cause, were doubtlessly influenced by what they conceived to be the interest of their country. They thought that the times of the separate independent exist-

ence of the Greek republics were now gone by, and indulged the fondly cherished hope of Isocrates, that under the conduct of Macedonia, Greece might be united (even at the expense of her individual freedom) in a project for humbling the pride of her traditional foes. But it is notorious that a misguided patriotism was not the only motive which secured the services of this section. Philip was possessed of great treasures, (derived principally from the newly acquired mines of Crenides,) and of these he was most lavish for the furtherance of the schemes of his ambition. In such a panoply he was invincible. Walls fell down before, and states submitted to the 'silver[1] lances.'

'Diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo et subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.'

Corruption of statesmen in the shape of pecuniary subsidies from foreign potentates, is happily a thing unknown in modern history. The only authenticated case is that of the great patriot and ideal republican, Algernon Sydney, whose services to his country we have the gratification of knowing were not altogether unappreciated by Louis le Grand — for two recorded instalments of 500 guineas each, see Dalrymple. Never does Mr. Urquhart, in his most wrathful moments, accuse Lord Palmerston of personal corruption. But at the time of which we are speaking, Philip retained in his pay some of the leading demagogues in the various Grecian States. Athens was not unpolluted by the contagion. Such a hireling had Philocrates been, as long as he cumbered the soil of Attica. Demosthenes points out the lands in Phocis which the wretched man had received for one piece of degrading service. The swaggering but ready-witted sailor Demades was ever uttering the cry of the horseleech's daughter. Æschines is suspected of swelling the mercenary throng. Others, as we have before remarked, pursued the same political course without suspicion of bribery. Dinarchus was of this latter number. Above all, the Macedonian party was countenanced and supported by a man of incorruptible honesty, but, we submit, of no very *enlightened* patriotism, Phocion, whose talents and virtues had more influence in swaying the populace, than the more studied efforts and flattery of other orators. To the strong political and party feeling opposed to Demosthenes, as the leader of the anti-Macedonians, must be added the bitter personal animosity which instigated his enemies, clearly discernible in all their actions and all their speeches; to which additional stimulus was given

[1] The response given to Philip by the oracle at Delphi was:—

Ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχου καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις.

by the humiliation they felt at the defeat and banishment, seven years ago, of Æschines, their most distinguished champion, which had for a while left their great adversary in undisputed possession of the battle field. Such personal and political foes would naturally be keenly on the look-out for any opportunity of undermining the credit of their rival with the people, whether by calumniating his motives, or working upon their fears.

And the long looked-for occasion had now arisen. Alexander the Great, a year before his death, in the plenitude and wantonness of his power, had adopted two most despotic measures towards the Greeks. The first was a requisition sent round to the several states, demanding divine honours for himself. The second was the publication of a decree at the Olympic games, that all exiles, except those who had been banished for murder or sacrilege, should at once be restored to their civic rights. From the former proposal the Athenians did not feel justified in withholding their assent. The decree about the exiles involved far greater difficulties. To recall all those who for political offences had suffered banishment, at the command of the Macedonian king, was tantamount to admitting a Macedonian garrison into their city. The Athenians, degenerate as they were, could not tamely brook such an indignity, and although they had not courage to bid defiance to Alexander's power, yet they despatched an embassy to await the Conqueror's return at Babylon, deprecating his interference. Meanwhile Harpalus had been received as a suppliant; had notoriously made the best possible use of the unrighteous mammon; had been demanded minaciously by the Macedonian regency at home and Alexander's representative in Asia Minor. Let us picture to ourselves the wretched plight of the Athenian people —conscious of their weakness—terrified at their own remonstrance about the exiles—terrified at the thought of the generosity they had shown in sheltering one, whom their religion and laws alike obliged them to protect—above all, terrified at the threatening demands of Antipater and Olympias[1] — and finally galled and exasperated to madness by the escape of the man whom they had, against their better feelings, consented to incarcerate. Now was the time for deeds of darkness. If the enemies of Demosthenes did not take advantage of the opportunity which fortune had placed in their hands—then indeed

'We have but mistook them all the while.'

But we fearlessly avow our conviction, that they did take

[1] In this respect, they were much in the same case with the Ottoman Porte, when Russia demanded the extradition of the Hungarian rebels—though without two powerful states to back their refusal.

advantage—undue advantage, of the misfortunes and terrors of the Athenians, and that the orator, who had hitherto maintained unbroken the confidence of his countrymen, despite the eloquence of Æschines and the disasters of Chæronea, fell a victim to the rancour and persecution of the Macedonian party at Athens.

Upon this supposition, though we do our orator less than justice in calling it a supposition, how manly and straightforward is the course adopted by Demosthenes. When Harpalus first appeared off the coast, Demosthenes opposed his landing—a courtesy due to Alexander with whom Athens was at peace, and a precaution necessary for his country, unless she desired to measure her strength with the Macedonian king. When Harpalus had been received as a suppliant, Demosthenes felt too much of his earth-born ancestors' blood in his veins, to brook submission to Antipater's demand. When it became evident that the money of Harpalus had found too ready a welcome among the Athenian orators, Demosthenes, in the proud consciousness of his integrity, (not as Hyperides, p. 20, asserts, from dementation and reckless effrontery,) demands an investigation of the treason — even although in the present frensied state of his excitable fellow-citizens, he may have foreboded the issue.

We will conclude this imperfect notice, tending we hope to the vindication of the foremost orator of antiquity, with the delineation of his character by Niebuhr's own hand.

'History furnishes no example of exertions crowned with such happy effects as those of Demosthenes: his great success, the resolutions to which he animated his own and other cities in so wonderful a manner, would have been the least of his glory, even if a fortunate issue had changed the order of the world's history. A greater result than this, and one independent of fortune, was, that he cultivated and ennobled the character of his countrymen: his eloquence breathed a second youth into the elder men of susceptible minds, and a new generation had started up among them whose fresh spirits had caught his fire.'

* * * *

'For this it was principally that I called him a saint:[1] I do not envy the man who judges of him differently. His whole political life, his honour, are without spot or change. And surely it is time that the old strain about his bribe from Harpalus should cease. Providence, which permitted the honour of the most magnanimous of all statesmen to be long degraded in the judgment of the credulous, has caused[2] all the circumstances of the transaction to be so well preserved, that the vileness of the calumny is as apparent as if we were his contemporaries.'

---

[1] Niebuhr alludes to an attack upon himself for applying this epithet to Demosthenes in a number of the Rhenish Museum. The attack had been made in a small pamphlet from the pen of M. Bolbrueck, a Professor at the University of Bonn.

[2] Niebuhr refers to the statement of Pausanias (ii. 33), before quoted.

ART. II.—1. *Breviarium Romanum, ex decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini restitutum: S. Pii V. Pontificis maximi jussu editum: Clementis VIII. et Urbani VIII. auctoritate recognitum: cum officiis Sanctorum, novissime per summos pontifices usque ad hanc diem concessis.* Mechliniæ. Typis J. Hanicq. 1846.
2. *Breviarium Insignis Ecclesiæ Aberdonensis.* Londini. J. Toovey. [Reprint.]

THE Breviary! How many persons have the words constantly in their mouths without attaching a tangible idea to the phrase! How many have a misty notion that it contains a monstrous jumble of incredible legends, invocations of saints, mediæval miracles, fictions, and deceits of all sorts! How many, even a degree further in ignorance, mix it up in some way with the mass, and expend a vocabulary of Protestant indignation on both in one! How few realize to themselves that it is, to the rest of the Western Church, their office of Morning and Evening Prayer, their Collects, their daily and Sunday Lessons, and Psalter! Nay, that it is the source from which our own Prayers and Collects have been transcribed. An English Breviary, indeed, would be a very convenient book, and we recommend the idea to the consideration of some of our church publishers.

We beg, at the outset, that our design in this paper may be distinctly understood. We have not the slightest intention of attempting anything approaching to a history of the Breviary, its gradual formation—its various branches—its different corruptions—its several reforms—the manner in which Rome has steadfastly set herself to have one recognised Breviary throughout the Churches of her obedience—to how great an extent she has succeeded, where she has failed;—all this, though most deeply interesting, is utterly out of our field at present. We may, indeed, at some future time, enter on this subject, should that we have taken in hand prove agreeable to our readers; and we should do it the more readily, because *the History of the Breviary*, not only from the time that it came as a book, so-called, into use, about 1050, but from the very commencement of the gradual process of its formation, is a great desideratum, perhaps *the* great desideratum in ritualistic works: the treatise of Grancolas supplying but a very small part of what is wanted. But we now propose to explain what the Breviary is, and how it is used; and we believe that the majority of our readers will be obliged to us if we take nothing for granted as known, and begin from the beginning. It may be as well to say also, that we propose to include in our inquiry, besides the

modern Roman, the various French Breviaries, those of England, in some degree those of western Germany, and those of some of the monastic orders. With the Breviaries of Germany, (generally speaking,) Poland, Prussia, Italy, Sweden, Holland, &c., we shall not concern ourselves; and we also propose to consider the Breviary as it is intended for the Church, and not for individual recitation.

It may seem that the crowd of French Breviaries which have had their origin within the last hundred and fifty years, must be utterly worthless for ritual studies; but this is not quite the case. Just as an ecclesiologist will, in a modernised church, trace a string here, a capital there, a jamb on this side, a piscina on that, which speaks of older and better work; so, in these office-books, many an old rite may be noted, if looked for, though perhaps disfigured, perhaps dislocated. And such discovery will be the more likely to be made, if the Breviaries in question are studied together with the invaluable *Voyages Liturgiques* of De Moleon, (Le Brun,) who wrote while the old provincial uses of France were still, in great degree, kept up, and who had that quickness of liturgical tact which let nothing noticeable escape his observation. Those who are not acquainted with this rare book may form a very tolerable idea of it from Mr. Webb's *Continental Ecclesiology*, except that Mr. Webb, while inferior to De Moleon as a ritualist, far surpasses him as an ecclesiologist.

Although not concerned with the History of the Breviary, it will be necessary to say a few words on Cardinal Quignon's reform, both because we shall frequently have occasion to refer to it in the following pages, and because it is very interesting to English Churchmen as a kind of connecting link between their own Prayer-book and the Roman Breviary. From the time that Pope Nicolas III., about 1180, substituted Franciscan for then Roman uses, (we need not here discuss with what limitations the statement is to be taken,) various proposals were made for a reform, which, as was natural, grew more requisite with each century. At length Clement VII. entrusted a thorough revision to Fernandez de Quiñones, of a noble family in Leon, a Franciscan, and Cardinal Presbyter of the title of Holy Cross. The first edition *appears* to have been published in 1535; and by the audacity of its alterations excited great opposition. It had been approved however, by Clement VII., and was so again by Paul III., Feb. 5, 1535; but the Theological Faculty of Paris censured it on July 27 of the same year, as infringing on the ancient order of the Church, by the omission of antiphons, by reducing all days to a level in a perpetual monotony of three lessons, &c. Quignon made some alterations in his second edition, in the preface of which he says that he had rather published the former as a

feeler, than as a final arrangement. The Breviary, in some respects amended, and with antiphons inserted, became a favourite in France; there are Paris editions of 1536[1], 1539, 1542, 1545, 1546; and twelve Lyonnese editions between 1538 and 1557. The last edition, we believe, is that of Antwerp, 1566.

The Brief of Paul III. gives leave to all secular priests to recite the new Breviary, on condition that they apply for licence to the Apostolic See, which licence is to be granted gratis. S. Francis Xavier, writing to S. Ignatius, (Lisbon, Nov. 1, 1540,) wishes to obtain the privilege of himself granting this licence to six priests at a time, of his own election, as likely to persuade some to follow him to India—certainly rather a strange reason for missionary enterprise.

The new Breviary, it is clear, was principally intended for private recitation; and we find a Bishop of Verona, and in Spain of Huesca, protesting against its introduction into the choir. The prefaces to the Breviaries of Ilerda and Huesca, printed about that time, bitterly complain of those of three lections. At Saragossa, the people, justly enraged at the loss of the *Tenebræ* office, absolutely rose against the Clergy, and the secular churches were almost deserted. At length the Cardinal Peter John Caraffa, elected Pope by the title of Paul IV., prohibited (Aug. 8, 1558,) the granting any fresh licences; yet, such was the number already issued, that four editions were subsequently called for. Finally, S. Pius V, by his bull, *Quod a nobis postulat,* in 1568, absolutely abolished the Breviary. We would recommend, as a very curious inquiry, to some such scholar as Dr. Maitland, what traces can be found in the writings of the Reformers of the influence exercised on the English Prayer-book by this Breviary; to which it certainly owes, as we shall see, a portion of its preface, and probably the *first* hint of its table of lessons.

The principle of the French reforms is, as we shall see, to admit into the Breviary as little as possible that is not taken from Scripture; with the exception of hymns, prayers, and lections from Homilies, this rule is strictly observed. There was some countenance of it in earlier times. The Council of Braga, 561, forbade all poetical compositions not taken from Scripture; and S. Agobard, who was Bishop of Lyons about 813, wrote against the use of hymns and antiphons on that very

[1] Or rather, we suspect, *two* of 1536. For Arevalus, in his *Breviarium Quignonianum,* speaks of the Paris edition of 1536 as a reprint of the *second* Roman edition. Now the copy we use is clearly a reprint of the *first,* because it does not contain Antiphons; but, in (what appears to be) a careful copy of the lost title-page, in an old hand, it is dated 1536.

ground, and, probably in consequence of his authority, the Church of Lyons did not use any hymns in her services (except at Compline,) till, we believe, the Lyonnese Breviary of Archbishop Malvin de Montazet, (1780,) and he, in his preface, makes a kind of apology for the innovation.

In proceeding to our subject, we utterly disclaim all disaffection, all lukewarmness, to our own Church, because we are about to dwell on the riches of the devotional treasury of her Roman sister. That we earnestly long to win back for her much of what she has lost, we do not deny. That we would fain help, be it only in the humblest degree, to promote such an object, is also true. But that any one should leave the Church of his Baptism because the offices of her rival have superior æsthetical beauty—against such undutifulness and ingratitude we should be the first to protest. And, (putting aside the very difficult question of a vernacular language,) we feel our advantage very strongly in one respect. While the beauty of our Prayer-book is but the faint shadow of the beauty of the Breviary, it would be much easier to correct the former by amplification than the latter by diminution. The process, on our side, involves no laceration of faith. We have no legends that *must* be given up. We have no invocations that must not be *insisted* on. We have a good foundation, and have only to heighten and give majesty to our building:—Rome would have to take down part of the edifice, and to remove a good many of the incongruous ornaments. For, be it remembered, there is no distinctively Catholic truth stated in the Breviary, (of the Missal and Offices we are not now speaking,) which is not as plainly set forth in our own Prayer-book, with the one exception of Prayers for the Dead. Regeneration,—the propitiatory virtue of Alms and Fasting,—the Power of the Keys—England states them as clearly as Rome; and our weak point, the obscurity in which our offices involve the doctrine, that the Holy Eucharist is truly and properly a propitiatory Sacrifice, is one not particularly included in the subject of our present consideration.

We proceed to our task: and while, as we said, we propose to be as elementary as possible, the fact that some eighty Breviaries, several of excessive rarity, are at our side as we write, may enable us, in some degree, to gratify those who are rather further advanced in ritual studies.

The Breviary, then, is usually contained in four volumes, one for each quarter of the year. It is sometimes, indeed, comprised in one volume, and is then technically called a *Totum*. One of the neatest of Hanicq's reprints, the Franciscan Breviary, is so; it forms a goodly octavo of some 1200 pages, in double columns, and in type a size smaller than the notes to the present

article. The earliest *totums* we have *seen*, are those of the Cardinal Quignon, 1536, and of the *Fratres Humiliati*, 1540.

Each of the volumes of the Breviary consists of six parts. 1. The Calendar, Rubrics, and Tables. 2. The Psalms, Versicles, and Responses of the week-day hours, or ferial office. 3. The *Proprium de tempore:* the collects and lections for the Sundays and weeks in that part of the year which the volume contains. 4. The *Proprium de Sanctis:* the same for the festivals of Saints which occur in that period. 5. The *Commune Sanctorum:* the lections, collects, hymns, &c. common to all those Saints for whom no particular office is appointed. And to all these we may add—6. The offices for the Anniversary of a Dedication, for a Departing Soul, of the Dead, the Little Office of S. Mary, &c.; so that much of the 1st, and all the 2d, 5th, and 6th of these divisions are necessarily repeated in every volume of the Breviary.

We do not propose to speak of the Calendar, nor of those admirable Tables[1], whereby all the confusion and perplexity concerning concurrences is avoided, which, in our own Church, is so painful, and all the prolixity and difficulty, which, in the Eastern Church, is so cumbersome.

We must, however, say a few words on the various orders of Festivals, as we must necessarily speak of the difference in their offices.

The Roman arrangement, which is also that of the greater part of other Breviaries, is this—

I. Doubles.

α. Doubles of the First Class.—These are—Christmas Day, Epiphany, Easter, with the three preceding, and two following days; Ascension, Pentecost, with the two following days; Corpus Christi, S. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Assumption, All Saints, the Dedication, and Patron Saint of each particular church.

β. Doubles of the Second Class.—Circumcision, the Holy Name of Jesus, the Days of Apostles and Evangelists, S. Stephen, Holy Innocents, S. Joseph, and S. Laurence, the Conception, Nativity, Purification, and Annunciation, Trinity Sunday, Michaelmas Day: and by a decree *Urbis et Orbis*, promulgated since the above was written, the Visitation.

γ. Greater Doubles.—Such are Transfiguration, Exaltation of the Cross, S. John Port. Lat., S. Barnabas, Conversion of S. Paul, and the secondary feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, &c.

δ. Doubles.

---

[1] We will only make the one observation, that English writers on the subject constantly use the term concurrence wrongly. When two Festivals meet on the same day, it is an *occurrence:* when the first Vespers of one Festival clash with the second Vespers of another, it is a *concurrence.*

II. Semidoubles.
III. 1. Simples. 2. Commemorations.
IV. Feriæ.
a. Feriæ majores.—Advent, Lent, Ember Days, Rogation Monday.
β. Common Feriæ.

The Paris arrangement is this:—

I. Annuals.—These are Easter, Pentecost, Christmas Day, Assumption, and the Dedication and Patron Saint of each church.
II. Solemns.
a. Greater Solemns.—Ascension, Corpus Christi, the Anniversary of the Dedication of each church, Epiphany, the Purification, Annunciation and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, S. Dionysius.
β. Lesser Solemns.—Circumcision, Trinity Sunday, S. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, &c.
III. Doubles.
a. Greater Doubles.
β. Lesser Doubles.
IV. V. VI. as the Roman II. III. IV.

A great many of the French Breviaries omit the *Solemns* altogether, and give greater Annuals and lesser Annuals. So S. Quintin, Orleans, &c. Some of the most modern, *e.g.* Versailles, 1828, Moulins, 1826, Meaux, 1834, have both greater and lesser Annuals, and greater and lesser Solemns. The division of Dijon is, Quadruple, Triple, (greater or less,) Double, Semi-double; Simple. In Lisieux it was, greater Annuals, lesser Annuals, semi-Annuals; greater Doubles, lesser Doubles, semi-Doubles; Simples. That of Mirepoix had Solemns of the first, second, and third orders, Doubles of the first class, &c. Rheims had the peculiarity of greater and less semi-Doubles. But it would be endless to particularise all these differences; we will, therefore, only add, that many of the monastic Breviaries, *e.g.* the Carthusian, reckon Festivals thus:—Solemne Capituli, xii. Lectionum, and iii Lectionum.

Sundays are also arranged in classes. The Roman division is this:—

I. Greater Sundays.
1. Of the First Class, which never give way to any Festival. First in Advent, First in Lent, Passion, Palm, Easter, Low Sunday, Pentecost, Trinity.
2. Of the Second Class, which only give way to the Patron Saint, or Dedication of a particular church. The rest of Advent and Lent, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima,

II. Ordinary Sundays.

The Paris arrangement is the same, except that the greater Sundays, or *Dominicæ Privilegiatæ*, are divided into three classes—Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, constituting a third by themselves.

The tendency of reforms of the Breviary has been to re-vindicate to the Sunday its own honours. Thus:—the Benedictine Breviary, with an immense number of Doubles, simply commemorates a common Sunday in the event of an occurrence with one of them: the Roman does the same, but then it has fewer Doubles: while the greater part of the French Breviaries allow the Sunday to be superseded by nothing short of a greater Double,—and some not even by that unless it be feasted by the people.

It must be remarked that popular reverence paid to a Festival does not always exactly tally with ecclesiastical rank. Thus, in the diocese of La Rochelle, the Circumcision and S. John Baptist, which are lesser Solemns, and even All Souls, which is only a greater Double, are feasted, while the Festival of S. Eutropius, though a greater Solemn, is not.

We need hardly stay to remind our readers of the mystical commemoration of our LORD'S sufferings made by the Seven Canonical Hours. The old verses give them well; we quote the version from the notes of the late translation of Durandus.

'At Matins bound, at Prime reviled, condemned to death at Tierce,
Nailed to the Cross at Sexts, at Nones His Blessed Side they pierce:
They take Him down at Vesper-tide,—in grave at Compline lay,
Who thenceforth bids His Church observe her sevenfold hours alway.'

And the same idea was expanded in many a mediæval poem, of which, perhaps, one of the most beautiful is that which begins

'Patris sapientia, bonitas divina,
Deus Homo captus est horâ MATUTINA, &c.'

We will proceed to the hours themselves, after noticing the *golden verses* which in some of the older Breviaries preceded them.

'Mens vaga, discursus, et syncopa, sermoque mixtus
Tollunt canonicas meritum dicentibus horas.'

Although, correctly speaking, Vespers are the first office of the day, and although the Breviaries usually commence with Prime, from which the Psalms also begin their course, we will take Matins first. The *Officium Nocturnum, Vigiliæ, Ad Matutinum*, or *Matutinæ*, consists of one, two, or three Nocturns, as the case may be, and is immediately followed by Lauds.

Matins are preceded by the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, and

the Credo; as are all the other hours except Compline with the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. This use, however beautiful, is known not to be very ancient; and was not received with any authority into the Roman Church till the Breviary of Cardinal Quignon; which, however, added also the *Confiteor* of the Mass. No doubt, however, the practice was widely in use as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries: and in the Sarum, York, and Hereford Missals, the Pater Noster is ordered to be said secretly before the commencement of the office, just as now in the Roman Church. In the Paris Breviary of 1557, and that of Senlis of the same date, no allusion is made to the use. In that of the Frères Humiliés no notice is taken of the Ave Maria and the Creed, but the Pater Noster is prescribed. The proper commencement of Matins, therefore, is with the Versicles and Responses, 'O Lord, open Thou our lips. And our mouth shall show forth Thy praise. O God, make speed to save us. O Lord, make haste to help us;' the *Gloria*, and the *Laus tibi Domine, Rex æternæ gloriæ*, in Septuagesima, or *Alleluia* at other times.

We would here make one remark on the *Gloria*, with respect to the custom of turning to the East, and bowing when it is said. It was the universal custom for the children of the choir to do this in all French Cathedrals; but in the beginning of the last century, it was remarked as a singularity, that the Canons of Notre Dame at Rouen, and the Canon-Counts of S. John, at Lyons, still retained the practice. The Cluniac rule orders turning to the altar at the *Gloria*, as well as at the *Deus in adjutorium*. The extravagant inclinations practised by some of our brethren during both verses show more zeal than knowledge; in fact, at the *Sicut erat* it was the practice of many churches to turn to the west.

The ninety-fifth Psalm is preceded by the Invitatory, the greatest of the minor losses which the English Church has sustained. It pitches the key-note to the whole office: it directs the worshippers in what light they are at that particular time called on to regard GOD; and stamps its own meaning on the whole series of Psalms. No one, we imagine, but must have felt the lamentable want of this in our own Matins. On Christmas-Day, for example, and Good-Friday, the office is absolutely the same through sentences, exhortations, confession, absolution, versicles, and Venite; in short, down to the Psalms. And on days which have no proper Psalms the case is even worse. For instance, on Maundy Thursday and Lady-Day, the difference between the Te Deum and the Benedicite, (and that is seldom practically observed,) would be the first intimation that the days were of different natures.

The Invitatory is divided into two clauses: both are said before the Psalm, and at the end of the second, seventh, and last verses; the second clause only at the end of the fourth and ninth verses. The Gloria is followed, first, by the second, and then by both clauses. The Breviary of Cardinal Quignon restricted the Invitatory to the beginning and end of the Psalms. *Deinde sequitur invitatorium tempori seu festo conveniens; Psalmus,* Venite exultemus; *in cujus fine duntaxat invitatorium repetitur, non autem in medio.*

The ordinary Sunday Invitatory in the Roman Breviary is: 'Let us worship the Lord * our Maker.' In the four first Sundays of Lent: 'Let it not be in vain to you to rise early before the light, * for the Lord hath promised the crown to them that watch.' On Easter-day: 'The Lord is risen indeed, * Alleluia.' On the commemoration of Apostles: 'The Lord, the King of Apostles, * O come let us worship.' So in the commemoration of other Saints: 'The Lord, the King of Martyrs,' or 'the King of Confessors,' or 'the King of Virgins, * O come let us worship.' In the office of the Dead: 'The King, to Whom all things live, * O come let us worship.' Quignon's Reform, while it retained the proper invitatories for the commemoration of Saints, made great innovations in those for Sundays. For example, in those of Advent: 'Lord, we wait for Thy Advent * that Thou mayest quickly come, and dissolve the yoke of our captivity.' How unfavourable a contrast with the Roman: 'The King, the Lord That is to come, * O come let us worship!' But Quignon, true to his scriptural principle, continually inserted texts in this position not in the least calculated for it.

The English Breviaries agree pretty closely in their invitatories with the modern Roman. The York, however, in the commemoration of Saints, has great and not happy variations. Thus, for one Martyr: 'The just shall flourish, planted in the house of the Lord; * let us rejoice and be glad in this sacred solemnity.' Of one Confessor: 'One GOD in Trinity let us faithfully worship, * by faith in Whom the Holy Prelate N. beheld God.' Of the invitatories of the older French Breviaries there is little to be said; but a few words must be given to those of the Paris reform, by way of showing how much the attempt to scripturalise them has lowered their tone. For example, in the commemoration of Martyrs, instead of the glorious 'The Lord, the King of Martyrs, * O come let us worship,'—which at once raises our thoughts to Him Who is the Martyr of Martyrs and the Saint of Saints, assuming His mystical union with His people in this as in every other action,—we have mere common matter-of-fact statements, that direct our attention to the grace of God

rather than to the God of grace. Thus, the new Paris, followed by a multitude of others: 'The God of patience and consolation, * O come let us worship.' Laon, S. Quentin, Le Mans, Limoges, Rouen, Amiens, Cahors: 'Christ, Who giveth to the conqueror hidden manna, * O come let us worship.' Bourges, Chalons-sur-Saône, Nevers: 'God, Who giveth the crown of life to him that is faithful unto death, * O come let us worship.' Dijon, with completely the old spirit, 'The Lord, mighty in battle, * O come let us worship.'

It will be worth while, as a curious specimen of this diversity, to take the invitatories for an ordinary Sunday. Paris: 'The Lord Who made us, * O come let us worship.' Laon, Rheims, Cahors, Le Mans: 'God, Who hath made us and regenerated us *.' It would be difficult to assign any reason for the omission of redemption. Versailles, Chalons-sur-Marne: 'It is a solemn feast unto the Lord *.' Bourges, Beauvais: most inappropriately: 'The Lord Who rested on the seventh day and sanctified it *.' Dijon, Liège: 'O come * let us sing unto the Lord.' S. Quentin, Amiens: 'The Lord our God, * O come let us worship.' Bazas, Lombes, Toulouse, Vienne: 'God, Who hath made us and raised us together with Christ *.' Nevers: 'Him That sitteth upon the throne, and liveth for ever and ever *.' Meaux: 'Christ Jesus, Whom it behoved in all things to be like unto His brethren, that He might be merciful *.' The last is an invitatory clearly at variance with the spirit of the festival: appropriate enough to a Friday, but sadly out of place on a Sunday.

The *Venite exultemus* is said, not from the Vulgate, but in the Old Italic version. This Quignon abrogated for that of S. Jerome. When the Psalm occurs in the middle of the office, however, then it is said from the Vulgate.

A few words on these two Translations of the Psalms may not be out of place. The Old Italic, slightly corrected by S. Jerome, was called the Roman use: the new version of S. Jerome was introduced by S. Gregory of Tours into Gaul, and thence called the Gallican use. From Gaul it had passed into Germany, before the time of Walafrid Strabo. In Spain, the Old Italic was retained till the partial abrogation of the Mozarabic Rite by S. Gregory VII. S. Francis, in his Rule, orders the Roman Office, *except the Psalter*. By the time of Sixtus IV. the Gallican use had prevailed everywhere, except in Rome itself, and the churches within a circle of forty miles. Finally, the Gallican edition was made *the* use of the Latin Church by the Council of Trent. But the Clergy of S. Peter's, in spite of the Council, retained the Italic version, and still do so. The second volume of the collected works of the Cardinal

Thomasius contains a comparison of the two versions, arranged in parallel columns.

We have said that the *Venite exultemus* follows the responses with which Matins open. But the rule of S. Benedict prefixes to it the third Psalm. This is retained in the modern Benedictine and Cluniac Breviaries, as also in the Carthusian.

The *Venite* is followed by the hymn, either for the day of the week, or proper to the festival, as the case may be. Of the hymnology of the Breviary[1] we do not now intend to speak, and shall therefore pass on to the Psalms.

At the conclusion of the hymn the first nocturn begins. We may, for greater clearness, divide the arrangement of nocturns into two great families, which we may call the monastic and the secular. We will begin with the latter first, and take the Roman as the example.

On ordinary days, *one* nocturn only is said. This consists of twelve Psalms, recited two and two together under one antiphon, and three lessons from Holy Scripture; or, if it be a simple festival, the second, or the second and third lessons, are of the Saint.

---

[1] We will, however, for the sake of those who may travel in those French dioceses which still have proper Breviaries, (though the ultramontane views at present prevailing in France are introducing, or reintroducing, the Roman Breviary everywhere,) give the explanations of the initials attached to the French hymns.

B.—The Abbé Besnault, Priest of S. Maurice, Sens, 1726.

C.—Charles Coffin, Rector of the University of Paris, who died in 1749.

Commir.—Jean Commire, of the Society of Jesus, died 1702.

G. or *Guiet.*—Charles Guiet, of the Society of Jesus, died 1684.

G. ep. S.—Guillaume du Plessis de Geste, Bishop of Saintes, died 1702.

H.—Isaac Habert, Doctor of the Sorbonne, 1668.

R.—Urban Robinet, Vicar-General of Paris, died 1758.

S. V.—Jean Baptiste Santeuil, the Prince of French Hymnographers, better known by his name of Santolius Victorinus, died 1697. His hymns met with the almost unanimous admiration of contemporary French critics; one of the best editions was published at Paris in 1698. The greater part of the French Breviaries have adopted them;—among the first that did so were those of Orleans, 1693; Lisieux, 1704; Narbonne, 1709; Meaux, 1713. Bourdaloue even wished that they might be received into the Roman Breviary. The criticisms of Commire were those of a rival; but the remarks of De la Monnaye, (Menagiana, Ed. 1713, tom. iii. p. 402,) give a much juster idea of their merits. For anything like the fervour and sternness of the older hymns we must not look; but they were the truly elegant productions of a Christian scholar of the age of Louis XIV. We believe that they are, from their very faults, more popular among English Churchmen, generally speaking, than those of the Roman Breviary. Santeuil has been accused of Jansenism; it would seem causelessly;—at least, the verse which has been thought to imply it is innocent enough,—'Inscripta saxo lex vetus Præcepta, non vires dabat: Inscripta cordi lex nova Quicquid jubet, dat exequi.' There are, however, some very offensive passages; *e. g.* of our suffering Lord: 'Clamore magno dum Patrem Sibi relictus invocat, Cum morte luctantem Deum *Non* audit Ille, *vix Pater*:' a contradiction, almost in terms, of the Apostle's declaration, that 'He *was* heard in that He feared.'

S. M.—Santolius Maglorianus, or Claude Sainteuil, brother of the above.

On semi-double and double Festivals there are three nocturns. The first consists of three Psalms, each under its own antiphon, and three lessons from Scripture; the second also consists of three Psalms, and three lessons from some sermon, generally speaking, on the passage of Scripture which has preceded; the third of three Psalms, the beginning of the Gospel for the day, and three lessons from a homily upon it; and then, under restrictions which we shall afterwards see, the Te Deum.

But on Sundays, the first nocturn consists of twelve Psalms, said four and four under one antiphon; while on the Festivals of Easter and Pentecost one nocturn only is said.

The general arrangement of the Parisian Breviary is the same, with the exception that the first nocturn on Sundays is of the same length with that on ordinary days; that semi-doubles have only one nocturn; and that this nocturn, as well in them as in simple feasts and ferial days, has nine and not twelve Psalms.

In the Benedictine breviary, on semi-double and all superior festivals, three nocturns are said: the first consists of six Psalms, said two and two under one antiphon, if Sunday;—each with its own antiphon, if any other festival;—and four lessons from Scripture: the second, of six Psalms in like manner, and four lessons from a homily: the third, of three Canticles from the Old Testament, the beginning of the Gospel for the day, with four lections by way of commentary on it.

But on feriæ and simple feasts, as also on octave days, though semi-doubles, *two* nocturns are said. The first consists of six psalms, under three antiphons; and in the feriæ of winter, simple festivals, and octave days, three lections; but in the feriæ of summer, a short 'chapter' only. The second nocturn consists of six Psalms in like manner, and a short chapter.

The old order, as we learn from Durandus, was that monks *never* said nine lessons, except in Matins for the Dead, and, as being of the same kind, on the three last days of Holy Week; but this rule was afterwards departed from. The breviary of the *Frères Humiliés* (1548) has only nine lections; and a great many of the modern reforms, *e.g.* the Carmelite (1755), the Augustinian (1849), the Franciscan (1848), the Gallican congregation of Augustinians (1778), and that of S. Maur, have all the same arrangement. The unreformed Benedictines, however, the Cistercians, and (to the last) the Cluniacs, retained the twelve lections. The two nocturns are not so easily explained. Durandus does not mention them; and the rule of S. Benedict only does so by implication.

Cardinal Quignon's reform gives one nocturn of three psalms and three lections all the year round.

In proceeding to the Psalms, we may remark that the rule of S. Benedict, the great normal guide of monastic Breviaries, after giving a particular arrangement, concludes thus:[1]—'Admonishing this before all things, that if by chance the aforesaid distribution of the Psalms should displease any, let him arrange them in some other way, as it shall seem good to him; observing, however, this most carefully, that, in every week, the whole Psalter, to the number of CL. Psalms, be sung, and be commenced anew in the vigils (Matins) of the Sunday.'

The Benedictine arrangement, then, is this:—

	Matins.	Lauds.
Sunday	21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. ‖ 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32.[2]	‖ 67. 51. 118. 63. Benedicite. 148. 149. 150.
Monday	33. 34. 35. 37. 38. ‖ 39. 40. 41. 42. 44. 45.	‖ 51. 5. 35. Song of Isaiah. 148. 149. 150.
Tuesday.....	46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 52. ‖ 53. 54. 55. 56. 58. 59.	‖ 51. 47. 57. S. of Hezekiah. 148. 149. 150.
Wednesday..	60. 61. 62. 66. 68. ‖ 69. 70. 71. 72. 73.	‖ 51. 64. 65. S. of Hannah. 148. 149. 150.
Thursday.....	74. 75. 77. 78. 79. ‖ 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85.	‖ 50. 87. 90. Song of Moses. 148. 149. 150.
Friday.....	86. 87. 89. 93. 94. ‖ 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101.	‖ 50. 76. 92. S. of Habaccuc. 148. 149. 150.
Saturday.....	102. 103. 104. 105. ‖ 106. 107. 108. 109.	‖ 50. 153. Song of Moses. 148. 149. 150.

	Prime.	Tierce.	Sexts.	Nones.	Vespers.	Compline.
Sunday	119. *v.* 1—32.	119. *v.* 32—56.	119. *v.* 57—80.	119. *v.* 80—105.	110. 111. 112. 110.	
Monday	1. 2. 6.	119. *v.* 105—128.	119. *v.* 129—153.	119. *v.* 153—end	114. 115. 116. 117. 129	
Tuesday.....	7. 8. 9.				130. 131. 132. 133.	
Wednesday..	10. 11. 12.				135. 136. 137. 138.	4. 90. 134.
Thursday ...	13. 14. 15.	120. 121. 122.	123. 124. 125.	126. 127. 128.	139. 140. 141.	
Friday.....	16. 17. 18. *v.* 1—25.				142. 144. 145. *v.* 1—10	
Saturday	18. *v.* 25—51. 19. 20.				145. *v.* 10—end. 146. 147.	

Now, this arrangement is manifestly imperfect, because there can be no reason why Monday should be distinguished above the other days of the week by proper Tierce, Sexts, and Nones. Yet it is retained in the later Benedictine reforms; as, for example, in the Cluniac revision, 1696. The Roman Breviary removes the inconsistency by making the Psalms of the little hours always the same: and a beautiful mystery is discovered in this by the ecclesiastical commentators, that whereas in the *night* of this world change and chance prevails, in the immutable *day* of heaven the service of God will ever be one and the same.

We will now give the Paris arrangement.

[1] This is S. Benedict's rule; but he makes, with great *naïveté*, an exception.—'Unless by chance, which God forbid, the brethren arise too late, and something has to be shortened in the responses or lections,—all care, however, should be taken that this fall not out so,—but if it shall so happen, he by whose neglect it fell out shall worthily satisfy God in the oratory.'

[2] The Benedictine use here, as always in the third Nocturn, gives three Canticles from the Old Testament writers under one Antiphon.

	Matins.	Lauds.	Prime.	Tierce.	Sexts.	Nones.	Vespers.	Compline.
Sunday	1. 2. 3. **18.** 28. 30. 66.	63. 70. 100. 148.	118. 119. *v.* 1—32.	119. *v.* 32—80.	119. *v.* 80—128.	119. *v.* 128—176.	110. 111. 112. 113. 114. (115.)	4. 91. 134.
Monday	**104. 105. 106.**	92. **136.** 135.	8. **77.**	**25.** 96.	47. 98. 99.	53. **73.**	115. 121. 124. 126. 137.	6. **7.**
Tuesday.....	15. **19. 72.** 101. **107.**	24. 85. 97. 150.	**35.**	26. **50.**	**37.**	**109.**	120. 122. 133. 141. 142.	13. 32. 79.
Wednesday..	**9.** (= 9. 10.) **78.**	5. 36. 65. 147—part	**31.**	**42.** 43.	21. **103.**	82. **94.**	123. 125. 127. 130. 131.	11. 14. 16.
Thursday ...	20. **33. 68. 89.**	81. **108.** 147—part	67. **90.**	**27.** 84.	23. **34.**	**80.** 92.	126. **138. 145.**	12. **39.**
Friday	52. **55. 59.** 61. **69.**	54. **71.** 146.	**44.**	**40.** 58.	**102.**	**22.**	129. **139. 140.**	**38.** 56.
Saturday.....	41. **49.** 62. 64. 75. 76. **83.**	**17.** 57. 117.	88. 143.	29. 45. 149.	46. 47. 87.	60. **74.**	128. **132. 144.**	51. **86.**

It is to be understood that those Psalms which in the preceding table are in larger characters, are such as are said in two or more divisions; so that the principle of nine at Matins, four, besides the canticle, at Lauds, five at Vespers, and three at all the other hours, may be constantly observed. It must be confessed that the division of some of these Psalms seems rather arbitrary. Thus, while the 51st and 88th, each consisting of nearly twenty verses, are undivided, the 19th, which has only fifteen, is divided. Thus also the first division of the 109th has only four verses.

The Paris, and, following it, many of the French Breviaries, take, so to speak, a theme for the Psalms of each Feria. Thus, Monday is occupied with the goodness of God, as displayed in the works of Creation: Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, by Charity, Hope, and Faith: Friday, by our Lord's Passion: Saturday, by the future glory of the Saints.

Now, theoretically, nothing could be more excellent than the weekly recitation of the Psalms. But, practically, it came to pass that, from the fact of all, even semi-double festivals, having proper Psalms, a few of them were repeated over and over again, and the rest left utterly unsaid. The prefaces to the modern Breviaries are full of complaints of this abuse. So Paul Rabusson, or whoever wrote the preface to the Cluniac Reform: 'Porro 'ea Psalmorum servata distributio est, ut singulis hebdomadibus 'omnes percurrantur, in quo et veteris Ecclesiæ mos retentus, 'et S. Benedicti sententiæ obtemperatum' . . . 'In hujus operis 'ordine illud primum intendimus, ut juxta antiquam Ecclesiæ 'consuetudinem, plurimorumque Conciliorum decreta, Davidi-

'cum Psalterium per singulas Hebdomades recitatum foret,' says Bishop De Rochechouart, in his preface to the Evreux Breviary. 'Ut quidam Psalmi,' complains Bishop Desnos, 'per magnam 'anni partem vix semel atque iterum recitarentur: nos rem 'gratam facturos existimavimus, si eorum sequeremur exem- 'pla qui Psalmos ita distribuerunt,' &c. And for this reason, amongst others, Gregory XIII. in his bull, *Pastoralis Officii* (1573), forbade—'ne scilicet officium majoris partis Feriarum anni omitteretur, et Breviarii ordo subverteretur.' But the most remarkable complaint is that of Cardinal Quignon, in the preface to his Reform, if we put it in juxta-position with the preface to our own Prayer-Book, evidently derived from his; although both lead us a little way from our immediate purpose, inasmuch as they touch on the Lections as well as on the Psalms.

CARDINAL QUIGNON.

'Et profecto, si quis modum precandi olim a majoribus institutum diligenter considerat, horum omnium ab ipsis habitam rationem manifesto deprehendet.

'Sed factum est nescio quo pacto hominum negligentiâ, ut paullatim a sanctissimis illis veterum Patrum institutis discederetur. Nam primum libri Sacræ Scripturæ, qui statis anni temporibus erant perlegendi, vixdum incepti a precantibus prætermittuntur. Ut exemplo esse possunt (sic) liber Genesis, qui incipitur in Septuagesimâ, et liber Isaiæ qui in Adventu, quorum vix singula capita perlegimus, ac eodem modo cetera Veteris Testamenti volumina degustamus magis quam legimus: nec secus accidit in Evangelia et reliquam scripturam Novi Testamenti, quorum in locum successerunt alia, nec utilitate cum his, nec gravitate, comparanda.

'Accedit tam perplexus ordo, tamque difficilis precandi ratio, ut interdum paullo minor opera in inveniendo ponatur, quam, cum inveneris, in legendo.'

ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOK.

'The first origin and ground whereof, if a man would search out by the ancient Fathers, he shall find that the same was not ordained but of a good purpose, and for a great advancement of godliness.

'That commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread. And in this sort the book of Isaiah was begun in Advent, and the book of Genesis in Septuagesima; but they were only begun, and never read through: after like sort were other books of holy Scripture used.

'This godly and decent order of the Fathers hath been so altered and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories and legends . . . .

'Moreover, the number and hardness of the rules called the Pie, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, that to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out.'

There is some truth in the above remarks: but the Reform was carried too far in Quignon's Breviary, and to such an extent in our own as almost to destroy the beauty and appropriateness of our hours. There is surely a wide difference between scarcely ever having the ferial office, as in the ante-Tridentine books, and only having six exceptions from it, as in our own Church. No ritual scholar but must feel the glaring impropriety of carrying the week-day Psalms into Maundy Thursday, Easter Eve, the Epiphany, &c.—of having, in a season of deep humiliation, a Psalm of praise and jubilee; of a penitential Psalm on a high festival. We shall have more to say on this subject when we come to the Lections.

While on the subject of the Psalms, we may give the following verses as to the tones, which are equally ingenious and convenient. They occur in many old Breviaries: we copy from that of S. Remy of Rheims (1557).

Versus tonos declarantes.

Pri. re, la: *Se.* re, fa: *Ter.* mi, fa: *Quart.* quoque mi, la:
Quint. fa, fa: *Sext.* fa, la: *Sept.* ut, sol: *Oct.* tenet ut, fa.

Psalmorum mediationes.

La, la, la dat *Primus, Sextusque:*[1] fa, sol, fa *Secundus,*
Tertius, Octavus: ter fa post sol dabo *Terno:*
La mutat per re *Quart.* et post vult dare mi, re.
Septimus in sol, re dabit, et post dat fa, mi, re, mi.

The Psalms naturally lead us to the Antiphons. This most beautiful invention pitches the key-note of the Psalm (as the invitatory of the office); and points out in which of its mystical senses it is at that time to be recited. Thus, for example, the 65th Psalm is, in the Benedictine Breviary, recited in the ferial office for Lauds on Wednesday; the antiphon then is, 'Thou, O God, art praised in Sion.' It is also said in the office of the Dead; and in this case we have the antiphon, 'Hear my prayer; unto Thee shall all flesh come;' where the reference is manifestly to the resurrection of the dead. Thus the 46th is said at Matins on Tuesday, with the antiphon, 'A very present help in trouble.' It is recited in the Commemoration of a Virgin, under the antiphon, 'God is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be removed.' We will now give some examples of the general arrangement of antiphons.

Here are those at Matins on Easter Day, from the York and Salisbury Breviaries, which are here the same as the modern Roman.

'*Nocturn.*—I am that I am, and my counsel is not with the wicked, but my delight is in the law of the Lord: Alleluia. (*Psalm* 1.)—I asked my

[1] That is, the mediation of the First and Sixth is, according to this rule, monotic. The exquisite beauty of such an arrangement of the First, in Mr. Helmore's 7th Psalm, will probably recur to our readers.

Father, Alleluia: and he gave me the Gentiles to my heritage: Alleluia. (*Psalm* 2.)—I laid me down and slept, and rose up again. Alleluia, Alleluia. (*Psalm* 3.)'

From the modern Paris:—

'*Nocturn.*—God hath fulfilled his promise, raising up his Son Jesus, as it is written in the Second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee: Alleluia. (*Psalm* 2.)—In that God raised Him from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, he saith on this wise, Thou wilt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption: Alleluia. (*Psalm* 16.)—Him, delivered up by the appointed counsel and foreknowledge of God, God raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was impossible that He should be holden of them: Alleluia. (*Psalm* 30.)'

No doubt the dove-tailing of the Old and New Testament, in the Paris Breviary, is, as we shall more than once have occasion to observe, ingenious to the last degree. One cannot, however, but sometimes feel that the effect is rather too much like a theological lesson, to be always beautiful as a devotion of praise.

The Paris Breviary is followed in its Antiphons by most of those of the French. Here, however, is an exception for Easter Day, from the Breviary of S. Quintin:—

'*Nocturn.*—I laid me down, &c. (*Psalm* 3.)—Thou hast shewed me the way of life: thou hast filled me with the joy of thy presence: Alleluia. (*Psalm* 16)—Thou hast turned my mourning into joy; thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness: Alleluia. (*Psalm* 28.)'

The Benedictine Breviary, though containing three Nocturns on Easter Day, has but three Antiphons. They are these:—

'1. *Nocturn.*—I am that I am, &c. (*Psalms* 1, 2, 8, 16, 24, 28.)
'2. *Nocturn.*—The earth trembled, and was still, when God arose to judgement: Alleluia. (*Psalms* 30, 64, 66, 76, 88, 108.)
'3. *Nocturn.*—Fear not ye: ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, Which was crucified. He is risen; He is not here: Alleluia. (Song of *Isaiah*, lxiii. 1—5; Song of *Hosea*, vi. 1—6; Song of *Zephaniah*, iii. 8—13.)'

The Antiphons of the Salisbury Breviary are frequently in verse. Thus, those of the first nocturn in the Sundays from Trinity to Advent are;

'Pro fidei meritis vocitatur jure beatus
Legem qui Domini meditatur nocte dieque.'

Followed, of course, by the first Psalm.

'Naturæ Genitor conserva morte redemptos,
Facque tuo dignos servitio famulos.'

And—

'Pectora nostra tibi tu conditor orbis adure,
Igne pio purgans, atque cremando probans.'

The need felt of Antiphons, which, not being entirely or always taken from holy Scripture, may more definitely express

what they are intended to signify, is curiously shown by the devices sometimes adopted to point out, irrespectively of them, in what mystical sense the Psalm for the time being is to be taken. Thus, in the Breviary of Bazas, at the first Nocturn of the Feast of the Conception, we have the following:—'Ps. Cœli 'enarrant. *Cœlum, Apostoli; Sol, Christus; Lex, Evangelium.* 'Ps. Eructavit cor meum. *Christus, Rex; Regina, Virgo* '*Mater;*" &c. &c.

The manner in which Antiphons are said, in the Breviary, is as follows. In double Festivals the Antiphons are doubled, *i.e.* said whole, both before and after their Psalm, at Matins, Lauds, and Vespers; on other days they are not doubled, *i.e.* the first words only are said at the beginning, but the whole at the end. And thus much of Antiphons.

The assistance given by Antiphons to the mystical explanation of the Psalm for that time, is still further explained by the *farced* Kyries, Epistles, &c., which, in mediæval times, were so much in use. We give an example of the former from a Lyon edition of the Missal of Pope Paul III., where we have this:—

'Sequuntur quædam devota verba super *Kyrie eleison*, *Sanctus*, et *Agnus Dei*, ibi ob pascendam nonnullorum Sacerdotum devotionem posita, quæ, licet non sint de Ordinario R. E., tamen in certis missis ibidem annotatis licite dicendæ.'

This is one.

'*Kyrie* cunctipotens genitor Deus omnicreator—*eleison.*
Fons et origo boni, pia luxque perennis—*eleison;*
Sanctificet pietas tua nos bone Rector,—*eleison.*
Christe Dei splendor, virtus Patrisque Sophia—*eleison;*
Plasmatis humani sator, lapsi reparator—*eleison;*'
Ne tua damnetur Jesu factura, *eleison.*
Kyrie, amborum spiramen nexus amorque—*eleison;*
Purgator culpæ, veniæ largitor opimæ—*eleison;*
Offensas dele, sacro nos numine reple—*eleison.*'

The insertions are called *Tropes.* They continued in use in Sicily till the middle of the last century, and may do so now.

Farced Epistles are still more curious. There is one published by M. Edelestand du Meril, from a MS. at Sens, of the thirteenth century. We may imitate it thus, not a whit exaggerating its rudeness:—

'*The Church shall raise her voice to sing The glory of the Heavenly King: And in the praise of John be said The Epistle that shall now be read.* From the Wisdom of Solomon. *Attend, ye faithful, every one! The Holy Ghost proclaimed of old This lection to the chosen fold.*
'He that feareth the Lord, will do good:
'*And when this evil life is past, Receive the King's reward at last.*
'And he that hath knowledge of the law shall obtain her, and as a mother shall she meet him:

'*For He is full of love and grace, And mercy guards His dwelling-place, And glory shines around His face.*

'With the bread of understanding shall she feed him:

'*While he alone among the rest, Reclined on God the Saviour's breast.*

'And give him the water of wisdom to drink:

'*That so this river might arise, And flow abroad from Paradise, That wisdom to the world supplies.*

'He shall be stayed upon her, and shall not be moved; and shall rely upon her, and shall not be confounded.

'*That, placed on Syon's glorious height, His virtues thence might glitter bright.*

'She shall exalt him above his neighbours:

'*And him beside the Judge shall place, When He shall come to doom our race.*

'In the midst of the congregation he opened his mouth:

'*And taught the Evangelic lore Of mysteries unknown before.*

'And she filled him with the spirit of wisdom and understanding:

'*That he, like Eagle soaring high, Might view the Sun with unmoved eye,*' &c. &c.

It is not wonderful that these farced Epistles from doggrel should have degenerated into ribaldry, and left a trace of their name in the modern *farce.*

The Nocturns end with a verse and response, as in the Commemoration of Apostles, Roman Breviary. '*V.* Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth. *R.* They shall remember thy name, O Lord.'—On Passion Sunday: '*V.* Deliver my soul from the sword. *R.* My darling from the power of the dog.'

In several Breviaries, however, there is a double verse and response; the one preceding, the other following, the LORD'S Prayer. The former is called the *Versus Puerorum;* the latter, the *Versus Sacerdotalis.* This occurs, for instance, in the Moulins and Liège Breviaries. Thus, in the former, we have, on an ordinary Sunday, after the concluding Antiphon of the first Nocturn: '*V. Puerorum.* Memor fui nocte nominis tui, Domine. *R.* Et custodivi legem tuam.' Then the *Pater Noster,* and then—'*V. Sacerdotalis.* Media nocte surgebam. *R.* Ad confitendum tibi.'

The LORD'S Prayer is then said; and after the '*V.* And lead us not into temptation. *R.* But deliver us from evil,' the Priest gives the Absolution. These slightly vary. The Roman rule is this:—At the first Nocturn, and on Monday and Thursday (for in the Ferial office there is, of course, only one Absolution), 'Hear, Lord Jesus Christ, the prayers of Thy servants, and have mercy on us: Who with the Father,' &c. In the second Nocturn, and on Tuesday and Friday: 'His piety and loving-kindness help us: Who with the Father,' &c. In the third, and on Thursday and Saturday: 'From the chains of our sins, the Almighty and merciful Lord absolve us.'

The Absolutions, in the Gallican Breviaries, are taken from holy Scripture, according to the principles of that Reform, and

have thereby lost much of their original and distinctive character. Thus, the Paris has:—*First Absolution.* 'God open your heart to His law, and to His precepts, and grant unto you all a heart that ye may fear Him.' (2 *Maccab.* i. 3.) *Second Absolution.* 'Our God incline our hearts to Him, that we may keep His commandments.' (1 *Kings* viii. 58.) *Third Absolution.* 'God remember His covenant which He hath spoken, and hear your prayers.' (2 *Maccab.* i. 4.) The poverty of this arrangement is self-evident.

The Absolutions, we should say, do not exist at all in many Breviaries. This was the case in the Salisbury and York; so, among modern French Rituals, in the Bourges. It is, in the Cluniac Reform, called the Benediction; as there are no proper benedictions in that office. To these we next proceed.

After the *V.* 'Jube, Domine, benedicere,' before each lection, how few or many soever in number, a benediction is said.

Their fullest form is, of course, where there are four lections to each nocturn. Those in the Benedictine are as follows:—

I. *Noct.* 1. Benedictione perpetua benedicat nos Pater eternus.
2. Unigenitus Dei Filius nos benedicere et adjuvare dignetur.
3. Spiritus Sancti gratia illuminet sensus et corda nostra.
4. In unitate Sancti Spiritus benedicat nos Pater et Filius.

II. *Noct.* 5. Deus Pater omnipotens sit nobis propitius et clemens.
6. Christus perpetuæ det nobis gaudia vitæ.
7. Ignem sui amoris accendat Deus in cordibus nostris.
8. A cunctis vitiis et peccatis absolvat nos virtus Sanctæ Trinitatis.

III. *Noct.* 9. [Which, as we shall see, precedes the Gospel.] Evangelica lectio sit nobis salus et protectio.
10. Ille nos benedicat, qui sine fine vivit et regnat.
11. Divinum auxilium maneat semper nobiscum.
12. Ad Societatem civium supernorum perducat nos Rex Angelorum.'

But, if the office be of a Saint of twelve lections, the 11th benediction is—'Cujus festum colimus, ipse intercedat pro nobis ad Dominum.' And if, for the twelfth lection, a part of another Gospel, with the homily, be read, the 12th is, 'Per Evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta.'

The modern Roman agrees with the above, except that, of course, the 4th, 8th, and 12th of the benedictions are omitted.

The Salisbury has the 1st, 2d, and 3d, as above; the 4th, 'Omnipotens Dominus suâ gratiâ nos benedicat;' the 5th, 'Christus, perpetuæ,' &c.; the 6th, 'Intus et exterius purget nos Spiritus almus.' The 7th, that is, the one at the commencement of the third nocturn, differed according to the Gospel. If it were from S. Mark, 'Evangelicis armis muniat nos conditor orbis;' if from S. Matthew, 'Evangelica lectio,' &c.; if from S. Luke, 'Per Evangelica,' &c.; if from S. John, 'Fons Evangelii repleat nos dogmate cœli.' The 8th, 'Divinum auxilium,' &c.; the 9th, 'Ad

Societatem,' &c. There are a great number of Proper Benedictions in Festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Paris, and, following it, the other French Breviaries, have substituted, as is their wont, Scriptural benedictions, *e.g.* 1. 'God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, give unto us the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him;' 2. 'The Son of God give us an understanding, that we may know the true God;' 3. 'May the love of God be shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost.'

We now come to the Lections; and we will commence with the Benedictine Ritual.

To begin with a general outline of the scheme. In a festival that has twelve lections, the four first are from Holy Scripture; the four next contain the commentary of some Father on the passage that has been already read; or, in the case of a Saint with Proper Lessons, contain his life. The third nocturn commences with a few lines from the Gospel of the day, followed by *et reliqua;* then four lections from a Commentary on that; and after the *Te Deum,* the Gospel itself. Of course there are exceptions; and the *Tenebræ* service, and Matins of the Dead, are quite anomalous. In a festival of three lections, they are sometimes from Scripture, sometimes from a homily on Scripture. Sometimes the first is from Scripture, and the two others from the life of a Saint.

With one or two slight exceptions, the Roman Breviary, *mutatis mutandis,* as to the number of lessons, agrees with the Benedictine.

The Paris Breviary principally differs in not making (at least as a general rule) the lections of the second nocturn a commentary on those of the first.

Cardinal Quignon's Reform—which always has three Lessons only—gave the first from the Old Testament; the second from the New; the third either from the Saint of the day, or, if there were no Proper Lesson for that, a lection from the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles, as given from the Calendar.

We must now say something as to the manner in which the various books of holy Scripture are read. For this purpose, we will take the Benedictine Breviary, as the most difficult, noting its most remarkable differences from the Roman or Paris.

Commencing with Advent, that order begins the first chapter of Isaiah on its first Sunday, and reads detached lections here and there, right through the book, till Christmas Eve. On Christmas Eve itself, the Gospel (S. Matth. i. 18—21,) and the Commentary, in three Lections (the Festival being simple), from S. Jerome. On Christmas Day, four lections from

separate parts of Isaiah; four from the first sermon of S. Leo, on the Nativity; and, in the third nocturn, which is anomalous, the commencement of four Gospels, one in each lection, with the respective comments of the four Western Doctors. Down to the octave of the Epiphany, the Lessons are for the most part *proper*, either of the Festivals, or of the octaves. On the First Sunday after Epiphany, the First Epistle to the Corinthians is begun, and selected portions read through in the week. On the Second Sunday, the Second Epistle is commenced, and read in like manner. On the Third Sunday, the Epistle to the Galatians, the select portions of which are finished on the Tuesday. On the Wednesday, that to the Ephesians is begun, and finished on Saturday. The Epistle to the Philippians is begun on the Fourth Sunday, that to the Colossians on Tuesday; the First Epistle to the Thessalonians on Thursday; the Second to the Thessalonians on Saturday. On the Fifth Sunday, the First Epistle to Timothy; on the Tuesday, the Second to Timothy; on the Thursday, that to Titus; on the Saturday, that to Philemon. On the Sixth Sunday, the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is continued in that week.

On Septuagesima Sunday they commence Genesis, which is read pretty nearly in course, till Shrove Tuesday, which has part of the fourteenth chapter.[1]

On the week-days of Lent,[2] Gospels are read, with commentaries from the Fathers; the Gospels are principally from S. Matthew, till the beginning of the fourth week; then principally from S. John (though also from S. Luke), till Palm Sunday. As for the Sundays, the first has its lections from 2 Cor. vi. and vii., on repentance and its fruits; the second, from Gen. xxvii.,[3] Esau's finding no place for repentance; the third, Gen. xxxvii., the story of Joseph's mission to his brethren. Why this is selected,—presently; Durandus's reason is not very satisfactory: 'This is the sixth Sunday from Sep-'tuagesima, and our Lord was crucified on the sixth day of the 'week, wherefore mention is made of the Passion of the Lord, 'which is signified by Joseph.' On the fourth Sunday, Moses' mission to save the Israelites, the lections being from Exod. iii. On Passion Sunday, the mission of Jeremiah (Jer. i.): the reference of all these lections clearly being to Him Whose

[1] The Paris here, as always, partly by the superior length of its lessons, partly by its principle of abstracting the whole, rather than giving at continuous length part, of a book, has advanced much further, namely, to the twenty-fifth chapter.

[2] In the week-days of Lent, till *Passion* Sunday, the two first lections of the Paris Breviary are from the rest of Genesis; a few chapters from the other books of Moses; from Joshua; Judges, and Ruth; in Passion Week, from Jeremiah.

[3] This and the following Sundays, till Passion Sunday, have, in the Paris Breviary, their lections merely in the due course of the ferial reading.

mission to save lost man the Church is immediately about to celebrate. We now come to Holy Week. The lections on Palm Sunday are from Jeremiah, as also on the Monday,[1] Tuesday, and Wednesday. On the Thursday, when the double office begins (though but three lessons in each Nocturn), the three first are from Lamentations; the three next from S. Augustine's Commentary[2] on the Fifty-fifth Psalm; the three last, the institution of the Blessed Eucharist, from the Epistle to the Corinthians. On Good Friday and Easter Eve the three first lessons are from the Lamentations; the three next from S. Augustine's Commentary[3] on the Sixty-third Psalm; the three last from the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the octave of Easter, Paschal gospels[4] are read, with commentaries. On the week-days, from Low Sunday till Ascension, there is merely a brief lection (Hos. vi. 1, 2) repeated daily.[5] In the second Sunday after Easter, the lection is from the first (thirteenth in the Roman) chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; on the third, from the beginning of the Revelations; on the fourth, from the beginning of S. James's Epistle; on the fifth, from the beginning of the First Epistle of S. Peter. Ascension Day and its octave have Gospels and their commentaries proper for the season; the Sunday, however, has its lections from the First Epistle of S. John; the octave day, from Ephes. iv. 'Wherefore he saith, when He ascended up on high,' &c.; and the Friday after the octave, from the second and third Epistles of S. John and S. Jude; the Roman has the third Epistle of S. John only, and entire. Pentecost, and its octave, have, of course, proper lessons for the solemnity. Trinity Sunday has its four first lections from Isaiah's vision, with reference to the Trisagion of the angels; (in the Paris the lections of the first Nocturn are from 1 Sam. i.,[6] the old lesson for the first Sunday after Pentecost); the four next from the Treatise of S. Fulgentius to Peter, on Faith; the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, from a Homily of S. Gregory Nazianzen, read by way of commentary

[1] On these three days, in the Paris Breviary, as all through Lent, the third lection is from a Commentary on the Gospel.

[2] Paris, from S. Chrysostom's Sermon on the Betrayal.

[3] Paris, as before, from S. Chrysostom.

[4] In the Paris Breviary, during the octave of Easter, the three lections are—1, from the Acts; 2, a passage from the Fathers; 3, a Paschal Gospel, with its homily.

[5] In the Roman Breviary, in the weeks that follow the first and second Sundays after Easter, the Acts are read; in that succeeding the third Sunday, the Revelation is continued; in those following the fourth and fifth Sundays, the Epistles of S. James and one of S. Peter respectively.

[6] 'Sumus,' says Durandus, 'in viâ veniendi ad Patriam. Sed quia hostes habemus prius quam illic perveniamus, sc. carnem, mundum, et diabolum, ideo legitur de Libris Regum, in quibus agitur de bellis et de victoriis.'

on the commission of our LORD to his Disciples to baptize in the name of the FATHER, of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST; while the twelfth is the Gospel for the old first Sunday after Pentecost, before the institution of the festival of the TRINITY, 'Be ye therefore merciful,' &c., with the Commentary of S. Augustine thereon.

After Trinity, till the beginning of November, with the exception of the octave of Corpus Christi, there are no proper lessons for the ferial office,[1] but merely a short chapter at the end of the first Nocturn, which varies with the day of the week.

After the Sunday in the octave of Corpus Christi, the Sundays are thus arranged:[2]—there may be eleven Sundays between Pentecost and the Sunday nearest to the first of August; for these, eleven lections are provided, from the books of Samuel and Kings. From the first Sunday in August (*i.e.* the Sunday nearest to the first day of August) the eight first lessons are given from the Sunday in the month, while the last four, namely, the Gospel and its commentary, are, as usual, for the Sunday, *de Tempore*. An example will make this plainer. The eleventh of August is this present year on a Sunday; for the first eight lessons, then, take those of the second Sunday in August; those of the first nocturn, from Ecclesiastes; those of the second, from the Sermon of S. Chrysostom against concubinage; for the four last lessons, we turn to those of the eleventh Sunday after Pentecost, the Gospel of the deaf and dumb man, and S. Gregory's remarks thereon in his Commentary on Ezekiel.

In August, September, and October, five Sundays are given respectively. In that time we have lections from Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Job, Tobiah, Judith, Esther, Maccabees.

With November, the ferial lessons are resumed; the intention of this being, according to S. Benedict's rule, that the increasing length of the winter nights gives the greater time for Nocturns. In the three first weeks of November, Ezekiel and Daniel are read; in the two last, the Minor Prophets; and thus we again come to Advent.

A remark here may not be out of place. By the winter and summer arrangement of S. Benedict, we see clearly how great a point he made of the hours being said at the canonical time,

---

[1] In the Roman Breviary the lections of the week are continued from those of the Sundays, else the arrangement is nearly the same.

[2] In the Paris Breviary there is no distinction between the Sundays of the month and the Sundays after Pentecost; but the whole series runs on, as in our own Prayer Book. The books of Samuel and of Kings are read up to the ninth Sunday after Pentecost, and then Proverbs are commenced.

and not by anticipation. It was his intention that Lauds should always begin at break of day; and we have before seen that, if the convent were late in beginning Matins, they were rather to omit lessons and responses than violate this rule. Now, it need hardly be said, Matins are oftener than not recited on the preceding afternoon. The French Breviaries give the following table; (the hours slightly differ:)—Dec. 1, Matins may be begun at 2 P.M.; Nov. 1, Jan. 12, 2·15; Oct. 20, Feb. 4, 2·30; Oct. 3, Feb. 22, 2·45; Sept. 16, March 10, 3; Aug. 30, March 27, 3·15; Aug. 12, April 13, 3·30; July 21, May 1, 3·45; May 22, 4.

From the most abstruse, we come to the easiest of the arrangements of lections, that of Quignon.

The weeks from Advent follow each other in regular course; the first lesson being invariably from the Old Testament, the second, from the New; the third, where there is a festival with proper lessons, is of that; where there is not, it is taken from a calendar given at the beginning of the Breviary, of which we print a specimen, as undoubtedly the germ of our own:—

APRILIS HABET DIES XXX.

Festa et aliæ tertiæ Lectiones.

		Fol.
g	Calendis. 1. Ex Epist. ad Ephes. Paulus Apost. . . .	90
a	iiij Non. 2. Ex Epist. ad Ephes. Et vos cum	91
b	iij Non. 3. Ex Epist. ad Ephes. Hujus rei.	eodem.
c	Prid. Non. 4. *Isidorus Episcopus Confessor*	346
d	Non. 5. Ex Epist. ad Ephes. Obsecro itaque	92
e	viij Id. 6. *Xystus Papa Martyr*	346
f	vij Id. 7. Ex Epist. ad Ephes. Renovamini	91

The reference to the folio points to the place where the portion of Scripture in question, here to be read as the *third* lesson, is elsewhere to be found as the second. The Acts and Epistles are read entirely through twice in the year; the Gospels once; and a considerable part of the Old Testament once. How clearly our arrangement was taken from this, it is needless to remark.

Before we proceed, we will make a few observations on the general principle of Lessons, as enunciated in the various Breviaries we have been considering, and in our own Prayer-Book.

And, firstly:—No one doubts that our people hear a great deal more of Holy Scripture in the course of the year than those of the Roman Church; but some grave considerations will arise for the discussion of the future National Council of the English Church.

1. It is absolutely certain that no uneducated, and not many educated persons, can understand half of the Old Testament lessons of our Church. Take, for example, the prophets from

Jeremiah, which occupy from the 17th of July to the 27th of September, how many chapters are, and must be, an utter mystery to an ordinary congregation! How many to how many priests! So again of the Epistles; where not only is the obscurity so great, but where there is considerable danger lest they that are unlearned and unstable should wrest them to their own destruction. Do we therefore say that such lections need be unprofitable to the hearers? GOD forbid! But we say that they can only be profitable by virtue of a kind of *opus operatum.* The hearer comes in faith, believing that it will do him good to hear a certain amount of Scripture; and no doubt GOD will have respect to the faith, and increase that man's goodness in proportion to it; but not by any inherent virtue of the portion read. Mr. Monro, in his *Parochial Work,* speaks of the cottager sitting down on a Sunday afternoon to 'read his Bible,' and pitching, very likely, on the genealogies of the Chronicles, or the visions of the Apocalypse. We think he hardly does justice to the good which the poor man is likely to obtain in such a way; but, if he does not obtain any good, it certainly follows that many of our lessons are wholly useless. And it is inconsistent enough, on the one hand, to condemn wholesale the use of one tongue 'not understanded of the people,' and, on the other, to make such a large portion of the service consist of a language (namely, that of Scripture prophecy and argument) almost equally unintelligible to them.

For, 2, the English Church has deprived herself of the helps which Rome gives to an intelligent reading of Scripture history, by rejecting all comments. Does it not stand to reason that a few verses, rightly understood by means of a plain explanation, would be more likely to affect the heart than chapter after chapter, which (like the 'thorough-paced doctrine' which had nearly got Bishop Sprat into trouble) go in at one ear and out at the other?

And, 3, in order to make room for this vast portion of obscure passages, how do we treat those which are most likely to do good—those which are all in all—those on which our salvation hangs? How do we treat the words and actions—the miracles and parables of our LORD? We heap a series of them together, giving the mind no time to dwell on any; presenting them in a confused mass, at unnecessary length, and in distracting variety. Yet some who praise the triple repetition of the New Testament in the course of the year, would be the first to sneer at the remark of S. Dominic Loricatus (if our hagiology is not at fault), who, on one occasion observed to a friend, that he never before remembered to have spent so profitable a day,—he had at times recited the Psalter, whereas never before could he

get through it so many. We cannot see so much difference between the two principles.

4. Again; the dislocation of sense, by adopting the capitular division, must painfully jar on the feelings of religious people. What can be well worse, for example, than to leave off in the middle of our Lord's Passion, go to something quite different—the prayers for the Parliament, for instance—and then begin it again?

5. The length—as mere length—of the lessons, is not unfrequently objectionable; even the shorter portions of other Breviaries are broken up by the beautiful responses, of which more presently.

In one particular, however, Cardinal Quignon's lections are inferior to our own; it is, that the greatest festivals of saints have no commemoration in the way of lections, except the third lesson, which the minor festivals share equally with them. For example, in the present year: the first lesson for S. John Baptist (falling, as it does, on the Monday following the fourth Sunday after Trinity) is Deut. xix. 14 to xx. 10; the second, Acts xxi. 1—19. The scriptural history, in such cases, is mingled together and abbreviated in the oddest manner possible.

We do not, however, mean for a moment to deny the great necessity there was for a reform in the lections for the festivals of saints. Here, in the modern Roman Breviary, as we have seen, those of the second Nocturn only contain the legend (if we except the cases of a double commemoration, where the ninth lection also embraces it); but, in the English Breviaries, where there were nine lections on a saint's festival, all of them were filled with the legend of the saint. We have heard English Roman Catholics lament the ultramontane tendency which has deprived them of their own uses, and imposed a foreign Breviary upon them. And we entirely sympathise with them; only, if ever they can re-obtain the Salisbury Breviary, they may rest well assured that *its* lections will need, what the Roman have received, a scrutinizing reform. And the case was the same, more or less, with all the unreformed Breviaries. In the *Breviarium secundum usum percelebris archicœnobii divi Remigii Remensis nunc primum typis excussum* (*sic*) *Parisiis*, 1549, (where there are twelve lections,) eight of them are of the Saint, four of the Gospel and Homily. In the Paris Breviary (1557), all nine are of the Saint; and examples might be easily multiplied. The Breviary of the Fratres Humiliati (Rome, 1548) agrees with the arrangement of that of Rheims. But now, all the reforms, both secular and religious (so far as we are aware), have adopted, more or less closely, the arrangement of the Roman.

The division of the Meaux Breviary is almost unique. Here

there is no *Proprium de Tempore*, except for Sundays; but the days, whether festivals or not, follow each other regularly all through the year, except during Septuagesima. Thus, for example :—

'Oct. 19. SS. Saviniani, Potentiani, et Sociorum, MM. Duplex minus.—Lect. 1. Zephan. i. 1—9 (in ferial course). Lect. 2, 3. The Legend of the SS. Oct. 20. De Feria.—Lect. 1. Zeph. i. 10 to end. Lect. 2, cap. ii. 8—11. Lect. 3, cap. iii. 1—7. Oct. 21. S. Hilarionis Abbat. Simplex.—Lect. 1, Hag. i. 1—8. Lect. 2, cap. i. 14. Lect. 3. The Legend. Oct. 22. S. Celinia, V. and Patroness of Meaux.—Solemne Minus. 1 Noct. Lect. 1. Zach. i. 1—16 (part). Lect. 2. Zech. ii. 1—5. Lect. 3. Zech. vi. 11. 2 Noct. Lect. 1. The Legend. Lect. 2. From S. Cyprian *de habitu Virginum*. Lect. 3. From Pseudo Chrysostom on S. Thecla. 3 Noct. Lect. 7, 8. From S. Augustine's Sermon on the Ten Virgins. Lect. 9. S. Matt xix. 12, and S. Chrysostom thereon.'

This Breviary, and this only, therefore, agrees with the English Prayer Book, in appointing Scripture lessons according to the days of the year (as Quignon's did the *third* lessons on feriæ).

Each lection is closed by *But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us*, from the reader; and *Thanks be to God*, as the response. But, on the three last days of Holy Week, the three first lections (which are, as we have seen, from Jeremiah) are terminated by, *Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return to the Lord thy God*, without response. In the Paris Breviary, during Advent, the three first lessons (from Isaiah) are followed by, *Thus saith the Lord God: Return unto me, and ye shall be saved.*

We have now arrived at one of the most beautiful parts of the Breviary—the responses that follow each lesson.

The response is divided into two parts—the beginning, and the *reclamation;* which are separated from each other by an asterisk, and of which the reclamation is repeated after the verse: *e. g.* after the fifth lection on the Festival of the name of Jesus :—

'*R.* Let them give thanks unto Thy name. * For it is great, wonderful, and terrible. *V.* Some put their trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. For it is great, wonderful and terrible.'

But, at the last lection of each Nocturn, the *Gloria* is added on this wise: *e. g.* after the sixth lection in the Commemoration of a Virgin :

'*R.* The virgins that be her fellows shall be brought unto the king. * With joy and gladness shall they be brought. *V.* According to thy beauty and renown: good luck have thou with thine honour. With joy and gladness shall they be brought. Glory be. With joy and gladness shall they be brought.

It is, perhaps, superfluous to observe that, for brevity's sake,

the responses are written thus: *e. g.* in the Commemoration of Apostles:—

'*R.* Without sin were they before God, and from each other they were not divided. * The cup of the Lord they drank, and became the friends of God. *V.* They delivered their bodies to torments for God's sake: wherefore they are crowned, and receive the palm. The cup. Glory. The cup.'

But occasionally, and especially in inferior Breviaries, the *initium* of the response is repeated, instead of the reclamation after the verse. And sometimes, in the last response of a Nocturn, there are two reclamations said thus; *e. g.* the third response on S. Stephen's Day, in the Paris Breviary:—

'*R.* He that soweth in blessings shall reap also in blessings, as it is written. * He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the poor. † His righteousness remaineth for ever. *V.* All the Church of the Saints shall tell of his loving-kindness. * He hath. Glory. † His righteousness.'

In the Paris, and many other French Breviaries, when *Te Deum* is not said, the whole third (or ninth) response is repeated.

It is a peculiarity, and not, we think, an enviable one, of the Roman Breviary, that, when *Te Deum* is said (of which more presently) there is no ninth response, the eighth being treated as if it were the ninth. It is, however, an ancient use, for Durandus mentions it as the custom of *some* Churches.

We have said enough to acquit ourselves of any undue partiality for the Paris Breviary; but in the responses it exceeds, in our judgment, any other with which we are acquainted. The manner in which the Old and New Testament are made to explain each other—a manner so much more really *Scriptural* than long unconnected lessons—will be best understood by an example, which we will take from Good Friday, and place by their side those from the Roman Breviary.

Lection 1.—From the Lamentation of Jeremiah the Prophet.[1]

'I am the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of his wrath. He hath led me, and brought me into darkness, but not into light. Surely against me is he turned; he turneth his hand against me all the day. My flesh and my skin hath he made old; he hath broken my bones. He hath builded against me, and compassed me with gall and travel. He hath set me in dark places, as they that be dead of old. He hath hedged me about, that I cannot get out: he hath made my chain heavy. Also when I cry and shout, he shutteth out my prayer. He hath inclosed my ways with hewn

[1] The Roman are not precisely the same as the Paris lections from the Lamentations, being, the first, Lam. ii. 8—11; the second, Lam. ii. 12—15; the third, the same as the first Paris. But this makes no difference in what we are now comparing.

stone, he hath made my paths crooked. He was unto me as a bear lying in wait, and as a lion in secret places.'

'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return unto the Lord thy God.'

PARIS.

'*R.* They sought false witness against Jesus, to put Him to death: and found it not: * for many bare false witness against Him, but their witness agreed not together. *V.* False witnesses also did rise up: they laid to my charge things that I knew not. For many. (S. Mark xiv. 55, 56; Ps. xxxv. 11.)

ROMAN.

'All my friends have fled from Me: and they that laid snares for Me have prevailed against Me: He whom I loved hath betrayed Me: * and with terrible eyes they smote Me with a cruel stroke, and gave Me vinegar to drink. *V.* They cast me out among the wicked, and spared not my soul. And.

Lection 2.

'He hath turned aside my ways, and pulled me in pieces: he hath made me desolate. He hath bent his bow, and set me as a mark for the arrow. He hath caused the arrows of his quiver to enter into my reins. I was a derision to all my people; and their song all the day. He hath filled me with bitterness, he hath made me drunken with wormwood. He hath also broken my teeth with gravel stones, he hath covered me with ashes. And thou hast removed my soul far off from peace: I forgat prosperity. And I said, My strength and my hope is perished from the Lord: remembering mine affliction and my misery, the wormwood and the gall. My soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled in me. This I recall to my mind, therefore have I hope.'

'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return unto the Lord thy God.'

PARIS.

'*R.* The High Priest saith: I adjure Thee by the Living God, that Thou tell us whether Thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him: Thou hast said.—They say: * He is guilty of death. *V.* Then spake the priests, saying, This man is worthy to die: for he hath prophesied, as ye have heard with your ears. He.' (S. Matt. xxvi. 63, 66. Jer. xxvi. 11.)

ROMAN.

'*R.* The veil of the temple was rent in twain, * and the earth did quake; the thief cried from the cross, saying, Lord, remember me when Thou comest in Thy kingdom. *V.* The rocks were rent, and the graves were opened: and many bodies of the saints which slept arose. And the earth.'

Lection 3.

'Mine enemies chased me sore, like a bird, without cause. They have cut off my life in the dungeon, and cast a stone upon me. Waters flowed over mine head; then I said, I am cut off. I called upon thy Name, O Lord, out of the low dungeon. Thou hast heard my voice: hide not thine ear at my breathing, at my cry. Thou drewest near in the day that I called upon thee: thou saidst, Fear not. O Lord, thou hast pleaded the causes of my soul; thou hast redeemed my life. O Lord, thou hast seen my wrong: judge thou my cause. Thou hast seen all their vengeance and all their imaginations against me. Thou hast heard their reproach, O Lord, and all their imaginations against me; the lips of those that rose up against me, and their device against me all the day. Behold their sitting down, and their rising up; I am their musick. Render unto them a recompense, O Lord, according to the work of their hands.'

'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return unto the Lord thy God.'

PARIS.

'*R.* They spat in the face of Jesus, * and buffetted, saying: Prophesy unto us, Thou Christ: who is he that smote Thee? *V.* They have gaped upon me with their mouth: they have smitten me upon the cheek reproachfully: and buffetted.' (S. Matt. xxvi. 67. Job. xvi. 10.)[1]

ROMAN.

'*R.* My elect Vine, I planted thee: * how art thou turned into bitterness, that thou shouldest crucify Me, and let Barabbas go? *V.* I hedged thee, and gathered the stones out of thee, and built a tower in thee. How art thou. My elect Vine.'[1]

NOCTURN II.—A Sermon of S. John Chrysostom.[2]

Lection 4.

'To-day Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us. And where was He sacrificed? On a lofty Cross. The Altar for this Sacrifice was new: because the Sacrifice itself was new and marvellous. For the same is both Sacrifice and Priest: Sacrifice according to the Flesh, Priest according to the Spirit. The same both offered, and according to the Flesh was offered. And the Cross was the Altar. And why, sayest thou, was not the Sacrifice offered in the Temple, but without the city and the walls? That the saying might be fulfilled, He was reckoned among the transgressors. And why is He put to death on a lofty Cross, and not under a roof? That the Lamb, immolated on high, might purge the nature of the air. The earth also was purged: for blood flowed from His Side upon it. Therefore not under a roof, therefore not in the Jewish Temple, that the Jews might not claim the Sacrifice to themselves; that ye might not imagine this Victim to have been offered for that nation alone. Therefore without the city and the walls, that ye may learn that the Sacrifice is universal: because the Oblation was for the universal world;—and that this purification was common to all, and not peculiar, as that among the Jews.'

PARIS.

'*R.* They said unto Peter: Surely thou art one of them. * He began to curse and to swear, I know not this Man of Whom ye speak. *V.* They that dwell in my house count me for a stranger: I am an alien in their sight. He began.' (S. Mark xiv. 70, 71. Job xix. 15.)

ROMAN.

'*R.* Are ye come out as against a thief, with swords and with staves for to take Me? * I was daily with you teaching in the Temple, and ye laid no hold upon Me: and behold ye have scourged Me, and lead Me away to crucify Me. *V.* And when they had laid hands on Jesus, and had taken Him, He said unto them: I was.'

Lection 5.

'Would you learn His illustrious work? To-day He opened to us Paradise:—till then closed. For on this day, at this very hour, God introduced the thief thither. To-day He restored to us our ancient country; to-day He brought us back to the City of our Land: for, To-day, saith He, thou shalt be with Me in Paradise. What! crucified and nailed, and promise Paradise! Even so, saith He: that on the Cross thou mayest learn My power, (because it was a spectacle of grief, that thou mightest look, not

[1] The *Gloria* is omitted, as being Holy Week. For the last half of the response the Paris substitutes nothing; the Roman, the whole. The regular ending of course would be, 'How art thou. Glory. How art thou.'

[2] The Roman lection is from S. Augustine's Commentary on the 64th Psalm.

at the nature of the Cross, but at the pains of the Crucified.) He works this miracle on the Cross, which, beyond any other, manifests His power. For, not when He raised the dead, not when He rebuked the winds and the sea, not when He put demons to flight, but when He was crucified, pierced with nails, loaded with spitting, contumely, reproach, rebuke, did He will to change the heart of the thief, that thou mayest see His power on all sides. He agitated the whole of Creation: He cleft the rocks: but the heart of the thief, harder than the rock, He drew to Himself.'

PARIS.

'*R.* Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus, which is called Christ? They said, Barabbas. What then shall I do with Jesus? They all say: ✱ Let Him be crucified. *V.* We beseech thee, let this man be put to death; for this man seeketh not the welfare of this people, but the hurt. Let Him be crucified.' (S. Matt. xxvii. 17. 22. Jer. xxxviii. 4.)

ROMAN.

'*R.* And there was darkness when the Jews had crucified Jesus: and about the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken me? ✱ And He bowed His Head, and gave up the ghost. *V.* And Jesus cried with a loud voice, Father, into Thine Hands I commend My Spirit. And He bowed.'

Lection 6.

'But what so great thing, will ye say, did the thief, that after death he should gain Paradise?—Shall I briefly tell you what he did? When Peter was denying below, he was confessing above. The Disciple endured not the threats of a worthless maid-servant: the thief, beholding the multitude thronging around, crying out, casting forth blasphemies and reproaches, attended not to them;—cast not in his mind the present vileness of Him That was crucified; but, passing them all by with the eye of faith, and making nothing of these hindrances, acknowledged the Lord of Heaven; and prostrating himself in mind before Him, Lord, remember me, said he, when Thou comest in Thy Kingdom. Seest thou of what good things the Cross was the cause? Tell me: thou speakest of a Kingdom. What dost thou behold of that sort? What thou seest is the Cross and the Nails. But that very Cross, saith he, is the Symbol of a Kingdom. It is for this reason that I call Him a King, because I see Him crucified. For it is the part of a king to die for his subjects. Himself said, The Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep. Therefore the Good King also giveth his life for his subjects. Since, then, He hath given His Life, I call Him King: Lord, remember me when Thou comest in Thy Kingdom.'

PARIS.

'*R.* And when the soldiers had scourged Jesus, they put on Him a purple robe, and a crown of thorns, and began to salute Him, Hail, King of the Jews: and ✱ they smote Him on the Head with a reed, and did spit upon Him. *V.* I gave My back to the smiters, and My cheeks to them that plucked off the hair. I hid not My face from shame and spitting. They smote Him.' (S. Mark xv. 16, &c. Isaiah l. 6.)

ROMAN.

'*R.* I have delivered My beloved into the hands of the wicked: Mine heritage is unto Me as a lion in the wood: the adversary hath roared against Me, saying, Gather ye together, and make haste to devour Him: they have laid Me in a wilderness, and all the earth mourneth for My sake: ✱ For there is none found to acknowledge Me, and to do Me good. *V.* Men without pity have risen up against Me, and have not spared My Soul. For there.'

NOCTURN III.

Lection 7.—From the Epistle of Blessed Paul to the Hebrews.[1]

'Seeing then that we have a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession. For we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need. For every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins: who can have compassion on the ignorant and on them that are out of the way; for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity. And by reason hereof he ought, as for the people, so also for himself, to offer for sins.'

PARIS.

'*R.* They took Jesus, and led Him away. ✱ And Jesus, bearing His Cross, went forth unto a place which is called the place of a skull. *V.* And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son. And Jesus.' (S. John xix. 16, 17. Gen. xxii. 6.)

ROMAN.

'*R.* They delivered Me up into the hands of the wicked, and cast Me out among the transgressors, and spared not My soul. The mighty men gathered together against Me: ✱ and like giants they stood against Me. *V.* Strangers have risen against Me, and mighty men sought after my soul. And like giants.'

Lection 8.

'And no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to day have I begotten thee. As he saith also in another place, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec. Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared; though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him; called of God an high priest after the order of Melchisedec.'

PARIS.

'*R.* They crucified Jesus, and the thieves, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left. Then said Jesus: ✱ Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. *V.* He was numbered with the transgressors, and He bare the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors. Father, forgive them.' (S. Luke xxiii. 33, 34. Isaiah liii. 12.)

ROMAN.

'*R.* The traitor delivered Jesus to the chief priests and elders of the people. ✱ And Peter followed afar off, that he might see the end. *V.* And they brought Him to Caiaphas, the Chief-Priest, where the Scribes and Pharisees were gathered together. And Peter.'

Lection 9.

'And they truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death: but this man, because he continueth ever,

[1] The Roman lection commences a little further back.

hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For such an high priest became us, Who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself.'

PARIS.	ROMAN.
'*R.* He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities; ✱ The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and with His stripes we are healed. *V.* He, His own Self, bare our sins in His own Body on the Tree, that we, being dead unto sin, might live unto righteousness. The chastisement. He was wounded... healed.' (Isaiah liii. 5. 1 Pet. ii. 24.)	'*R.* Mine eyes are darkened with weeping: for My comforters are far from Me. Behold, all people, ✱ if there be any sorrow like unto My sorrow. *V.* O all ye that pass by, behold and see. If there. Mine eyes.'

The beauty of these responses, and especially of those from the Paris Breviary, is evident. Even in this instance, however, it may be doubted whether the latter are not too much didactic, and too little—which is the very essence of all Church ritual—dramatic. The rule which makes them always taken from Scripture is frequently fatal to effect; and this more particularly on the festivals of martyrs or other saints, where their words, or the circumstances of their passion, are worked into the responses. A striking instance of the beauty of this occurs in the Festival of S. Agnes: we quote from the Benedictine Breviary, as the fullest.

After the *first* lection—

'*R.* Celebrate we the feast of the holy Virgin; how blessed Agnes suffered, let us recall to memory: in the thirteenth year of her age she lost death and found life: ✱ because she loved the alone Author of Life. *V.* Reckoned by years, hers was infancy: but the old age of her mind was venerable. ✱ Because. II. [reciting the words of S. Agnes] *R.* He hath rounded my neck and my arms with precious stones. He hath given to my ears inestimable pearls: ✱ and He hath endued me with bright and sparkling gems. *V.* He hath set a sign on my face, that I should own no lover but Himself. ✱ And he hath. III. *R.* Christ I love, into Whose bridal-chamber I shall enter: Whose Mother is a Virgin, Whose Father knows not woman, the melody of Whose notes already resounds in my ear. ✱ Whom, when I shall have loved, I am chaste: when I shall have touched, I am pure: when I shall have received, I am a virgin. *V.* With the ring of His faith He hath plighted me to Himself: and hath adorned me with priceless jewels. ✱ Whom, when. IV. *R.* Come, Bride of Christ, receive the Crown which the Lord hath prepared for thee for ever: for Whose Love thou hast poured forth thy blood: ✱ and thou hast entered with Angels into Paradise. *V.* Come, My elect, and I will set thee up on My Throne, because the King hath desired thy beauty. ✱ And thou hast. Glory. And thou hast.'

Another use of these responses is, that where the lessons are ferial—or from the Common—they may be diverted, so to speak, into the channel proper for the day. A thousand beauties will thus exhibit themselves in the ordinary lections, varying almost prismatically according to the light thrown upon them from the responses.

Those for ordinary Sundays are for the most part taken from that portion of Scripture into which they are interwoven. Thus, in the Roman Breviary, the three first lections for the fourth Sunday after Pentecost, relate the fight of David with Goliath. The responses are—

'I. *R.* Prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve Him only: * and He will deliver you out of the hands of your enemies. *V.* Turn unto Him with all your hearts, and put away the strange gods from the midst of you. * And He. II. *R.* God, Who heareth all, sent His Angel, and took me from my father's sheep: * and anointed me with the oil of His Mercy. *V.* The Lord, Which delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear: * anointed. III. *R.* The Lord, Which delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear: * He shall deliver me from the hands of mine enemies. *V.* God hath sent forth His mercy and truth: and hath delivered my soul from the midst of the lion's whelps. * He shall. Glory. He shall.'

The manner in which the ferial responses are, in the Roman Breviary, taken from those of the Sunday, though set forth at length in the Rubrics, is too elaborate for explanation here. The Paris rule is simpler: 'In the Ferial Office (Paschal-tide 'excepted) the responses are taken from the preceding Sunday '(unless it be otherwise ordered, or there be proper responses 'assigned for the feria in question.) They are taken alternately 'from the 1st and 2d nocturn, in this order: Monday, Wed-'nesday, and Friday, from the first; Tuesday, Thursday, and 'Saturday, from the second nocturn.' The ground-work of the Roman rule is the same.

The responses of the Salisbury Breviary are, for the most part, where they are peculiar, of a very inferior description. Very frequently they are in verse: thus, on the Martyrdom of S. Thomas of Canterbury—

'*R.* I. Stupens livor Thomæ supplicio
Thomæ genus damnat exilio.
* Omnis simul exit cognatio.
V. Ordo, sexus, ætas, conditio,
Nullus gaudet hic privilegio. Omnis.
'*R.* II. Thomas manum mittit ad fortia,
Spernit damna, spernit opprobria.
* Nulla Thomam frangit injuria.
V. Clamat cunctis Thomæ constantia
Omne solum est forti patria. Nulla.'

The same remark may be made of the York Breviary. Take, for instance, the responses on S. Cuthbert's day:—

'*R.* I. Cuthbertus puer bonæ indolis pervigil nocturnis insistens hymnis * Aydani Episcopi animam in cœlum ferri videt ab angelis. *V.* Cum pastoribus ovium positus pastor animarum Deo præelectus mente et vultu supernis intentus * Aydani. *R.* II. In sanctis crescens virtutibus almus vir Cuthbertus, despectis hujus caduci sæculi rebus, venerabilis ac per cuncta digne laudabilis * factus est monachus. *V.* Corpore, mente, habitu, factisque probabilibus, castris Dominicis associatus. * Factus.'

Both these examples are also instances of that kind of responsories which we may call the historical: *i. e.* where the life of the saint, whose festival it is, is related in them, as well as in the lections, of which, indeed, they form a kind of *resumé*.

The last response of the lections completed, or, in the Roman use, as we have seen, the last lection, follows, if it is to be said, Te Deum. The Roman rule is this: it is said on all Sundays of the year, except in Septuagesima and Lent; from Easter to Ascension, daily (except on Rogation Monday), and on all festivals, whether of three or nine lections, except that of the Holy Innocents. Its omission on that day arises from the same feeling which prompts, in some village churches, the ringing of a muffled peal on that day: *e.g.* in S. Giles, Leigh-upon-Mendip, Somersetshire. And this sign of sorrow on a festive occasion may profitably be compared with the very singular custom, now, or very lately, observed on Christmas Eve, at All Saints, Dewsbury, Yorkshire: towards evening, one of the bells is tolled after the manner of a passing bell; it is called the *Devil's knell*, and mystically represents that Satan's power was destroyed by the Birth of our Lord.

There are, however, great varieties of use with respect to the Te Deum. In the Benedictine order it is said on all Sundays both of Advent and Lent; at Lyons the case was the same, although it was altered at least as long ago as 1780; while at S. Martin of Tours it was said on the Holy Innocents till 1635; as, we believe, it still is at Paris, Lyons, Vienne, Quimper, Chartres, Laon, and other places. At the verse, *We therefore pray Thee,* down to *and lift them up for ever*, it is a very usual practice to kneel.

Te Deum is immediately followed, in the Roman Breviary, by Lauds (except on Christmas Day). In the Paris, and most other modern Breviaries, it is followed by the Sacerdotal Verse, *e.g.* on S. John Baptist: '*V.* My mouth shall tell of Thy Praise. *R.* And of Thy Salvation all the day.' On Trinity Sunday: '*V.* God, even our own God, shall bless us. *R.* And all the ends of the world shall fear Him.' And this was the use, as we learn from Durandus, of secular Breviaries

generally. The Benedictine concludes differently. We have already seen that, on festivals of nine (or twelve) lections, the first of the third nocturn consists of the beginning of the Gospel for the day, followed by a homily on it. Te Deum finished, the Benedictine order takes up the Gospel from the beginning, reads it through and, after the response, *Amen*, the short hymn, 'Thee befits praise, Thee befits a hymn, to Thee be glory, God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, world without end, Amen,' is sung. The collect for the day concldesu the office of Matins. An approximation to the Benedictine use is found in the Paris Breviary, where, in churches 'where it is the custom,' the genealogy of our Lord, according to S. Matthew, was sung before the Te Deum, on Christmas Day; and that according to S. Luke on Epiphany. The Benedictine Breviary does the former, though, contrary to its usual rite, *after* Te Deum. Mosto the French Breviaries follow the Paris; some, as Dijon and Laon, make the rite imperative on all churches. At S. Maurice of Vienne, during the ninth response, the Archdeacon was robed with peculiar magnificence in the sacristy; and, preceded by two subdeacons in albs, bearing tapers, and two in tunics, one bearing the censer, the other the Gospel—he went into the jubè, and there sang the Genealogy. In an ancient ritual of Jargeau, near Orleans, inspected by Le Brun, it is simply called the *Generatio*; and in the Salisbury and York Breviaries, the ceremonial of the *Generatio*, both at Christmas and Epiphany, was much the same as at Vienne.

It was a favourite question among old ritualists, whether Lauds, the Orthron of the Greek, the Outrenia of the Slavonic, Church, were a separate office or not, from Matins. However that may be, it is certain that now the two offices are almost always joined in one.

Lauds commence with the *O God, make speed to save me*, with the Gloria and the Alleluia, as Matins. We may observe here, what we might equally well have remarked there, that Alleluia, according to Roman use, is not said in Septuagesima, though, according to some Gallican rituals—such *was* that of Lyons—it was said up to the first Sunday in Lent inclusive. This was a nearer approach to the Mozarabic Ritual, which carries it on all through Lent; and that of the Eastern Church, which even multiplies it then. We will for a moment interrupt our dry details, by the insertion of the hymn which, in many German Rituals, had a place, in reference to this very rite; and we will add an attempt of our own at its translation.

'Alleluia, dulce carmen, vox perennis gaudii,
Alleluia vox süavis est choris cœlestibus,
Quam canunt Dei manentes in domo per sæcula.

'Alleluia læta mater conciens[1] Jerusalem,
Alleluia vox tuorum civium gaudentium,
Exules nos flere cogunt Babylonis flumina.

'Alleluia non meremur nunc perenne psallere,
Alleluia nos reatus cogit intermittere,
Tempus instat, quo peracta lugeamus crimina.

'Unde laudando precamur Te, Beata Trinitas,
Ut Tuum nobis videre Pascha des in æthere,
Quo Tibi læti canamus Alleluia dulciter.'

'Alleluia, song of gladness, voice of joy, celestial lay,
Alleluia is the anthem of the choirs in heavenly day,
Which the Angels sing, abiding in the House of GOD for aye.

'Alleluia, joyful Mother of the Blest, Jerusalem,
Alleluia is the anthem that is well befitting them,
While to sadness Babel's waters us, poor exiles, must condemn.

'Alleluia we deserve not here to chant for evermore:
Alleluia our transgressions make us for awhile give o'er,
For the holy time is coming, when our sins must we deplore.

'Therefore supplicate we lauding Thee, O Blessed Trinity,
We at last may keep our Easter in Thy Home beyond the sky,
There to Thee our Alleluia singing everlastingly.'

The usual Sunday office in the Roman Breviary, which is that of all mediæval Lauds, is this:—Psalms 93 and 100 are said; Psalms 63 and 67 under one gloria: Benedicite, the three last Psalms, under one antiphon and one gloria; the short chapter, the hymn, the versicle and response, Benedictus, and the collect for the day. The Psalms, which may thus be considered either as five or seven, have, of course, given rise to variety of mystical explanations. The reason, certainly anything but self-evident, why the 63d and 67th Psalms are said under one gloria, is explained to be, that the first signifies love of God, ('My soul is athirst for God, even for the Living God'), the second, love of our neighbour ('Let the people praise Thee, O God'), and that these two are in reality one. Or again, because the first Psalm represents the miseries of this present world ('My soul is *athirst*'), in which we cannot praise God as we would; we must therefore wait until that Life in which He shall, indeed, 'have mercy upon us and bless us,' and 'show the light of His countenance upon us' in the Beatific Vision. The 63d and 67th Psalms, and the 148th, 149th, and 150th, never vary at Lauds, because, say the interpreters, there never was a time in which the souls of the righteous did not 'thirst for the Living God,' or in which the 'Lord of Heaven' was not 'praised in the heights;' and there never will be.

[1] This, we doubt not, is the true reading, instead of the usual *concivis* Jerusalem; both as being better sense, and because the hymn is perfectly metrical, with the one natural exception of Bābylonis.

For the first Psalm at Lauds, the 93d, is on week-days said the 51st, according to the ancient and the modern Roman rule. Instead of the second Psalm, namely the 100th, they recite the 5th on Monday, the 42d on Tuesday, the 64th on Wednesday, the 90th on Thursday, the 143d on Friday, and the 92d ('A Psalm for the Sabbath Day') on Saturday. On all these days follow, as we have seen, the 63d and 67th as one; and then, instead of the Benedicite, on Monday, the Song of Isaiah, (chap. xii.); on Tuesday, of Hezekiah; on Wednesday, of Hannah; on Thursday, of Moses (Exod. xv.); on Friday, of Habakkuk; and on Saturday, of Moses (Deut. xxxii.); Benedictus and the three last Psalms are always said.

The rule of S. Benedict for Lauds, or, as he calls them, Matins, on Sunday is this; 'At Matins on the Lord's Day, let there first be said the 67th Psalm without an antiphon; after which the 51st with Alleluia; after that the 118th and 63d; then the Benedictions and the Lauds ('*i.e.* the Benedicite and the three last Psalms'); the lection from the Apocalypse, by heart, the Responsory, the Ambrosian, (*i.e.* the hymn *Æterne rerum Conditor*,) the Verse, the Evangelical Canticle, and it is over.' The Evangelical Canticle is, of course, the Benedictus. The modern Benedictines (judging from the Augsburg edition of 1758,) have so far receded from this rule, as to substitute for the 51st and 118th Psalms the 93d and 100th, on all Festivals of Saints, and through octaves, and in all Paschal Tide. The Cluniac reform, however, of 1686, which, whatever be its other faults, (and we are not disposed to controvert the remarks of Father J. B. Thiers, in his *Observations sur le Breviaire de Cluni*,) keeps close to all points *ruled* by S. Benedict, reverts to the original rule of the order.

On week days, the 67th and 51st Psalms were to be said; modern Benedictines have dropped the first of these, but the Cluniac reform retains it. The two next Psalms were, on Monday, 6, 36; Tuesday, 43, 57; Wednesday, 64, 65; Thursday, 88, 90; Friday, 76, 92; Saturday, the 143d only, because the Song of Deuteronomy is divided into two parts, each with its Gloria. S. Benedict expressly specifies that the Canticles are to be said on the other days, 'according to the Roman use.'

According to S. Benedict's rule Lauds (and Vespers,) were to conclude with the LORD'S Prayer, said aloud, (instead of secretly, or secretly with the V. 'And lead us not into temptation:' R. 'But deliver us from evil;) in order that twice a day the clause 'Forgive us our trespasses' might compel an open expression of forgiveness of others. S. Benedict only orders the Abbat to recite the prayers aloud; but Durandus seems to imply that all the monks recited it. He hints that such perfect

forgiveness could not be expected of them at the little hours, and remarks that it sufficed if the sun did not set on their wrath.

The Salisbury and York Breviaries agree pretty closely with the Roman, except that after the Benedictus on Sundays they add the 123d Psalm; and all the older Breviaries, of whatever nature, seem to have a very close resemblance in Lauds to the mediæval type, which the Roman Church has exactly retained.

The Paris has very widely departed from it. The beautiful rite of introducing into the Lauds of every day those true Lauds, the three last Psalms, is gone; the reason clearly being that, as the Psalms were to be said through every week, the repeating any of them more than once in that time was merely an additional lengthening of the office.

The Paris arrangement of Laudal Psalms is this:—

'Sunday, Psalms 63, 70, 100, Benedicite, 148.
Monday, Psalms 92, 136, in two, Song of Moses, (Exod. xv.) [instead of which, on Festivals, Ecclesiasticus 39, 15—20,] 135.
Tuesday, Psalms 24, 85, 97, Song of Hezekiah, [instead of which, on Festivals, Ecclesiasticus 36, 1—14,] 150.
Wednesday, Psalms 5, 36, 65, Song of Isaiah, (xii.) [instead of which, on Festivals, the Song of Tobiah, (xiii. 1—7,)] 147 (1—11).
Thursday, Psalms 80, 108, in two, Song of Hannah, [instead of which, on Festivals, 1 Chron. xxix. 10—13,] 147, (11—end).
Friday, Psalms 51, 74, in two, Song of Habakkuk, [instead of which, on Festivals, Isaiah xxvi. 1—12,] 146.
Saturday, Psalms 17 in two, 57, Song of Deuteronomy, [instead of which on Festivals, Song of Judith,] 117.'

The rest of the Office is the same in arrangement as the Roman.

The French Breviaries follow the general arrangement of the Paris Lauds, though the particular Psalms often vary. In some Breviaries, as that of Limoges, the Festal Canticles are not given ferially, but as proper in the several days when they are said —in that of Sens, one of the three last Psalms is always said, as the *Psalmus Laudum:* thus, on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays, the 150th; Mondays and Thursdays, the 148th; Tuesdays and Fridays, the 149th. The Cologne, a very mediæval Breviary, retains the ancient type.

Cardinal Quignon's reform simply gives two Psalms and a Canticle, with Benedictus.

We will here stop to remark how very improper it is in our own Office, to substitute the Jubilate for the Benedictus, except where compelled by the unfortunate rubric preceding the latter. For exchanging the evensong Evangelical Canticles for their substitutes there can never be any excuse.

The Chapter for Lauds on Sundays from the second Sunday after Epiphany to Septuagesima, and from the third Sunday after Pentecost till Advent, is, in the Roman Breviary, that verse

in the Apocalypse, 'Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever, Amen.' At other times it varies with the season. The Ferial Chapter during the same time is, 'The night is far spent, the day is at hand, let us therefore cast away the works of darkness, and let us put on us the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as in the day.' This, in the Benedictine, and some few other Breviaries, is followed by a brief response on this sort. '*R.* Heal my soul * For I have sinned against Thee. Heal my soul. *V.* I said, Lord, be merciful unto me. For I have sinned against Thee. Heal my soul.'

Of the Hymn which follows the Chapter, we do not intend, as we said before, to speak. Nor is there anything in the verse and response that follow, nor in the Antiphon of the Benedictus which need detain us.

On Christmas Day, according to the Paris Breviary, instead of Benedictus, the Song of Isaiah, (chap. xxv.) is sung, in which it is followed by one or two of the French offices: *e. g.* Chalons-sur-Saône; the Breviary of Mirepoix substitutes the Song of Micah.

In most of the Breviaries the Collect for the day follows, and one of the antiphons of S. Mary concludes the office, unless Prime immediately succeeds. The *Prayers*, which follow on some occasions, we shall better consider under Prime.

In mentioning the Collect, we cannot help relating a piece of Protestant bigotry to which we were once witness. A gentleman took up a Breviary, and read a Collect, which ended, as usual, thus, (say) 'Ad cœnæ Tuæ convivium occurramus. Per.' '*Per!*' he exclaimed; 'PER! Poor benighted creatures! You see, instead of our Lord's Name, they may insert that of any saint they please!'

The old verses, which give the proper conclusion, are:—

> '*Per Dominum* dicas: si Patrem Presbyter oras.
> Si Christum memores: *per eundem* dicere debes.
> Si loqueris Christo: *qui vivis* scire memento;
> *Qui tecum*, si sit Collectæ finis in ipso.
> Si memores Flamen: *ejusdem* dic prope finem.'

These rules might not unreasonably be recalled by those whose office it is to compose 'occasional prayers' among ourselves.

We now proceed to *Prime*. The Sunday Roman Office is this:—After the Pater Noster, &c. and the Hymn, 'Jam lucis orto sidere,' which never alters, three Psalms are said, the 54th, the 118th, and the thirty-two first verses of the 119th, under two Glorias. After this, when the office is of the Sunday, the Athanasian Creed; and this is followed by the short chapter, and the versicles and responses;—'O Christ, Son of the living God, have 'mercy upon us. (twice). *V.* Thou that sittest at the right-hand

'of the Father. *R.* Have mercy upon us. *V.* Glory be to the 'Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. *R.* O Christ, 'Son of the living God, have mercy upon us. *V.* Arise, O 'Christ, and deliver us. *R.* And save us for thy mercies' sake.' After this follow, if they are to be said, (which they are not on Doubles, nor within Octaves,) the Preces or Suffrages, with the *Confiteor*, and the Collect, 'Almighty God, who hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day, &c.' with which Prime, properly speaking, ends. It is followed by the office of the Chapter. This commences with the martyrology of the day, the *V.* 'Right dear in the sight of the Lord, *R.* is the death of His saints;' short suffrages, the Collect, 'O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God,' and after the *V.* 'Sir, pray for a blessing,' and the Benediction, 'Almighty God order our acts and days in His peace,' a short lection, of which five are given for various seasons of the year, and a benediction. The Ferial office is much the same, except that the short lection is different, and that, instead of the 118th Psalm, there are said, one on each of the five first days of the week, the 24th, 25th, 26th, 23d, 22d. On Saturday none is substituted for it, and this is the case in all Festivals. The Athanasian Creed is not said. The variations of Prime being so slight, and the antiphon only varying with the season, this hour is not alluded to in the *Proprium de Tempore.* Want of space forbids us to dwell on the variations which the other Breviaries exhibit from this form: we shall only observe that the Paris Breviary, while it retains the hymn *Jam lucis* unchanged for every day, has varying Psalms. The Officium Capituli there consists of the Martyrology for the day, the Necrology, with the *De Profundis*, the Suffrages, and a Canon selected for every day, in a kind of continued series: thus, in the Meaux Breviary; Sept. 1st has a canon on Residence, 2d—18th on Zeal for Souls; 19th—30th, on the Love of Poverty. Oct. 1, 2, against Nepotism, 3d, 4th, 5th, on the Care of the Poor; 6—10, on the Care of the Sick; 11—25, on Confession and the Care of Death-beds; &c. &c. These canons are, in the Paris Breviary given in the regular course of the Proprium de Tempore; in other French Breviaries, though with the same arrangement, they are usually printed at the end of the volume. The Meaux Breviary is singular in arranging the Canons as well as the lections, by the days of the year. In the Roman, instead, the Preces, and De Profundis are said in Lent, and Advent, and Fasts, at the end of Lauds, to which we have previously alluded. The fullest specimen which we know of the Laudal Preces occurs in the Liège Breviary, and we give them here, both for their extreme beauty, and because they tend to illustrate the Primal Preces. They may be very profitably compared with the Greek Ectene.

'*V.* I said, Lord, be merciful unto me. *R.* Heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee. *V.* Let us pray for every state of the Church. *R.* Let Thy priests be clothed with righteousness, and let Thy saints sing with joyfulness. *V.* For the peace and unity of the Church. *R.* Let there be peace in Thy might, and abundance in Thy towers. *V.* For our Bishop. *R.* The Lord preserve him, and keep him alive, that he may be blessed upon earth: and deliver not him into the will of his enemies. *V.* For our King. *R.* O Lord, save the King; and mercifully hear us when we call upon Thee. *V.* For all Catholic people. *R.* O Lord, save Thy people, and bless Thine inheritance; govern them, and set them up for ever. *V.* For all our benefactors. *R.* Bestow, O Lord, on all them that do good to us for Thy Name's sake, eternal life. *V.* For them that travel. *R.* O Lord, give salvation; O Lord, prosper us now: blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. *V.* For the faithful that voyage. *R.* Hear us, O God of our salvation, Thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that remain in the broad sea. *V.* For them that are in discord. *R.* And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus. *V.* For them that persecute and calumniate us. *R.* Lord Jesus Christ, lay not this sin to their charge, for they know not what they do. *V.* For them that are penitent. *R.* Turn Thee again, O Lord, at the last, and be gracious unto Thy servants. *V.* For them that are in affliction and captivity. *R.* Deliver Israel, O God, out of all his troubles. *V.* For the sick. *R.* Send, O Lord, Thy word, and save them from their destruction. *V.* And for all the faithful departed. *R.* Eternal rest grant unto them, O Lord, and light perpetual shine upon them. *V.* Let them rest in peace. *R.* Amen. *V.* For our sins and negligences. *R.* And for the glory of Thy Name, O Lord, deliver us, and be merciful to our sins, for Thy Name's sake. *V.* For our brethren that are absent. *R.* My God, save Thy servants that put their trust in Thee. *V.* Send them, Lord, help from the sanctuary. *R.* And strengthen them out of Sion. *V.* Be unto us, O Lord, a strong tower. *R.* From the face of the enemy. *V.* O Lord, hear our prayer. *R.* And let our cry come unto Thee.'—*De Profundis.*

The three next hours, Tierce, Sexts, and Nones, are arranged on so precisely a similar plan, that they may all be comprehended in a few words. The office at each consists of the Pater Noster, &c. a hymn, (at Tierce, *Nunc Sancte nobis Spiritus*; at Sexts, *Rector potens verus Deus*; at Nones, *Rerum Deus tenax vigor*;) three Psalms, *i.e.* six divisions of the 119th Psalm, under three Glorias, the short chapter, varying with the season of the year; verse and response; and (when the preces have been said before) the *Kyrie* and short suffrages; the whole concluded by the Proper Collect.

S. Benedict's rule gives three divisions only (each, of course, under its own *Gloria*,) of the 119th Psalm, for Tierce, Sexts, and Nones, on Sunday and Monday, and the Psalm is thus finished on Monday at Nones. The nine Psalms, from 120—129, are said, three at each little hour, through every other day of the week.

The Paris and French Breviaries have, as we have seen, varying Psalms here, as in the other hours. The way in which the Antiphons are regulated by those of Lauds (where no express rule is given to the contrary), is this: the first Anti-

phon of Lauds is said for the Psalms at Prime; the second, for those at Tierce; the third, those at Sexts; the fifth for those at Nones; the fourth being omitted.

The only other remark we shall make on the little Hours is that the Liège Breviary has, on the greater festivals, proper collects for them; an arrangement which is very rare. Thus, on the Epiphany, it has at Lauds the same collect as the Roman and most other Breviaries, which is substantially the same with that of our own Prayer-book. But the Collect for Tierce is: 'God, the illuminator of all nations, grant that Thy people may 'enjoy perpetual peace; and pour into our hearts that shining 'light, which Thou didst inspire into the minds of the Wise 'Men, Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, Who.' At Sexts: 'Grant to us, Almighty God, we beseech Thee, that Thy 'salvation, wonderful with a new light from Heaven, which for 'the safety of the world, as on this day, shone forth, may ever 'arise in our hearts, that thereby they may be renewed, Thy 'Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.' At Nones: 'Grant, we beseech 'Thee, Almighty God, that the Nativity of the Saviour of the 'world, made manifest by the leading of a star, may ever be 'revealed, and increase in our hearts, through.' At the second Vespers: 'Almighty and Everlasting God, the Light of Souls, 'Who hast consecrated this solemnity by the first-fruits of the 'election of the Gentiles, fill the world with Thy glory, and, 'the people being subdued unto Thee, make the glory of Thy 'light to appear, through.' (At the first Vespers, the Collect had been: 'Lighten, O Lord, we beseech Thee, Thy people, 'and evermore inflame their hearts with the glory of Thy 'grace, that they may without ceasing acknowledge their 'Saviour, and without error apprehend Him, Thy Son, &c.')

We come to Vespers. After the Pater Noster, the secular Breviaries give five, the monastic four Psalms, each under its own Antiphon, (except in Paschal time, when all are said under Alleluia;) then the short chapter, which, on ordinary days, is, 'Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and God of all consolation,' &c.; a beautifully chosen lesson after the fatigues of the day. Then the hymns, varying with the day of the week, the verse and response; the Magnificat, with its proper Antiphon and the proper Collect. In Advent, Lent, and the Ember Days, the Preces and the 51st Psalm are said after the Magnificat.

The French Breviaries give varying short chapters at Vespers, according to the day of the week.

It is as Antiphons to the Magnificat that the famous *O*'s are said. On Dec. 17th, 'O Sapientia;' 18th, 'O Adonai;' 19th, 'O Radix Jesse;' 20th, 'O Clavis David;' 21st, 'O Oriens;' 22d, 'O Rex Gentium;' 23d, 'O Emmanuel.' The English Breviaries

added, 'O Virgo Virginum,' and (on the 20th and 21st,) 'O Thoma Didyme,' beginning the O's on the 16th instead of the 17th of December, (as marked in our present Calendar.) Some of the French Breviaries, as that of Moulins, begin the O's on the 15th; having on the 21st, 'O Speculum;' and on the 23d, 'O Rex Israel.' The Liège begins them on the 18th, adding, on the 24th, 'O Summe Artifex.'

It now only remains to say a word about Compline. This commences with the *Jube Domine benedicere:* the Benediction, 'Almighty GOD grant us a quiet night and a perfect end:' the Lection, 'Be sober, be vigilant,' &c.: the Confiteor and the four Psalms, 4, 30 (1—6), 91, 130, under one Antiphon. The Benedictine Breviary omits the 2d of these, except on the last nights of Holy Week. Then the hymn, *Te Lucis ante terminum,* (which in the English Breviaries varied with the season): the short chapter from Jeremiah, 'But Thou art in us, O Lord, and 'Thy Holy name is called upon us: leave us not, O Lord our GOD:' the verse, 'Into Thine hands I commend my spirit,' &c.: the Song of Simeon, the *Preces,* when they are to be said, the beautiful Collect, 'Visita quæsumus,' and an Antiphon and Prayer of the Virgin. The office is concluded with the Lord's Prayer and Belief, that the Church's children may lie down to rest with the faith of their Mother on their lips. By monastic rule, speech was forbidden after Compline.

On the variations of this office we have not left ourselves space to dwell. The French Breviaries change the Psalms with the day of the week, and some even appoint proper lessons, thus utterly spoiling the beauty of this quiet service, the monotony of which is expressly calculated for the last weary hour of the day.

Before we conclude, we wish to say a few words on the selection of Saints commemorated in the Breviary, because certainly, in some of the modern uses, a very great reform is needed here. We have no reason to complain that any religious order should by preference commemorate its own Saints. Yet we do think that such a list of greater Doubles, as the present Franciscan Breviary gives,—we are quoting from the Mechlin edition of 1848,—can scarcely be tolerated. They are these: The Dedication of the two famous Franciscan Churches of S. Mary de Portiunculâ and S. Francis at Assisi (see Mr. Webb's Continental Ecclesiology, p. 455); the Transfiguration; the Exaltation of the Cross; the Sacred Heart; the Betrothal, Seven Dolours, Visitation, Heart, Name, Seven Dolours again, Patronage, Presentation, Expectation, Rosary, of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the Festivals de Mercede, ad Nives, and under the title of 'the Help of Christians,' the Translation of the House of Loretto, (surely this festival should at once be put

down by authority); S. Michael, S. Gabriel, S. Joachim, both Cathedræ of S. Peter, S. Peter ad Vincula, S. John Port. Lat., Conversion of S. Paul, Decollation of S. John Baptist, S. Barnabas, and then the following list:—

	Beatified by	Canonized by
'S. Fidelis a Sigmaringa, M. 1622.		
B. Lucius	Pius VI.	
S. Felix a Cantilicio	Urban VIII.	Clement XI.
S. Ivo		Clement VI.
B. John of Prado, M.	Benedict XIII.	
Translation of S. Francis.		
B. Benvenutus.		
S. Isabel of Portugal		Urban VIII.
Martyrs of Gorkom, 1572	Clement X.	
(At Rome.) The miraculous motion of the eyes in some images of the Blessed Virgin.		
B. Elzear.		
S. Agnes of Assisi (sister of S. Clara.)		
B. Leonard a Portu Mauricio	Pius VI. (who had known him.)	
Invention of S. Francis.		
B. Andrew de Comitiis	Innocent XIII.	
S. Joseph a Leonissa.	Clement XII.	Benedict XIV.
B. Andrew de Strinconio, 1687.		
B. Joan of Valois (divorced wife of Louis XI.)	Benedict XIV.	
S. Conrad	Leo X.	Paul III.
B. John of Parma	Pius VI.	
B. Angela of Fulgino.		

Now we do call it intolerable that Saints so completely local as many of the above should be allowed to take precedence of those whose fame is world-wide; such as the Eight Doctors of the Church; as the Martyrs S. Agnes and S. Vincent; as S. Leo I., S. Ignatius of Antioch, or S. Mary Magdalene. This is to turn an order into a clique. The case is the same with other monastic Breviaries; and in particular, though not to such an extent, with that of the Augustinians. That at least three-fourths of the principal holidays of these late Breviaries should have been appointed only within the last 250 years, is another remarkable phenomenon.

Although we said, at the commencement of this paper, that we did not intend to treat of the Breviary except as a choral book, and had no purpose of entering into the question of its solitary recitation, we cannot refrain from mentioning the *Breviarium Colbertinum.* The celebrated minister of France, Colbert, was in the habit, for many years, of reciting the Breviary daily. He at first employed the Roman, and then the Paris use; but finding much in both that was more appropriate for the choir than for private recitation, especially when the reciter was a layman, he had the book in question drawn up for his own devotions. It is a handsome 8vo. of about 780 pages, very

much simplified; for instance, there is but one Antiphon to each hour,—the ferial Psalms are always said,—and there are no lections, because Colbert read the Bible yearly through, after an arrangement of his own. There is a French preface, in copper-plate, written evidently after Colbert's death. Some of the hymns were composed on purpose for this Breviary. The Calendar is curious for calling the two Sundays after Christmas the first and second Sundays after Advent; and—as Quignon's Breviary also does—for naming the Sundays which occur either after Epiphany or before Advent, prima, secunda, &c. Dominica *Vagantium.*

Yet of one thing, in conclusion, it seems proper to remind the reader, lest the glitter of so magnificent an array of sevenfold devotion should blind the eyes of any to the real state of the matter. Except in monastic bodies, the Breviary, as a Church office, is scarcely ever used as a whole. You may go—we do not say from Church to Church, but from Cathedral to Cathedral of central Europe, and never hear—never have a chance of hearing—Matins, save at high festivals. In Spain and Portugal it is somewhat more frequent; but there as every where it is a clerical devotion exclusively. But, any where, as we had occasion to say in a previous number, 'to find in a village church a Priest who daily recited his Matins publicly would be a phenomenon.' Then, again, the lesser Hours are not often publicly said, except in Cathedrals, and then principally by aggregation, and in connexion with Mass. Vespers is the only popular service; and that, in connexion with the Benediction, seems to be put forward by English Ultramontanes as *the* congregational service of the Roman Church of the Future. Our readers will remember that some time ago we made a statement characterised by many persons at the period as 'startling,' that 'in no national Church under the sun are so many Matin Services daily said as in our own.' An Anglo-Roman Priest shortly afterwards strongly and publicly remonstrated with us for certain other statements contained in the same number. But of this point he took no notice; and therefore, we may fairly presume, allowed its truth. We feel it only right to dwell on this; because, having had occasion in the preceding pages to enlarge with so much admiration on the Roman theory, we are bound not to shut our eyes to Roman practice.

We thus conclude the very brief sketch which alone our limits have allowed us to offer. It would be our wish to render it more perfect, by adding, at some future time, a few more remarks on the other contents of the Roman Breviary and of the Ritual, and a short account of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Breviaries.

ART. III.—*The Prelude; or, Growth of a Poet's Mind. An Autobiographical Poem. By* WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. London: Moxon. 1850.

A POSTHUMOUS poem by the greatest poet of our time,—one but lately departed full of years and honour from the scene of his labours, and that poem composed in the full meridian of his powers, though still held back by him and designed to be his latest legacy to the world,—must necessarily cause a universal sentiment of interest and curiosity. The first impression on its announcement can scarcely fail to be one of excited expectation, as if we were to hope for some new revelation of the poet's character and genius—some collective effort crowning all that has gone before. We look, in this promised history of himself, for the fruits of all seasons, and expect to find the enthusiasm of a glorious youth deepened and matured by the experience of a poet's old age. It is sunset remembering and reflecting back the hues and promise of the morning. But further consideration will, we think, necessarily abate and lower these anticipations. Those especially who have felt the most genuine reverence for Wordsworth's genius—who have themselves been influenced by him—who can look back to principles which had their first conscious rise in his teaching, to high thoughts that he originated, to moments that he glorified—who have realized, to use a hackneyed phrase, his mission to the world and to themselves, will feel that this is already accomplished. The work he had to do is manifestly done. He has had a practical influence beyond the common meed of poets. He has advanced the cause of the poor, and actually raised and dignified their condition in the eyes of men. He has broken down haughty distinctions, and brought home to the heart and conscience a conviction of true equality and common brotherhood, proving that truest happiness lies within reach of all men, and finds its root not in the intellect but the affections, in love of God and man. To each one of us his imagination,

> 'with a flash that has reveal'd
> Th' invisible world,'

has withdrawn the veil that enwraps us—withdrawn for a moment, never, it may be, to enclose us so thickly again—that veil which separates ourselves from ourselves, one portion of our being from another, our origin from our present existence. He has done that pre-eminently which it is the gift and calling of poets to do, stirring up our hearts to realize what faith teaches

us to believe. He has quickened the understanding to comprehend that the highest truth is beyond the reach of sense. He has raised us for brief moments above ourselves; we have felt heaven more near, the presence of God more inevitable. We have shared his ecstasies, and breathed with him a purer air, rid for a while of the trifles and the cares of life. Every stage of life has close associations with him: childhood is illuminated, youth purified, manhood strengthened, the thought of age made reverend through him. The weight of our past obligations must, we believe, moderate our hopes, and convince us that he cannot have new similar benefits to confer,—that he must have already accomplished his great task. He can have no new spell. We may be further instructed by him, but there can be no closer appeal to ourselves. This promised insight into his mind and powers must give a calmer pleasure, yet cannot in the nature of things inspire that delight which our first knowledge of him brought with it. There was a necessity in him to reveal what he himself saw and knew, to disclose what lay in his heart, to seek out those hidden sympathies which knit all men together. *One* only 'keeps His best till last.' The poet, though lit from above, holds his light in an earthen vessel; he is conscious of genius, and has yearnings for sympathy, and a longing for fame. He could not, we know, keep his brightest jewels hid through life; he must see others delight in their radiance—he must be urged on to fresh exertions by the praise of his fellows—there must be witnesses to his highest flights. There are poems of Wordsworth's which we feel *could* not have been withheld all these years; by force of their inherent passion and fervour they would have made a way through to the light. And if the autobiographical poem is in its subject private and unfitted to see the world while its author remained in it, we may yet expect that the thought and lessons suggested by his individual experience would have found expression elsewhere. His finest and most characteristic poems may in fact well be called offshoots from this idea. Thus we have felt beforehand confident that nowhere in the forthcoming work shall we find so passionate and fiery a description of the boy's love of nature as in the lines on Tintern Abbey, nowhere such memories of infancy as in the immortal Ode. No human power, we say to ourselves, could have kept them from the world after they were written; and so we come to the conclusion that this poem will be of a calmer, less exciting, less highly poetical, less enchaining cast than what has gone before. It will be philosophy, not passion; reason and feeling illuminated by touches of poetry, rather than such quintessence of poetry as it was sometimes given to Wordsworth to express. Before the

book comes into our hands we give way to sentimental regrets, not for him but ourselves. We ask, already anticipating disappointment,

'Whither is gone the visionary gleam?'

We feel that the glory and freshness of the first dream can find no renewal.

And what is the reality after these various conflicting expectations? Is the first impression or the last nearest the truth? It was well perhaps that we should go through the two processes,—that the first impulse should be chastened; but there is no ground for reasonable disappointment. 'The Prelude' is indeed a noble poem, fully worthy of its great author, and bearing the full reflection of himself. It is a great work by the only hand capable of its fitting execution—the history of a poet's mind,—and as such a symbol of our own times of restless search into the secret things of nature, and the hidden mysterious sources of power. Though probably familiar to many of our readers, it will be necessary to give here the extract from the author's preface to the 'Excursion,' in which he explains the plan and purpose of the present work.

'Several years ago, when the author retired to his native mountains with the hope of being enabled to construct a literary work that might live, it was a reasonable thing that he should take a review of his own mind, and examine how far nature and education had qualified him for such an employment.

'As subsidiary to this preparation, he undertook to record, in verse, the origin and progress of his own powers, as far as he was acquainted with them.

'That work, addressed to a dear friend, (S. T. Coleridge,) most distinguished for his knowledge and genius, and to whom this author's intellect is deeply indebted, has long been finished; and the result of the investigation which gave rise to it, was a determination to compose a philosophical poem, containing views of men, nature, and society, and to be entitled the "Recluse," as having for its principal subject the sensations and opinions of a poet living in retirement.

'The preparatory poem is biographical, and conducts the history of the author's mind to the point when he was emboldened to hope that his faculties were sufficiently matured for entering upon the arduous labour which he has proposed to himself; and the two works have the same kind of relation to each other, if he may so express himself, as the ante-chapel has to the body of a gothic church. Continuing this allusion, he may be permitted to add that his minor Pieces which have been long before the Public, when they shall be properly arranged, will be found by the attentive reader to have such connexion with the main work as may give them claim to be likened to the little cells and oratories, and sepulchral recesses, ordinarily included in those edifices.'

The advertisement to the present volume goes on to say:—

'Such was the anthor's language in the year 1814. It will thence be seen, that the present poem was intended to be introductory to the "Recluse," and that the "Recluse," if completed, would have consisted of

three parts. Of these the second part alone, viz., "The Excursion," was finished and given to the world by the author.'—P. vi.

'The Prelude' was begun in 1799, and completed in 1805, the author being at its commencement thirty-four years of age, and at its conclusion forty; it was written therefore in the very prime of life, when the powers of the whole man may be considered at their highest. And here, before entering upon a review of the present work, the aim of which was to enable him to ascertain his own qualifications for composing a great poem, it may be interesting to lay before the reader the definition of a poet which Wordsworth has already given us in his 'Essay on Poetic Diction,' and what he felt to be the indispensable requirements for that office, requirements which he fully believed, and indeed proves, to be fulfilled in his own person:—

'Taking up the subject, then, upon general grounds, I ask what is meant by the word poet? What is a poet? To whom does he address himself? And what language is to be expected from him? He is a man speaking to men: a man, it is true, endued with more lively sensibility, more enthusiasm and tenderness, who has a greater knowledge of human nature, and a more comprehensive soul than are supposed to be common among mankind; a man pleased with his own passions and volitions, and who rejoices more than other men in the spirit of life that is in him; delighting to contemplate similar volitions and passions as manifested in the goings on of the universe, and habitually impelled to create them where he does not find them. To these qualities he has added a disposition to be affected more than other men by absent things as if they were present; an ability of conjuring up in himself passions which are indeed far from being the same as those produced by real events, yet (especially in those parts of the general sympathy which are pleasing and delightful) do more nearly resemble the passions produced by real events, than anything which, from the motions of their own minds merely, other men are accustomed to feel in themselves; whence, and from practice, he has acquired a greater readiness and power in expressing what he thinks and feels, and especially those thoughts and feelings which by his own choice, or from the structure of his own mind, arise in him without immediate external excitement.'—Vol. iv. p. 302.

We are struck with the truth of this definition, and yet it is new; it had its rise in the qualities of Wordsworth's own mind; such of his predecessors as have been led to discussion on the same subject, have used a wholly different phraseology, and have had in their thoughts, by the bias of their own genius, an entirely different idea. All of these requirements are in their degree necessary to form a poet, but for all no one can be equally distinguished, and it is the pre-eminence of one or more over the rest which assigns to individual poets their appropriate work and office. Wordsworth places first in his list a 'lively sensibility,' and therein doubtless lay the secret of his own power;—sensibility which laid his infant soul open to impressions before he had thought to reason or consciousness to realize, but developing, as years passed by, into an intense

consciousness of these impressions, which gave him an insight into his own emotions, and a truth and power in analysing them never before attained or even conceived. And next from this assemblage of good gifts we would assign him that 'pleasure in his own passions and volitions, that rejoicing in the spirit of life,' which we would call a capacity for happiness. Preeminent faculties of mind bring along with them, in due time, adequate powers of expression; all poets as poets must possess them. We will not, therefore, assert this gift to be especially his above his fellows, except in the qualities more remarkably his own, and, as such, conveyed to others with that peculiar and most subtle and penetrating truth of which we all of us have felt the force.

An autobiography in verse is a very different thing from one in prose. The lovers of detail will not find their passion gratified by any full record of facts or strict account of dates. What few events are given, drop out incidently to give point to some development of powers or change of feeling. We learn that the Poet's mother died early, that he lost his father before his tenth year; there are many beautiful and affectionate addresses to his only sister, and incidental allusions to three or four brothers. His taste for simple life, and the homely scenes his memory dwells upon, might lead the reader to suppose his station more humble than his liberal education, and many other circumstances, render possible. After his school life he goes to Cambridge, where he lives very much at his ease, from thence passes over to France, then in all the ferment of its first revolution, and finally, through the judicious bequest of a friend to whom the whole world owes gratitude, was placed in independent circumstances, to follow the free bent of his genius, which certainly would have helped him very little in making his way in the world.

To atone for this meagre catalogue of the important events of life which generally form the staple of biography, our interest is engaged by many minor incidents of a character too slight, and in their outer semblance too trivial to find a place in matter-of-fact prose, but which are sometimes turning points of thought, and therefore of commensurate dignity in this history of a mind. A walk on a rainy day, the first sight of a mountain, a chance encounter, the games of infancy, the companionship of his dog, may class among the most striking events in such a work. There is no need, therefore, when any other course presents advantages, to follow the narrative in chronological order; our view of the poem will be more clearly expressed by adducing examples as they occur in illustration of those intellectual and moral excellences for which we think the present work most

remarkable, most completely illustrative of the author's mind and character as we are already acquainted with them. The book opens with a strain of thankfulness at finding himself once more among the scenes of his youth, after a long period of absence, a period accounted for in the course of the poem, and one of uncongenial excitement.

> 'Escaped
> From the vast city, where I long had pined
> A discontented sojourner: now free,
> Free as a bird to settle where I will.'

It was not in verse alone, not in one particular mood, not under transient inspirations, that it was necessary to Wordsworth to live in the scenes of his birth-place; his being was not complete elsewhere; part of himself was wanting; he was literally lost away from the mountains and streams which had greeted his infant eyes; there was a mysterious union between those noble forms of nature and his inmost soul, which held him to them with something of a mother's embrace. They were the very sources of his power, not so much for their intrinsic beauty, as because his life was begun among them; they were the objects which first touched the exquisite sensibility of his nature, that combined susceptibility of feeling and organization with which he was endowed; 'the vital soul,' as he designates it, took its first colour and abiding character from them. They had a positive sway; they, as it were, dictated his course, and set him the task he had to do. Had he, through the perversity of fate, or yielding to such inducements as guide the actions of ordinary men, been placed elsewhere, far away from their influence, either in cities, or among scenes however fair in a foreign land, we feel convinced his genius could not have developed itself; his best thoughts, his noblest impulses, would have found no expression: as he himself has said in scorn of ideal worlds,

> 'Whole ages if I here should roam,
> The world for my remarks or me
> Would not a whit the better be;
> I've left my heart at home.'

How he felt his whole nature expand in restoration to these scenes, is exquisitely described in the following lines, on his return home after his first term at Cambridge. The impression of blissful yet calm happiness, has, we think, been scarcely so vividly given before, even by this poet whose gift it is to make men sympathise with his joy.

> 'When first I made
> Once more the circuit of our little lake,
> If ever happiness hath lodged with man,

That day consummate happiness was mine,
Wide-spreading, steady, calm, contemplative.
The sun was set, or setting, when I left
Our cottage door, and evening soon brought on
A sober hour, not winning or serene,
For cold and raw the air was, and untuned;
But as a face we love is sweetest then
When sorrow damps it, or, whatever look
It chance to wear, is sweetest if the heart
Have fulness in herself; even so with me
It fared that evening. Gently did my soul
Put off her veil, and, self-transmuted, stood
Naked, as in the presence of her God.
While on I walk'd, a comfort seem'd to touch
A heart that had not been disconsolate;
Strength came where weakness was not known to be,
At least not felt; and restoration came
Like an intruder knocking at the door
Of unacknowledged weariness.'—P. 91.

A type it may be, as far as mortal thought may divine, of the joy which shall enter into the meek and gentle spirit, when it too shall put off the veil, the burden of this fretful life: borne so meekly, and with such a sense of alleviations, that it shall know only the full weight of this world's weakness and weariness, by the blissful contrast of the present new content in the eternal home.

The object of the author, in his poem, is to understand himself, and by what process of nature and education he came to be what he was. Memory is ransacked, thought propelled into the dim obscurities of the past; reason sits in judgment to weigh obscurest hints and vaguest impressions; the whole present man, with every faculty, is employed to ascertain what he is, and how he is what he is. The conscious man thus moralizing and speculating on the unconscious child, rejoicing in keen present consciousness over past unconsciousness, is a curious spectacle. It is the relative position of manhood and infancy magnified to poetical size and proportion.

The child is father of the man, and very curiously do we pry into our origin, but never probably has it been done with such fulness of research as in this instance, though at every turn thrown back by the inscrutable mysteries of our opening being.

'Hard task, vain hope to analyse the mind,
If each most obvious and particular thought,
Not in a mystical and idle sense,
But in the words of Reason deeply weigh'd,
Hath no beginning.'—P. 42.

'From early days,
Beginning not long after that first time
In which, a Babe, by intercourse of touch,
I held mute dialogues with my Mother's heart,

I have endeavour'd to display the means
Whereby this infant sensibility,
Great birthright of our being, was in me
Augmented and sustain'd.'—P. 44.

'And deem not profitless those fleeting moods
Of shadowy exultation: not for this,
That they are kindred to our purer mind
And intellectual life; but that the soul,
Remembering how she felt, but what she felt
Remembering not, retains an obscure sense
Of possible sublimity, whereto
With growing faculties she doth aspire,
With faculties still growing, feeling still
That whatsoever point they gain, they yet
Have something to pursue.'—P. 46.

'How shall I seek the origin? where find
Faith in the marvellous things which then I felt?
Oft in these moments such a holy calm
Would overspread my soul, that bodily eyes
Were utterly forgotten, and what I saw
Appear'd like something in myself, a dream,
A prospect in the mind.'—P. 47.

'So wide appears
The vacancy between me and those days
Which yet have such self-presence in my mind,
That, musing on them, often do I seem
Two consciousnesses, conscious of myself
And of some other being.'—P. 34.

'Blest the infant Babe,
(For with my best conjecture I would trace
Our Being's earthly progress,) blest the Babe,
Nursed in his Mother's arms, who sinks to sleep
Rock'd on his Mother's breast; who with his soul
Drinks in the feelings of his Mother's eye!
For him in one dear Presence, there exists
A virtue which irradiates and exalts
Objects through widest intercourse of sense.
No outcast he, bewilder'd and depress'd:
Along his infant veins are interfused
The gravitation and the filial bond
Of nature that connect him with the world.
Is there a flower, to which he points with hand
Too weak to gather it, already love
Drawn from love's purest earthly fount for him,
Hath beautified that flower; already shades
Of pity cast from inward tenderness
Do fall around him upon aught that bears
Unsightly marks of violence and harm.
Emphatically such a Being lives,
Frail creature that he is, helpless as frail,
An inmate of this active universe;
For feeling hath for him imparted power
That through the growing faculties of sense
Doth like an agent of the one great Mind
Create, creator and receiver both,

Working but in alliance with the works
Which it beholds.—Such, verily, is the first
Poetic spirit of our human life,
By uniform control in after years,
In most abated or suppress'd; in some,
Through every change of growth and of decay,
Pre-eminent till death.'—P. 42.

'And here, O friend! have I retraced my life
Up to an eminence, and told a tale
Of matters which not falsely may be call'd
The glory of my youth. Of genius, power,
Creation, and divinity itself
I have been speaking, for my theme has been
What pass'd within me. Not of outward things
Done visibly for other minds, words, signs,
Symbols or actions, but of my own heart
Have I been speaking, and my youthful mind.
O Heavens! how awful is the weight of souls,
And what they do within themselves while yet
The yoke of earth is new to them, the world
Nothing but a wild field where they were sown.'—P. 62.

The early days into whose mysteries he thus restlessly searches were passed in a liberty preeminently adapted to develop his genius, and in the highest degree congenial to his nature. Hardly, in these watchful zealous days of training and education, can we comprehend how a child should have been suffered morning, noon and night to follow his own inclination as he did. Nature took him yet an infant to train a poet 'of her own:' he was open to all her influences, and left, as it seems, very much to such guidance as they furnished. She pronounced of this her favourite:—

'Myself will to my darling be
Both law and impulse;'

and provided that amid her glories he should feel

'An overseeing power
To kindle and restrain.'

The dark shadows of the cliffs checked the impetuosity of his play, the stars shed over him their solemn thoughts, the streams whispered their lessons, and when assailed by childhood's temptations, the solitary hills breathed their warnings after him, and found their way to his conscience. And he is thankful with an intensity of joy and gratitude for the grandeur, animate and inanimate, which encompassed his infancy. He has a sense of dignity and splendour attached to that season. His was a royal training, all the powers of nature waited on and ministered to him. When suffering under uncertainty in the choice of a task fitted for his genius, he thus apostrophises the stream which first soothed his infant ear:—

'Was it for this
That one, the fairest of all rivers, loved
To blend his murmurs with my nurse's song,
And from his alder shades and rocky falls,
And from his fords and shallows, sent a voice
That flow'd along my dreams? For this, didst thou,
O Derwent! winding among grassy holms
Where I was looking on, a babe in arms,
Make ceaseless music that composed my thoughts
To more than infant softness, giving me
Amid the fretful dwellings of mankind
A foretaste, a dim earnest, of the calm
That Nature breathes among the hills and groves?
When he had left the mountains and received
On his smooth breast the shadow of those towers
That yet survive, a shatter'd monument
Of feudal sway, the bright blue river pass'd
Along the margin of our terrace walk;
A tempting playmate whom we dearly loved.
O many a time have I, a five years' child,
In a small mill-race sever'd from his stream,
Made one long bathing of a summer's day;
Bask'd in the sun, and plunged and bask'd again
Alternate, all a summer's day, or scour'd
The sandy fields, leaping through flowery groves
Of yellow rag-wort; or when rock and hill,
The woods, and distant Skiddaw's lofty height,
Were bronzed with deepest radiance, stood alone
Beneath the sky, as if I had been born
On Indian plains, and from my mother's hut
Had run abroad in wantonness, to sport,
A naked savage, in the thunder shower.'—P. 14.

In the following passage, again in recounting the influences by which his spirit was fed, he asserts that 'creative sensibility' which made him their superior and interpreter. He held a mastery over them, and from himself—his own heart—they derived some portion of their solemnity and power:—

'Twere long to tell
What spring and autumn, what the winter snows,
And what the summer shade, what day and night,
Evening and morning, sleep and waking, thought
From sources inexhaustible, pour'd forth
To feed the spirit of religious love
In which I walk'd with Nature. But let this
Be not forgotten, that I still retain'd
My first creative sensibility,
That by the regular action of the world
My soul was unsubdued. A plastic power
Abode with me; a forming hand, at times
Rebellious, acting in a devious mood;
A local spirit of his own, at war
With general tendency, but for the most,
Subservient strictly to external things
With which it communed. An auxiliar light

> Came from my mind, which on the setting sun
> Bestow'd new splendour; the melodious birds,
> The fluttering breezes, fountains that run on
> Murmuring so sweetly in themselves, obey'd
> A like dominion, and the midnight storm
> Grew darker in the presence of my eye:
> Hence my obeisance, my devotion hence,
> And hence my transport.'—P. 47.

There is a certain power in such passages as these—a 'creative' power, he would call it,—of awakening in each one of us such remembrances, glimpses and flashes, as if we too had once held a dominion. What majestic daring is there in this image of the enchantment of genius, the boy ruling the storm, and adding darkness to the thunder cloud!

But he does not represent his boyhood as always passed in this exalted intercourse, in exercising this supremacy; he delights in recalling the sports of his school days, which were followed out by the whole party, 'a noisy crew,' with as little restraint as may be. He fished, boated, and skated, and set snares for woodcocks, and galloped long distances on horseback at all hours of day and night, and describes very gracefully the happy card-playing on winters' evenings, dwelling with fond remembrance on the veteran aspect of their solitary pack of cards—the casualties and loss incurred in the frequent combats at loo or whist in which they were engaged. He considers his school life as one important part of his education. Not so much for what he learned there, for incidentally he intimates that they might certainly have been taught much more and much better, and such learning as books brought with them not voluntarily acquired, but imposed as a task, had probably little charm or even influence over him; but for the companionship and knowledge of human nature a school life implies, and especially in him whose early impressions were so true and so vivid. In summing up at the close of the volume his capability for the great duty of his life, he says:—

> 'For progress meet
> Along this intricate and difficult path,
> Whate'er was wanting, something had I gain'd,
> As one of many schoolfellows compell'd
> In hardy independence, to stand up
> Amid conflicting interests, and the shock
> Of various tempers; to endure and note
> What was not understood though known to be;
> Among the mysteries of love and hate,
> Honour and shame, looking to right and left,
> Uncheck'd by innocence too delicate,
> And moral notions too intolerant,
> Sympathies too contracted.'—P. 367.

Doubtless the happiness of his childhood was one great

source of his genius, or it may be sprang from it, as he says:—

> 'We poets in our youth begin in gladness;'

a happiness natural to him, and which no cross accident interfered with as a state. His was not a morbid temper. The mysterious influences which visited him in solitude did not incapacitate him from taking his full share of common pleasures, he must even have had an exuberance of boyish animal spirits very favourable, no doubt, to strength and manliness of thought in mature life. His school life, too, was doubtless advantageous in this point of view, as preventing a premature development of the poetic faculty,—keeping it silent and in abeyance till his full powers were ripe for it. He says:—

> 'Nature herself was at this unripe time
> But secondary to my own pursuits
> And animal activities, and all
> Their trivial pleasures.'—P. 221.

And he delights to look back upon that period of bodily energy and enjoyment—'We were a noisy crew;' 'From week to week we lived a round of tumult;' 'We ran a boisterous course;' he and his schoolfellows were—

> 'A race of real children, not too wise,
> Too learned or too good; but wanton, fresh,
> And bandied up and down by love and hate;
> Not unresentful where self-justified;
> Fierce, moody, patient, venturous, modest, shy;
> Mad at their sports like wither'd leaves in winds;'

and receiving on the excited mind permanent impressions of the scenes which witnessed these sports:—

> 'Thus oft amid those fits of vulgar joy
> Which, through all seasons, on a child's pursuits
> Are prompt attendants, 'mid that giddy bliss
> Which, like a tempest, works along the blood
> And is forgotten; even then I felt
> Gleams like the flashing of a shield;—the earth
> And common face of Nature spake to me
> Rememberable things; sometimes, 'tis true,
> By chance collisions and quaint accidents
> (Like those ill-sorted unions, work supposed
> Of evil-minded fairies), yet not vain
> Nor profitless, if haply they impress'd
> Collateral objects and appearances,
> Albeit lifeless then, and doom'd to sleep
> Until maturer seasons call'd them forth
> To impregnate and to elevate the mind.
> —And if the vulgar joy by its own weight
> Wearied itself out of the memory,

> The scenes which were a witness of that joy
> Remain'd in their substantial lineaments
> Depicted on the brain, and to the eye
> Were visible, a daily sight; and thus
> By the impressive discipline of fear,
> By pleasure and repeated happiness,
> So frequently repeated, and by force
> Of obscure feelings representative
> Of things forgotten, these same scenes so bright,
> So beautiful, so majestic in themselves,
> Though yet the day was distant, did become
> Habitually dear, and all their forms
> And changeful colours by invisible links
> Were fasten'd to the affections.'—P. 27.

Some men are geniuses in spite of education and circumstances. We admire in them how inherent ability forces its way through every impediment; how hindrances are even turned into helps by the ductile indomitable faculty; and we then suppose that external circumstances matter but little. If the child is gifted in himself, we infer, it matters not what adverse discipline he goes through, what restraints and contradictions to his natural tastes he has to bear. It seems even as if some opposition strengthened the natural gift; and in a certain sense it is so. Genius will force its way through any form of culture, but it may nevertheless be diverted from its natural current. Coleridge learned to love and worship Nature,—a blue-coat boy in the very heart of London; Southey eyed wistfully the distant fields, tied to his aunt's apron strings, and forbidden a nearer view; till a glory hung round the forbidden scene. No doubt the longing unindulged in such cases does impart a kind of romance to the feelings; but still it is a different love, a passion for times and seasons, a sentiment in its turn giving way to others equally powerful, in no sense the same necessity of the whole being through life. Nature is not the same home to the affections, nor does she possess the same domestic authoritative character. Wherever Coleridge could talk, he was at home, and Southey, surrounded by his books, wanted no other companionship, though both were open to all the noble influences of natural scenes; but Wordsworth (and the same may be said of Scott) felt towards his mountains not only like a poet inspired by them,—for such inspiration is only a temporary condition of mind, leaving it open and almost requiring other stimulants when the fit is passed by,—but with all the local attachments and homely personal associations of the humblest shepherd born and bred among them. As a man of genius he could analyse their power and assume the superior; as a son of the soil he was ruled by an habitual

sense of dependence, an unconscious desire of the soul which they alone could satisfy. In the one case, where early association does not come into play, love of nature is a lively perception, a just appreciation of beauty; men can be impartial and judge by criticism and exact rules: in the other and stronger tie, this feeling for beauty is subservient to love of country; they bestow admiration on all nature because it is beautiful, but they love one spot, one combination of form and light and colour, with abiding affection, because it is their own, and because they have a sense of want and incompleteness away from it: and such love as this will not allow men to be impartial; they would feel it an irreverence—a casting away of just restraints of thought—as good men love their parents, not because they believe them abstractedly to be preeminently *best*, but that they constituted their first idea of excellence and authority.

Our poet confesses to one short period of life, when this disease of criticism, 'the infection of the age,' infested his mind:—

> 'Giving way
> To a comparison of scene with scene,
> Bent over-much on superficial things,
> Pampering myself with meagre novelties
> Of colour and proportion; to the moods
> Of time and season, to the moral power,
> The affection and the spirit of the place,
> Insensible.'—P. 322.

Contrasting it with the nobler sensations of his earliest love, in that period of innocence and simplicity when the affections and the tastes are alike formed, with which the following passage concludes:—

> 'I roam'd from hill to hill, from rock to rock,
> Still craving combinations of new forms,
> New pleasure, wider empire, for the sight
> Proud of her own endowments, and rejoiced
> To lay the inner faculties asleep.
> Amid the turns and counter turns, the strife
> And various trials of our complex being,
> As we grow up, such thraldom of that sense
> Seems hard to shun. And yet I knew a maid,
> A young enthusiast, who escaped these bonds;
> Her eye was not the mistress of her heart;
> Far less did rules prescribed by passive taste,
> Or barren intermeddling subtleties
> Perplex her mind; but, wise as women are
> When genial circumstance hath favour'd them,
> She welcomed what was given and craved no more;
> Whate'er the scene presented to her view,

That was the best, to that she was attuned
By her benign simplicity of life,
And through a perfect happiness of soul,
Whose variegated feelings were in this
Sisters, that they were each some new delight.
Birds in the bower, and lambs in the green field,
Could they have known her, would have loved; methought
Her very presence such a sweetness breathed,
That flowers, and trees, and e'en the silent hills,
And everything she look'd on, should have had
An intimation how she bore herself
Towards them and to all creatures. God delights
In such a being; for her common thoughts
Are piety, her life is gratitude.

'Even like this maid, before I was call'd forth
From the retirement of my native hills,
I loved whate'er I saw: nor lightly loved,
But most intensely; never dreamt of aught
More grand, more fair, more exquisitely framed
Than those few nooks to which my happy feet
Were limited. I had not at that time
Lived long enough, nor in the least survived
The first diviner influence of this world,
As it appears to unaccustom'd eyes.
Worshipping then among the depth of things
As piety ordain'd; could I submit
To measured admiration, or to aught
That should preclude humility and love?
I felt, observed, and ponder'd; did not judge,
Yea, never thought of judging; with the gift
Of all this glory fill'd and satisfied.'—P. 323.

'The first diviner influence of this world' is the theme of the volume for the first four books; the fifth is on books; and a subtle pain and trouble of the intellect is recorded characteristic of the poet's mind and training; natural to one who contemplated nature first, and formed ideas of permanence from her unchanging forms, which others, however unreasonably, attach to the labours of genius, to which they ascribe 'deathless' and 'immortal' fame. Faith knows that even the everlasting hills shall crumble to dust, but the powers of nature are still an *image* of permanence, and, regarding them as an evidence of the Creator, though they should fall into tumult and annihilation, yet God is Order and Calm, and from His Presence light must again shine forth, fresh manifestation of His attributes must ensue, and 'kindlings like the morning.' For these outward manifestations of the Supreme Being the Poet finds a parallel in the efforts of man to perpetuate himself, and to create 'things that aspire to unconquerable life;' efforts of the intellect to make its own thoughts eternal. And all how vainly!

time will come to each when these helps and guides to supreme
ath will not be needed. What can man do for those who

enjoy the presence of God? So in the wreck of nature, where will be the thoughts of man,—

> 'The consecrated work of bard or sage?'

He laments that the mind of man has no element durable enough, and analogous to his own nature, whereon to stamp his thoughts. It is the trouble of one who desires to say imperishable things, but whose hopes and aspirations are held in check by the belief in the only Eternal and Unchanging, learnt in life's most impressible season from the outward, passive, enduring testimonies of God's presence and power seen all around. This thought leads to the history of a dream, a poet's dream, expressive of the intensity of his desire to preserve from the wrecks of a falling world the two great representatives of truth, as he deems them, Poetry and Geometry, of which last he elsewhere says:—

> 'Mighty is the charm
> Of those abstractions to a mind beset
> With images, and haunted by herself.'

From these speculative regrets he descends to describe the influence of books on his early mind; and here it strikes us, though possibly there may not be full ground for the impression, that he regards the use of books as something *past* to himself, as having done much for him, but not as if he depended on their habitual companionship. He acknowledges the teaching, in his youth, of certain great powers, the giants of the intellect, and of those humbler voices which in childhood ministered to the imagination; but it does not appear that the constant use of books, as information, as sources of knowledge, are at all necessary to his mature life. And for children, he is guarded in his requirement of this. He asks for them—

> 'Knowledge rightly honour'd by that name,
> Knowledge not purchased by the loss of power.'

Liberty for the child is what he asks, and a free range to choose, unchecked by too timid and arbitrary a watchfulness. It is a difficult question. Few men will allow themselves to be the worse for a freedom of unlimited choice of books in their childhood. And children left to themselves may in their innocence get no harm from what may taint an older imagination. But as a rule, it must be the duty of parents to guard their minds from contamination as much as their manners. In many of the instances asserted (for it is only assertion) of persons getting no harm from that indiscriminate reading, which undoubtedly *has* strengthened the intellect, it may be proved that no one was really at fault, because no one knew that any danger was incurred. The good but illiterate mother, who would have

protected her son with her utmost vigilance from evil companions, saw him poring over books with pride, supposing in her simplicity that nothing but good was to be learnt from them. But it is not in nature or reason that parents caring for their children's souls, and acquainted with books, should exercise no choice in what they place before them. No Christian mother can see her son reading a bad book, trusting to the *chance* of its doing him no harm; depending presumptuously on the innocence which is therein attacked. It may be, however, that among the books to which Wordsworth had access in his boyhood, there were none that could be thus summarily described, and under the supposition there is doubtless much truth in the following protest against meagre extracts and selections. What he has in his thoughts really is a certain tyranny of superintendence which would force the mind into a particular channel, and take away its power of choice or independent judgment of right and wrong:—

> 'Rarely and with reluctance would I stoop
> To transitory themes; yet I rejoice,
> And, by these thoughts admonish'd, will pour out
> Thanks with uplifted heart, that I was rear'd
> Safe from an evil which these days have laid
> Upon the children of the land, a pest
> That might have dried me up, body and soul.
> This verse is dedicate to Nature's self
> And things that teach as Nature teaches: then
> Oh! where had been the man, the poet where,
> Where had we been, we, two, beloved friend!
> If in the season of unperilous choice,
> In lieu of wandering as we did, through vales
> Rich with indigenous produce, open ground
> Of fancy, happy pastures ranged at will,
> We had been follow'd, hourly watch'd, and noosed
> Each in his several melancholy walk,
> String'd like a poor man's heifer at its feed,
> Led through the lanes in forlorn servitude;
> Or rather like a stallèd ox, debarr'd
> From touch of growing grass, that may not taste
> A flower till it have yielded up its sweets
> A prelibation to the mower's scythe.'—P. 116.

In Wordsworth's own case, too, he had that habitual check to over-indulgence in any course of reading which the permanent attractions of nature exercised upon him. He had a twinge of self-reproach, even as a boy, at the age when we give ourselves up most passionately to the books that interest us, if, in spending a holiday out of doors, he abandoned himself to the charms of poetry or romance, 'defrauding the day's glory.' The outward scene would appeal to his conscience, till with a sudden sound of sharp reproach he would throw the volume aside to

obey the stronger and, doubtless, more healthful influence. Yet he thus beautifully speaks of works of imagination as a boon to childhood :—

> 'A gracious spirit o'er the earth presides
> And o'er the heart of man: invisibly
> It comes, to works of unreproved delight,
> And tendency benign, directing those
> Who care not, know not, think not what they do.
> The tales that charm away the wakeful night
> In Araby, romances; legends penn'd
> For solace by dim light of monkish lamps;
> Fictions, for ladies of their love, devised
> By youthful squires; adventures endless, spun
> By the dismantled warrior in old age,
> Out of the bowels of those very schemes
> In which his youth did first extravagate;
> These spread like day, and something in the shape
> Of these will live till man shall be no more.
> Dumb yearnings, hidden appetites, are ours,
> And *they must* have their food. Our childhood sits,
> Our simple childhood, sits upon a throne
> That hath more power than all the elements.
> I guess not what this tells of Being past,
> Nor what it augurs of the life to come;
> But so it is, and, in that dubious hour,
> That twilight when we first begin to see
> This dawning earth, to recognise, expect,
> And in the long probation that ensues,
> The time of trial, ere we learn to live
> In reconcilement of our stinted powers;
> To endure this state of meagre vassalage,
> Unwilling to forego, confess, submit,
> Uneasy and unsettled, yoke-fellows
> To custom, mettlesome, and not yet tamed
> And humbled down; oh! then we feel, we feel,
> We know where we have friends. Ye dreamers, then,
> Forgers of daring tales! we bless you then,
> Impostors, drivellers, dotards, as the ape
> Philosophy will call you: *then* we feel
> With what and how great might ye are in league,
> Who make our wish, our power, our thought a deed,
> An empire, a possession,—ye whom time
> And seasons serve: all Faculties to whom
> Earth crouches, the elements are potter's clay,
> Space, like a heaven fill'd up with northern lights,
> Here, nowhere, there, and everywhere at once.'—P. 127.

While on this theme, he pays the following delightful tribute to his mother's memory, and to her exercise of the trust committed to her. We cannot, indeed, quarrel with her system while witnessing its results, but we think it likely that this may be an instance of what we have already supposed a common case. She probably did not know that her children were in the way of danger while reading the books in their father's bookcase; and

the arguments with which the pious son supplied her, were but latent in her own bosom:—

> 'Early died
> My honour'd mother, she who was the heart
> And hinge of all our learnings and our loves;
> She left us destitute, and, as we might,
> Trooping together. Little suits it me
> To break upon the sabbath of her rest
> With any thought that looks like other's blame;
> Nor would I praise her but in perfect love.
> Hence am I check'd: but let me boldly say,
> In gratitude, and for the sake of truth,
> Unheard by her, that she, not falsely taught,
> Fetching her goodness rather from times past,
> Than shaping novelties for times to come,
> Had no presumption, no such jealousy,
> Nor did by habit of her thoughts mistrust
> Our nature; but had virtual faith that He
> Who fills the mother's breast with innocent milk,
> Doth also for our nobler part provide,
> Under His great correction and control,
> As innocent instincts, and as innocent food;
> Or draws, for minds that are left free to trust
> In the simplicities of opening life,
> Sweet honey out of spurn'd and dreaded weeds.
> This was her creed, and therefore she was pure
> From anxious fear of error, or mishap,
> And evil, overweeningly so call'd;
> Was not puff'd up by false unnatural hopes,
> Nor selfish with unnecessary cares,
> Nor with impatience from the season ask'd
> More than its timely produce; rather loved
> The hours for what they are, than from regard
> Glanced in their promises in restless pride.
> Such was she—not from faculties more strong
> Than others have, but from the times, perhaps,
> And spot in which she lived, and through a grace
> Of modest meekness, simple-mindedness,
> A heart that found benignity and hope,
> Being itself benign.'—P. 117.

From such a mother we must suppose the poet to have inherited that calm yet cheerful temperament, content without external excitements, finding its chief enjoyment in retirement and contemplation, which throws its own colour over all his poetry, and gives its characteristic and peculiar moral value.

> 'Some men a forward motion love,
> But I by backward steps would move;—'

says Henry Vaughan, an old poet, who shows a singular affinity of thought on this subject with the most individual and peculiar of Wordsworth's views;[1] and such was Wordsworth's philo-

[1] 'Happy those early days when I
Shined in my angel infancy! Before

sophy. It was in looking back that he sought for those motives of thought and action which influence man. He did not slight observation, but it was in self-study that he looked for power to unravel the mysteries and perplexities of our being. The past was with him the golden period, the source of light and inspiration. He strove to establish a chain between the present moment of thought and the remotest sensation that memory or fancy would take him back to; and so vivid and unearthly did that light shine upon him, that to him it could not be derived from the common day of this world, but was rather the reflection of past glory and intelligence revealed in flashes and glimpses by uncertain memory. Infancy is with him the very source of wisdom; it is a closed book, but one which holds more than any open volume in which knowledge is enshrined;—

> 'Oh! mystery of man, from what a depth
> Proceed thy honours. I am lost, but see
> In simple childhood something of the base
> On which thy greatness stands; but this I feel,
> That from thyself it comes, that thou must give,
> Else never canst receive. The days gone by
> Return upon me almost from the dawn
> Of life: the hiding-places of man's power
> Open; I would approach them, but they close.
> I see by glimpses now; when age comes on,
> May scarcely see at all; and I would give,
> While yet we may, as far as words can give,
> Substance and life to what I feel, enshrining,
> Such is my hope, the spirit of the Past
> For future restoration.'—P. 328.

From these transient revelations he dated his thoughts, his motives, and impulses. And it must be admitted as necessary to his exercise of inherent power and genius that he should bring his *whole* being to the task. From the sensibility and vivid impressiveness of his early sensations, childhood was an inspiration to him. The purpose of his manhood seems to have been to reason upon, to put into thoughts and words, to develop the impressions of infancy and early youth. Nothing that he was afterwards called upon to witness or mingle with, entirely

---

> Before I understood this place
> Appointed for my second race;
> Or taught my soul to fancy aught
> But a white celestial thought;
> When yet I had not walk'd above
> A mile or two from my first love;
> And looking back at that short space,
> Could see a glimpse of His bright face;
> When on some gilded cloud or flower
> My gazing soul would dwell an hour,
> And in those weaker glories spy
> Some shadow of eternity.'—*The Retreat.*

apart and separate from this state, was congenial to his nature, or adapted to his genius; they were not things amenable to his bar. He could not readily embrace ideas with which this period had no associations, though the smallest germ, but trace it there at all, grew and flourished under the light of his subtle intellect to full size and proportions. He accounts for his want of loyalty, and we would add a whole train of feelings connected with that virtue, because he had seen or known no men of rank when a boy. He was indifferent to the sweeping away of time-honoured institutions, because 'extrinsic circumstance of record or tradition' had not interested his youth. Unless he can reduce the world by some magic of his own into subservience to the powers which ruled his infant reason, it has no order or meaning to him; new scenes, therefore, were a disturbance to him, till he could trace this analogy. This is remarkably shown in his first acquaintance with London; the objects which therein most aroused attention and stirred reflection being certainly not such as excite the interest and curiosity of common observers, nor in the abstract most worthy of remark. But an interminable crowd of men of whom he knew nothing, and could hope to know nothing, was distraction to him. He calls it 'a huge fermenting mass of human kind.' It must have been this sense of jar and discord which impressed so vulgar a scene of tumult as St. Bartholomew's fair upon him with importance enough to give it a prominent place in his impressions of London. He could make nothing of it, reduce it to no system; it was all horrible confusion, and as such a fit symbol of the great city which perplexed his brain:—

> 'what a shock
> For eyes and ears! what anarchy and din
> Barbarian and infernal,—a phantasma,
> Monstrous in colour, motion, shape, sight, sound!
> * * * * *
> Oh, blank confusion! true epitome
> Of what the mighty city is herself,
> To thousands upon thousands of her sons.'—P. 233.

His way out of this labyrinth is as characteristic and original as his entrance into it. Wordsworth liked to make acquaintance with his fellows under very different circumstances from this wholesale exhibition of them. He preferred to meet them one at a time, to encounter them at distant intervals, to see them as we desire to see a portrait, in a good light, and with appropriate background. The accessories must, in fact, be picturesque; give him but these accessories, set his figures in strong relief, and, like Rembrandt, he can create his own sublimity wholly independent of any inherent grandeur in the subject: any man

on a naked heath or sitting on his own cottage bench would excite his interest, and we know from some of his finest poems what power the human form in circumstances of strangeness, terror, or desolation,—the beggar, the outcast, or the maniac—has over his imagination. But in his first sight of London his vision was too bewildered and his heart too much oppressed to form these pictures. For a time the external scene must prevail over the inner faculty; every thing assumed an equal prominence and refused the fancy's attempts at organization and arrangement. By degrees, however, the superior power overcame these impediments, asserted its supremacy, and sought for congenial food. And this it found not in deeds of past greatness or trial, not in tokens of our present height amongst the nations, not in its great men (though Burke did strongly impress him), not in its arts or commerce, not in its displays of genius and power,—though these were not passed by wholly disregarded; but in traces of individual love or suffering, in images of solitariness and desolation, in abstraction as entire as could be furnished by the bare common or hill side, and which brought them back to him, memory linking them with the present scene. A mechanic holding his sickly child to the sun, taking no heed of countless passers by, absorbed in one intense sentiment of hopeless love—a blind beggar sitting motionless on the crowded thoroughfare,—recalled him to himself with a kind of shock of joy. In the influence of such sights,

> 'a sense
> Of what in the great city had been done
> And suffer'd, and was doing, suffering still,'

came to him, he conversed again

> 'with majesty and power
> Like independent natures. Hence the place
> Was throng'd with impregnations like the wilds
> In which my early feelings had been nursed—
> Bare hills and valleys, full of caverns, rocks,
> And audible seclusions, dashing lakes,
> Echoes and waterfalls, and pointed crags
> That into music touch the passing wind.
> Here then my young imagination found
> No uncongenial element, could here
> Among new objects serve or give command.'—P. 233.

Thus an analogy was established between nature and man, and harmony and peace of mind restored. Whatever was pure shone the purer for the blackness of the setting. The idea of unity grew from the contemplation of multitudes absorbed in one interest. What had been a chaos assumed purpose and order; and love of his kind, and an increase of knowledge followed upon their reconcilement. But until he had accomplished this harmony, as he says elsewhere,

> 'All things were to me
> Loose and disjointed, and the affections left
> Without a vital interest.'

This same relationship between man and nature, the sense of which was necessary to his moral being, was in its drawing out and establishing the great power of his imagination. To assimilate what is dissimilar, to find affinities where the casual glance discerns only contrast and opposition, to establish harmony between life and inanimate matter by transference of their separate qualities, and that by no arbitrary effort of will, but with a truth which makes the interchange an abiding association; thus instilling into the restless heart of man something of nature's calm and repose, and teaching him to see through her fixed and passionless forms the Presence and the Life which creates, confirms, and sustains the universe, and adapts this outer world to the requirements and necessities of his individual being—this has been his work. The tendency of this habitual action of the mind indisposes the poet to love or sympathy with the simply intellectual element in human nature, and turns him to the contemplation of such feelings and emotions as are the fixed conditions and accompaniments of our being; which belong to men as men, in the same way mountains and streams have their fixed laws of being. It withdraws him from viewing man as an active, struggling, energizing, self-dependent creature, to observe and love him in the more passive exercises of his complex nature, as loving, toiling, obeying. The poet thus influenced turns from the page of the historian, from man's turbulent greatness; turns also from the passions which lead to it, pride, ambition, emulation as portrayed by the dramatist —the workings of power and intellect—turns with still less sympathy from those slighter and minuter phases of character which make the interest of our polished artificial life, to fix his regard upon the simplest, most elementary, most universal properties of our human nature; to observe mankind as influenced unconsciously by those mastering, overpowering impulses and affections which belong to all men as men, but which have their simplest, most unconscious development in the pastoral life. This search for the unconscious, this love of tracing the working of the passions and emotions in some passive vehicle, has produced his avowedly noblest poetry, and has also, when carried to a kind of wanton excess, given rise to just criticism and ridicule. Conscious exertion, conscious virtue, conscious sacrifice, no doubt warmed his heart, but did not excite his muse. Himself eminently, sensitively alive to what passed within and without himself, he found his delight in tracing and discovering motives of action. He felt it, as it were, his vocation to give consciousness to unconscious things; he desired to be the inter-

preter of universal nature. Rocks and mountains cease to be inert masses under his eye; he invests them with life and power, not merely in a figure, but as if to him, or through him, they actually possessed those qualities. He cannot separate the forms of external nature from a certain sympathy with ourselves. In him it is scarcely a poetic fancy that 'the moon looks about 'her,' that the hill-side rejoices, that the lake stills itself in gladness, that the river has its will; he rejoices in such impressions, but seems conscious at the same time that they are produced by his own poetic power, and he rejoices in them as *creating* them, to use his own somewhat presumptuous but expressive wording. And in human life he finds his most congenial sphere where there is a similar work to do—where it is his office to interpret those intuitive, unconscious workings of the heart which a less gifted observer would pass by unseen, and which, indeed, hardly exist independent of the poet who witnesses them. This idea finds expression at the conclusion of this volume, when he 'the humblest of the band' of poets,

> 'dares to hope
> That unto him hath also been vouchsafed
> An insight that in some sort he possesses,
> A privilege whereby a work of his,
> Proceeding from a source of untaught things,
> Creative and enduring, may become
> A power like one of Nature's.'—P. 347.

His genius hangs its amaranthine wreaths round infancy and childhood, old age and the last decay, round vacuity and madness and 'the dreary vacancy of grief,' and also on the *form* of man, surveyed from the distance and apart from the spirit which inspires it. In subjects such as these he is supreme; he has done for them what no one has done before. On other themes he has written nobly,—on virtue, on self-devotion, on systems of philosophy, on friendship and religion and the cultivated social affections; but it is especially among those emotions which know not themselves that his power shows itself, that he moves us, that he awakens hidden feelings which might through life have slept but for him, that we feel he has added a link to the chain of universal brotherhood; and to accomplish these triumphs he turned from crowds and cities, and the scenes of this world's greatness,

> 'To you ye pathways, and ye lonely woods,
> Sought you enrich'd with everything I prized
> With human kindnesses and simple joys.'—P. 340.

The following passage, developing the same thought, is remarkable as showing the impressions of his earliest age, and the mode in which he commenced his study of his own kind.

'Who doth not love to follow with his eye
The windings of a public way? the sight,
Familiar object as it is, hath wrought
On my imagination since the morn
Of childhood, when a disappearing line,
One daily present to my eyes, that cross'd
The naked summit of a far-off hill
Beyond the limits that my feet have trod,
Was like an invitation into space
Boundless, or guide into eternity.
Yes, something of the grandeur which invests
The mariner who sails the roaring sea
Through storm and darkness, early in my mind
Surrounded, too, the wanderers of the earth;
Grandeur as much, and loveliness far more.
Awed have I been by strolling Bedlamites;
From many other uncouth vagrants (pass'd
In fear) have walk'd with quicker step; but why
Take note of this? When I began to inquire,
To watch and question those I met, and speak
Without reserve to them, the lonely roads
Were open schools in which I daily read
With most delight the passions of mankind,
Whether by words, looks, sighs, or tears revealed;
There saw into the depth of human souls—
Souls that appear to have no depth at all
To careless eyes.'—P. 341.

And again:—

'Nature for all conditions wants not power
To consecrate, if we have eyes to see,
The outside of her creatures, and to breathe
Grandeur upon the very humblest face
Of human life. I felt that the array
Of act and circumstance, and visible form,
Is mainly to the pleasure of the mind
What passion makes them; that meanwhile the forms
Of nature have a passion in themselves,
That intermingles with those works of man
To which she summons him; although the works
Be mean, have nothing lofty of their own;
And that the Genius of the Poet hence
May boldly take his way among mankind
Wherever Nature leads; that he hath stood
By Nature's side among the men of old,
And so shall stand for ever.'—P. 346.

That 'grandeur' had the greatest hold over him, of which he was himself the discoverer. We see that in his childhood arose the source of this power, and it was so closely connected with that period, that whatever from local remoteness was removed from every childish association, failed to excite in the same degree his ennobling gift. Simple imagination, apart from sight and experience, had not the power, nor was a transient unfamiliar acquaintance motive sufficient; forms must become a part of his

being, and emotions and sentiments must be held or viewed in connexion with these forms, to furnish full inspiration. The volume is distinguished by many fine passages expressive of the warmth and depth of his friendship for Coleridge, to whom it is addressed, and for whom it professes to have been written; but Coleridge was of too independent and active and original mind, to inspire our author with his most gifted poetry. Wordsworth might invest him with many moral qualities beyond his merits, but his grandeur was his own. The 'Leech-gatherer' and the 'Cumberland Beggar' were, therefore, more inspiring themes than the entranced philosopher. The imagination which thus illumined with its own intelligence the humblest sharers of our common nature, in the following passages, giving the experience of his individual mind, speaks with kindred language, and invests with like qualities the passive forms of the material world.

'To every natural form, rock, fruit or flower,
E'en the loose stones that cover the highway,
I gave a moral life: I saw them feel,
Or link'd them to some feeling: the great mass
Lay bedded in a quickening soul, and all
That I beheld respired with inward meaning.
Add that whate'er of Terror or of Love,
Or Beauty, Nature's daily face put on
From transitory passion, unto this
I was as sensitive as waters are
To the sky's influence in a kindred mood
Of passion; was obedient as a lute
That waits upon the touches of the wind.
Unknown, unthought of, yet I was most rich—
I had a world about me—'twas my own;
I made it, for it only lived to me,
And to the God who sees into the heart.
Such sympathies, though rarely, were betray'd
By outward gestures and by visible looks:
Some call'd it madness—so indeed it was,
If childlike fruitfulness in passing joy,
If steady moods of thoughtfulness matured
To inspiration sort with such a name;
If prophecy be madness; if things view'd
By poets in old time, and higher up
By the first men, earth's first inhabitants,
May in these tutor'd days no more be seen
With undisorder'd sight. But leaving this,
It was no madness, for the bodily eye
Amid my strongest workings evermore
Was searching out the lines of difference
As they lie hid in all external forms,
Near or remote, minute or vast, an eye
Which from a tree, or stone, or wither'd leaf,
To the broad ocean and the azure heavens
Spangled with kindred multitude of stars,
Could find no surface where its power might sleep;

Which spake perpetual logic to my soul,
And by an unrelenting agency
Did bind my feelings even as in a chain.'—P. 60.

'The song would speak
Of that interminable building rear'd
By observation of affinities
In objects where no brotherhood exists
To passive minds. My seventeenth year was come,
And, whether from this habit rooted now
So deeply in my mind, or from excess
In the great social principle of life
Coercing all things into sympathy,
To inorganic natures were transferr'd
My own enjoyments; or the power of truth
Coming in revelation, did converse
With things that really are; I at this time,
Saw blessings spread around me, like a sea.
Thus while the days flew by, and years pass'd on,
From nature and her overflowing soul,
I had received so much, that all my thoughts
Were steep'd in feeling; I was only then
Contented, when with bliss ineffable
I felt the sentiment of Being spread
O'er all that moves and all that seemeth still;
O'er all that, lost beyond the reach of thought
And human knowledge, to the human eye
Invisible, yet liveth in the heart;
O'er all that leaps and runs, and shouts and sings,
Or beats the gladsome air; o'er all that glides
Beneath the wave, yea on the wave itself,
And mighty depth of waters. Wonder not
If high the transport, great the joy I felt,
Communing in this sort through earth and heaven
With every form of creature, as it look'd
Toward the Uncreated with a countenance
Of adoration, with an eye of love.
One song they sung and it was audible,
Most audible, then, when the fleshly ear,
O'ercome by humblest prelude of that strain,
Forgot her functions, and slept undisturb'd.'—P. 49.

Raptures such as these—a worship of outward forms so intense,—the habit of investing them thus intimately with a spirit and a life, a kind of self-dependent life; this adoration of the Creator rather *through* than *in* them, this union of the poet's self, his innermost feelings with these material manifestations of Almighty power, not so much lifting up the eyes of the spirit to heaven, as resting them on the material image by which the senses apprehend God, must, we think, sometimes raise doubting and questioning feelings in the midst of our admiration. At any rate, such apparently pantheizing language is not safe to imitate. He who first gave sublime expression to such thoughts had, as we hope and believe, a third heaven to which his soul looked up though words could not reach it. For ourselves we

know it a duty so to chasten our thoughts and words in their treatment of outward things, as neither to allow ourselves or others to forget that there exists an incommunicable Glory and Beauty of which all external sensible manifestations are but a veil and symbol.

There are in this volume two interesting and striking examples, which we will adduce, in illustration of this quality of his imagination—striking because taking us back to his boyish memories. In them we see how early this faculty showed itself, how involuntarily he saw a life, an awe, a moral teaching, a sympathy with himself, in the face of nature; and on the other hand how, at the same early period, he invested the form of man with something of the calm passive dignity of grand inanimate objects, viewing him—apart from his individual characteristics—as an element of the scene, taking his colour and qualities from the mood of the spectator, as do the senseless forms of nature. The first tells us the mysterious dread which sunk into his heart at first sight of a mountain till then unknown and by his alarmed imagination gifted with motion and a power of pursuit, to warn him of his disobedience. It is a really terrifying thought, and can hardly be read without some participation in the poet's fears:—

'One summer evening (led by her) I found
A little boat tied to a willow tree
Within a rocky cave, its usual home.
Straight I unloosed her chain, and stepping in,
Push'd from the shore. It was an act of stealth
And troubled pleasure, nor without the voice
Of mountain-echoes did my boat move on;
Leaving behind her still, on either side,
Small circles glittering idly in the moon,
Until they melted all into one track
Of sparkling light. But now, like one who rows,
Proud of his skill, to reach a chosen point
With an unswerving line, I fix'd my view
Upon the summit of a craggy ridge,
The horizon's utmost boundary; far above
Was nothing but the stars and the grey sky.
She was an elfin pinnace; lustily
I dipp'd my oars into the silent lake,
And, as I rose upon the stroke, my boat
Went heaving through the water like a swan;
When, from behind that craggy steep, till then
The horizon's bound, a huge peak, black and huge,
As if with voluntary power instinct,
Uprear'd its head. I struck and struck again,
And growing still in stature the grim shape
Tower'd up between me and the stars, and still,
For so it seem'd, with purpose of its own
And measured motion like a living thing,
Strode after me. With trembling oars I turn'd,

And through the silent water stole my way
Back to the covert of the willow tree;
There in her mooring place I left my bark,—
And through the meadows homeward went, in grave
And serious mood; but after I had seen
That spectacle, for many days, my brain
Work'd with a dim and undetermined sense
Of unknown modes of being; o'er my thoughts
There hung a darkness, call it solitude
Or blank desertion. No familiar shapes
Remain'd, no pleasant images of trees,
Of sea or sky, no colours of green fields;
But huge and misty forms, that do not live
Like living men, moved slowly through the mind
By day, and were a trouble to my dreams.—P. 18.

He next tells of the effect which the presence of man had upon his youthful mind, as seen from afar in the solitude of mountain regions. The passage follows a fine description of a shepherd's life among the hills:—

'A rambling school-boy, thus
I felt his presence in his own domain
As of a lord and master, or a power,
Or genius, under Nature, under God,
Presiding; and severest solitude
Had more commanding looks when he was there.
When up the lonely brooks on rainy days
Angling I went, or trod the trackless hills,
By mists bewilder'd, suddenly mine eyes
Have glanced upon him distant a few steps,
In size a giant, stalking through thick fog,
His sheep like Greenland bears; or, as he stepp'd
Beyond the boundary line of some hill-shadow,
His form hath flash'd upon me, glorified
By the deep radiance of the setting sun;
Or him have I descried in distant sky,
A solitary object and sublime,
Above all height! like an aërial cross
Stationed alone upon a spiry rock
Of the Chartreuse for worship. Thus was man
Ennobled outwardly before my sight,
And thus my heart was early introduced
To an unconscious love and reverence
Of human nature; hence the human form
To me became an index of delight,
Of grace and honour, power and worthiness.
Meanwhile this creature—spiritual almost
As those of books, but more exalted far;
Far more an imaginative form
Than the gay Colin of the groves, who lives
For his own fancies, or to dance by the hour,
In coronal with Phyllis in the midst—
Was, for the purposes of kind, a man
With the most common; husband, father; learn'd,

Could teach, admonish; suffer'd with the rest
From vice and folly, wretchedness and fear;
Of this I little saw, cared less for it,
But something must have felt.'—P. 217.

Nor did there need for the purposes of his genius any dignity of form, or that any dignified qualities should be attributable to the man himself. Grandeur of association,—'parasaitical sublimity,'—as Mr. Ruskin defines the picturesque,—is the only requisite. Wherever man is seen in close association with the beauty or solitudes of nature, and, either through the absorbing influence of passion, or infirmity, or fatuity, lost to his own individuality, and merged and blended with the outer scene, there the poet's imagination finds its most congenial food for thought. It is for this that the 'Idiot Boy' is such a favourite with its author. He has there found a subject scarcely more sensient than the moon, the trees, and the waterfall among which he places him. He clings to this poem with a tenacity of affection which is truly marvellous; he singles it out among others as a pattern and specimen of his powers, and would almost seem willing to allow his whole system to stand or fall by its merits. It may be that the ridicule first bestowed on it so unsparingly, and of which his most devoted admirers are unwillingly conscious, urged him to a kind of obstinate adherence; he felt it necessary to trust himself, because to yield to another judgment would have been a blow to his whole poetic theory: but we believe that beyond this the subject had real charms for him; he looks back with tenderness to the occasion of his first imparting this poem to his friend, and refers to it as a test of his genius.

'But beloved Friend!
When, looking back, thou seest, in clearer view
Than any liveliest sight of yesterday,
That summer, under whose indulgent skies,
Upon smooth Quantock's airy ridge we roved
Uncheck'd, or loiter'd 'mid her sylvan combs,
Then in bewitching words, with happy heart,
Didst chaunt the vision of that Ancient Man
The bright-eyed Mariner, and rueful woes
Didst utter of the Lady Christabel;
And I, associate with such labour, steep'd
In soft forgetfulness the livelong hours,
Murmuring of him who, joyous hap, was found,
After the perils of his moonlight ride,
Near the loved waterfall; or her who sate
In misery near the miserable Thorn;
When thou dost to that summer turn thy thoughts,
And hast before thee all that then we were,
To thee in memory of that happiness,
It will be known, by thee, at least, my Friend!
Felt that the history of a Poet's mind
Is labour not unworthy of regard.'—P. 369.

The Idiot Boy, amid the cries and spectacles of night, himself a part of the scene, and no more conscious than the hooting owls and the roaring torrents,—the mother's affection, mastering and bewildering, but divested of all sense, a mere instinct, and therefore in keeping with its object—the poet enters into it all. What would the human part of the picture have been without him? He is the intellect of the scene, he breathes intelligence and purpose into what else is simple fatuity and oblivion, he *makes* it all, so to say. And he loves it because his own part has been so large in it, because he has composed a poem of genius out of the smallest and most insignificant incident that ever exercised a poet's pen.

Wordsworth's only great experience of active stirring life may very well have confirmed him in his original bent. Three books out of the fourteen of which this poem consists are devoted to France and the great French Revolution, and these we think the least interesting, the least poetical, the least valuable of the whole. The task of reading is even sometimes irksome from the view he takes of events, and the tumid fervour often displayed for a cause with which it is impossible to sympathise, however much the frightful abuses of the monarchical system in France may excuse the spirit in which its opening was first hailed in England. Young and ardent, Wordsworth took the popular side. He had, as we have said, no early training to counteract present influences, and possibly the boyish freedom from restraint in which he rejoices may have predisposed him to endure the rant about liberty, which to look back upon, and associated with the crimes and horrors of which it was the plea, sounds to our ears so intolerable. We will own to a satiety and weariness of the whole subject of the French Revolution, so genuine and unfeigned, that we cannot but expect our readers to share it with us. No amount of incident and excitement can bring the mind willingly to dwell and linger over a record of unmixed evil, a record of folly and mistakes, and monstrous wickedness. And yet the magnitude of the interests concerned, and the great lesson to be learnt, have made it an inexhaustible theme. It has been talked about, and written about, and moralized and preached upon; it has been viewed in every conceivable aspect, by every phase of mind; it has filled histories, memoirs, reviews, essays, narratives, from that day to this, and still is a standard subject; it has been superseded by other revolutions, possessing all the charms of novelty, and their full share of incident, in vain; still we are dragged back, painfully and unwillingly, by a sort of inevitable necessity, to those black years of the world's history; and it was with, perhaps not a reasonable, but certainly a very real sense of disap-

pointment, that we found ourselves ensnared in another long history and disquisition, though from the pen of the greatest poet of the age, himself an eye-witness and participator. Such impressions may well indispose the mind to a just estimate of the power with which it is done, but, the poet does seem to us out of his element, and divested of his best gifts; not wiser than other mortals, easily taken in, deceived by specious appearances, and willing to be deceived. We learn little but his own impressions, which were not above the ordinary tone of enthusiastic youth; and there is no clear insight into cause and effect, beyond the evident one in which all sides acknowledge, that a long previous period of tyranny and misrule had prepared the nation for an outbreak, and that the tumultuous horrors of the time may be attributed to the silent mischiefs which had long worked and festered out of sight. There is a great deal about liberty, but nothing of religion; the republican tone of thought and language, and the absence of patriotism, are often painful, and there is moreover a glaring spirit of partizanship in the manner of slurring over atrocities, as if these were the natural and inevitable result of political fermentation, and not, therefore, the work of the powers of darkness on the evil heart of man—accountable man—unworthy of the poet. Still he could not but feel early disgust and disappointment, as he beheld the working of principles admired in the abstract, and with Robespierre his vision of freedom faded in despair, though scarcely so effectually as in the restoration to order which followed his reign. He thus speaks of the 'catastrophe,' the return to monarchy, which he seems to regard as the crowning obloquy:—

> 'When, finally to close
> And seal up all the gains of France, a Pope
> Is summon'd in, to crown an Emperor—
> This last opprobrium, when we see a people
> That once look'd up in faith, as if to heaven
> For manna, take a lesson from the dog
> Returning to his vomit; when the sun
> That rose in splendour was alive, and moved
> In exultation, with a living pomp
> Of clouds—his glory's natural retinue—
> Hath dropp'd all functions by the gods bestow'd,
> And, turn'd into a gewgaw, a machine,
> Sets like an opera phantom.'—P. 310.

His own state of mind at the end of this struggle he looks back upon with a pain and almost remorse very satisfactory to the reader. He is conscious of

> 'Reasonings false
> From their beginnings, inasmuch as drawn
> Out of a heart that had been turned aside
> From Nature's way by outward accidents,

And which was thus confounded, more and more
Misguided and misguiding. So I fared,
Dragging all precepts, judgments, maxims, creeds,
Like culprits to the bar; calling the mind,
Suspiciously, to establish in plain day
Her titles and her honours; now believing,
Now disbelieving; endlessly perplex'd
With impulse, motive, right and wrong, the ground
Of obligation, what the rule, and whence
The sanction; till, demanding formal *proof*,
And seeking it in everything, I lost
All feeling of conviction, and, in fine,
Sick, wearied out with contrarieties,
Yielded up moral questions in despair.
This was the crisis of that strong disease,
This the soul's last and lowest ebb.'—P. 307.

From this state of loss and depression he is thus recalled. The return to such subjects is as full of comfort to the reader as were the sweet sisterly counsels and consolations to himself:—

'Then it was—
Thanks to the bounteous Giver of all good!—
That the beloved sister in whose sight
Those days were pass'd, now speaking in a voice
Of sudden admonition—like a brook
That did but *cross* a lonely road, and now
Is seen, heard, felt, and caught at every turn,
Companion never lost through many a league,—
Maintain'd for aye a saving intercourse
With my true self; for though bedimm'd and changed
Much, as it seem'd, I was no further changed
Than as a clouded or a waning moon:
She whisper'd still that brightness would return.
She, in the midst of all, preserved me still
A Poet, made me seek beneath that name,
And that alone, my office upon earth.
And lastly, as hereafter will be shown,
If willing audience fail not, Nature's self,
By all varieties of human love
Assisted, led me back through opening day
To those sweet counsels between head and heart
Whence grew that genuine knowledge, fraught with peace,
Which .... still upheld me.'—P. 309.

One parallel may be found in his inner life and feelings, as recorded in the present volume, and but one, with the turbid excitement of this French episode in his otherwise calm career, and this lies in his friendship for Coleridge, expressed with a beautiful fervour, and yet with a confident security in its continuance,—setting at defiance all the common precautions and reservations of language,—which is painful to dwell upon. The sentiment seemed to take him by storm, and inspire a blind trust in its object in much the same way as did the high promises of liberty and social regeneration in France. The blank

disappointment which followed the failure of expectation in one case is recorded; we are left to divine an equally inevitable depression in the other, when time should have shown the fallacy of such unlimited dependence. And yet the hope and confidence expressed in the following lines, (addressed to his friend in his absence abroad for his health,) must excite both pleasure and sympathy, though no earthly friendship can fulfil them:—

> 'Far art thou wander'd now in search of health
> And milder breezes,—melancholy lot!
> But thou art with us, with us in the past,
> The present, with us in the times to come.
> There is no grief, no sorrow, no despair,
> No languor, no dejection, no dismay,
> No absence scarcely can there be, for those
> Who love as we do.'—P. 145.

The following, in their boundless expectations and their unchastened force of language, do give a sense of pain:—

> 'Thou wilt stand
> On Etna's summit, above earth and sea
> Triumphant, winning from the invaded heavens
> Thoughts without bound, magnificent designs
> Worthy of poets who attuned their harps
> In wood or echoing cave, for discipline
> Of heroes.'—P. 314.

And again:—

> 'O capacious soul!
> Placed on this earth to love and understand,
> And from thy presence shed the light of love,
> Shall I be mute, ere thou be spoken of?'—P. 364.
>
> 'Oh yet a few short years of useful life,
> And all will be complete; thy race be run—
> Thy monument of glory will be raised.'

Confidence such as this, is in fact, necessarily accompanied by self-confidence; for friendship requires two, in a certain state of equality, for its fulfilment; and on this account gives pain, from the forgetfulness of human infirmity, or implied superiority to it. The preceding lines are from a passage foretelling the lasting importance of their *joint* labours, and their high mission to man, which concludes thus:—

> 'Prophets of nature, we to them will speak
> A lasting inspiration, sanctified
> By reason, blest by faith. What we have loved
> Others will love, and we will teach them how.'—P. 371.

And in disappointment he finds this proud consolation, turning from the world to his friend, and, by implication, to himself, who understood and sympathised with him:—not worded surely as a Christian should word it, though not far from a great Christian verity:—

> 'But indignation works where hope is not,
> And thou, O friend, wilt be refresh'd. There is
> One great society alone on earth;
> The noble living and the noble dead.'—P. 311.

But this was, perhaps, a solitary case of another intellect exercising any mastering sway over him. He was a law to himself, and felt his calling to be not to mingle with other kindred intelligences, so much as to bring his own to bear on what was indeed deserving of all careful thoughtfulness and reverence, but which had less occupied the labours of genius: the silent workings of the heart in humble men, the majesty of the domestic affections in the poor. Neither nature nor education adapted him for political life, or for taking a deep view of great national events, the action and workings of what are called great interests or aggregate bodies. The man who disregarded history, who had confessed himself

> 'to acts
> Of nations and their passing interests
> (If with unworldly ends and aims compared)
> Almost indifferent. E'en the historian's tale
> Prizing but little otherwise than I prized
> Tales of the poets,'—

who had thus gained no experience of the past, could not be in a state to learn from the present, or to form a right judgment of its events. When he feels himself dissociated by any adverse train of thought or outward circumstances from his former self, he owns himself diseased in mind. Yet it was thus that he set about his political studies. History may surely be regarded as an account of the childhood and youth of the world, and of separate nations. By his own reasoning, then, he could not view the present world with philosophical or truthful eyes, dissociating it from its progress and beginnings. And this is what he tried to do, and failed. He lacked the previous discipline and training; and therefore the ferment of three years of political excitement, and the sights, and sounds, and ideas in which he lived, were for the time hurtful to his genius, as well as in the highest degree uncongenial to his lasting nature. One use that season had, however, in determining more decidedly his ultimate occupation of thought and powers. Youth, enthusiasm, and hope, might bear him on for a time, but disappointment and weariness were inevitable in the long run, whether the cause in which his heart was engaged failed or succeeded. So much of failure there is in all high hopes and excitements. But the utter disappointment was unquestionably salutary in throwing him back upon his former habits of thought, teaching him to see there his true sphere, his only lasting source of power.

It is no disparagement to deny to any man the possession of

universal judgment. All that the greatest can achieve is greatness in their own line, and Wordsworth's line, in his view of human affairs, was the sacred domestic duties and affections:—

> 'Life, human life, with all its sacred claim
> Of sex, and age, and heaven-descended rights;'

and in days like our own we cannot over-estimate the importance of this subject. In times of religious excitement, when men must in a measure be estimated by their *profession*, by qualities open to all eyes—when we are apt to value men for their use to the cause we have at heart, and to test them by this standard—for the services they can render, the talents they possess, their skill in advocacy, their powers of persuasion, their devotion to particular truths now assailed—for their *public* virtues—it is well that some gifted soul should lead our thoughts to the sacred, inalienable, paramount necessity of the home virtues, of those tempers and affections which make that home the nearest likeness of heaven we possess on earth; or a paradise spoiled, and fair scene blasted, at which the angels weep. Therefore, love and reverent fear, and just rule; submission and self-restraint, cheerfulness and willing toil, patience and provident care, and contentment and undying hope; these should find a noble advocate. That love which makes sacrifice easy and labour light, which makes every condition of life happy, or tinged with the hues of departed happiness, should have its praise, its poet; the sacred relations of husband and wife, and child, should assert their high claim to our reverence. Their due fulfilment is a test, a standard of the state of religion in the heart, as just and true as any other, taken singly; for Religion takes possession of the whole man, should actuate all his conduct, presides at the hearth as well as at the altar, dictates his daily practice, as well as his confession of faith. She teaches that men must be faithful and loyal, that they must be zealous for the truth, and, if need be, die for it; and *also* that they must be dutiful sons, and loving husbands, and watchful fathers; that they must be the centre, the stay, the comfort of home, the joy of their fire-side, as well as pillars and supports of the larger and diviner polities of which they are members; that it is as great a failure of duty in a man to be negligent of the happiness and welfare of his household, to be harsh or indifferent at home, as to be cold or callous toward the interests of revealed truth. Both are equally committed by Providence to his care and guardianship; for both, in their degree, he is responsible. The fidelity, the self-denial, the faith and constancy of home, are as ennobling to our nature, as much cared for in God's word, as zeal and devotion to the interests of the Church or the State. There must be a con-

formity of the whole man, a perfect heart in all these relations.

The poet, turning from the scenes of turbulent commotion which had engaged him for a while, thus approaches his more congenial study, proving a fine analogy between the stability of nature and those enduring human emotions which were henceforward to form the subject of his lasting thought.

'Long time in search of knowledge did I range
Benighted; but the dawn beginning now
To reappear, 'twas proved that not in vain
I had been taught to reverence a Power
That is the visible quality and shape
And image of right reason; that matures
Her processes by steady laws; gives birth
To no impatient or fallacious hopes,
No heat of passion or excessive zeal;
No vain conceits; provokes to no quick turns
Of self-applauding intellect; but trains
To meekness, and exalts by humble faith;
Holds up before the mind, intoxicate
With present objects, and the busy dance
Of things that pass away, a temperate show
Of objects that endure; and by this course
Disposes her, when over-fondly set
On throwing off incumbrances, to seek
In man, and in the frame of social life,
Whate'er there is desirable and good
Of kindred permanence, unchanged in form
And function, or, through strict vicissitude
Of life and death, revolving. Above all
Were re-establish'd now those watchful thoughts
Which, seeing little worthy or sublime
In what the Historian's pen so much delights
To blazon—power and energy detach'd
From moral purpose—early tutor'd me
To look with feelings of fraternal love
Upon the unassuming things that hold
A silent station in this beauteous world.

Thus moderated, thus composed, I found
Once more in Man an object of delight,
Of pure imagination and of love;
And, as the horizon of my mind enlarged,
Again I took the intellectual eye
For my instructor, studious more to see
Great truths, than touch or handle little ones.
Knowledge was given accordingly; my trust
Became more firm in feelings that had stood
The test of such a trial; clearer far
My sense of excellence—of right and wrong:
The promise of the present time retired
Into its true proportion; sanguine schemes,
Ambitious projects, pleased me less; I sought
For present good in life's familiar face,
And built thereon my hopes of good to come.'—P. 336.

Thus returning to his congenial element of thought, he returned to happiness. His vocation was indeed what has been called 'the duty of delight,'—for he was pre-eminently capable of deriving pleasure from what was created for the very end of imparting it, and his work was to lead others through the same course of contemplation to the same delight. All readers of Wordsworth's poetry must be alive to the calm happiness that breathes throughout — to indications of a mind in serene repose and open to all joyful influences, as being free from those disorders which so commonly deform our impressions from without;—of a mind, from its very composure and freedom from inward disturbance, capable of fullest sympathy, reflecting back every image, whether of joy or sorrow, yet retaining its even surface unruffled. This capacity for happiness, wherever found, is, we think, an indication of mental power and moral superiority; for happiness as a state of mind cannot proceed from any exemption from the ordinary lot. One man is not habitually happier than another from any immunity from worldly troubles—or at least, such happiness as this constitutes does not come under our present consideration. It consists, we believe, in the power of believing in the existence of happiness. He is happy who knows by his own experience, by what he sees in others, by what he knows of the constitution of our being, that happiness is a reality, that it lies somewhere; not within our reach, perhaps—certainly not in the fulness which the imagination conceives—but truly and exquisitely, somewhere:—who has faith in this state, contemplates it, desires it, seeks out its causes, and devotes himself to its attainment, discarding (because he knows that it is something real) all vulgar substitutes, and arriving at the highest ideal he can form.

For this state of mind many things are needed. We will not here discuss the religious, or we should rather say, the theological bearing of the question, though without it, it can be only very inadequately treated; but as a state of mind it is not necessarily Christian. It requires faith in the higher powers of our nature, an actuating sense of God's presence, large interests; and freedom from petty cares, and small, corroding enmities. That habitual state of discontent which shows itself in the furrowed brow and anxious expression of so many a countenance, proceeds not from *great* troubles, but from the constant presence, and we may say *indulgence* of a throng of small cares—from being mastered by them—hedged in by them, as it were, in a thorny circle which excludes the space and prospect beyond. The idea of happiness simply entertained in the mind would be enough, in how many cases, to dispel this gloom! But in many, happiness cannot even be said to be the

aim of life. Those who set their minds on worldly advantages would, in defending their pursuits, scarcely do so on the plea of its constituting their happiness. If they heard of another refusing rank or wealth on the ground of his being happier without them, they would not so much dispute the fact as treat it as irrelevant. Some sort of good is expected from them, but not what they themselves would naturally define as happiness. Because, in fact, there is in its idea something too high and overpowering to be, in a true sense, the *aim* of sordid desires; men know that to be happy implies some discipline, some change and reformation of themselves, suggesting uncomfortable thoughts of strangeness and restraint. It is inevitably associated with purity and singleness of heart. Wordsworth had, eminently, this happy nature, these tendencies and exemptions, and he treasured and fostered them as his most precious possession; and what he valued in himself it was his labour to communicate to others—to impart to them his own secrets of cheerfulness and serenity. He sought to raise men to the understanding of happiness—to lead them to find that excitement which our nature requires apart from gross or violent stimulants—and to perceive that 'one man is elevated above another in proportion as he possesses this capacity.' And herein does he show himself a true poet—that the principle which makes his works what they are to us was the spell and influence of his own being—that what actuates and rouses us from our habitual feelings, to share his higher elevation, was the motive and guiding principle of his own conduct. It was a power which could not be put off and assumed at pleasure—now the man of the world, and now the poet; but he believed what he taught, and wrote truthfully because it was his own experience. His happiness consisted in living by the thoughts and feelings of which he wrote, in yielding to their habitual sway.

It cannot be denied, however, that there are temptations incident to this happy temperament of a very grave character; that there is danger of this contentment with our lot—this keen appreciation of our blessings—this general bright view of things, sliding insensibly into contentment with ourselves—a complacent sense of our suitability and adaptation to this fair scene. Nor can we think that our poet has wholly escaped this by no means necessary consequence. There is, unquestionably, throughout the present volume a tone of very gentle, tender self-appreciation. We do not desire, in such a work, any acute expressions of repentance, or harrowing confessions of error—they would be altogether out of place, and should be laid before another tribunal than the public, or the literary world. But every reader must be alive to a pervading spirit of satisfaction with self, expressed

with a fond tenderness, scarcely in accordance with received usage where *self* is the theme—a loving enumeration of good gifts—a gentle shrinking from blame—which things, to say the least, are opposed to manliness of character, and prove that the cultivation of an exquisite keenness of penetration into our nature, in one direction, cannot be pursued without some counterbalancing insensibility in another. When he tries to find fault, he seems stopped short in the midst, deterred by the too painful nature of the subject, and always with an apology, not far short of a justification at hand. The mention of the small errors of boyhood is followed by a picture of a perfect child, from which he recoils; he admits his own idleness and waste of opportunities at Cambridge; and two or three times he seems to set out, as it were, with the intention of frankly admitting them, but as often branches off into digressions, suggestions, and satires on the system of our Universities, some acute, and some common-place, till he concludes the whole subject by the following lenient judgment on his own part in it:—

> 'For myself
> I grieve not; happy is the gownèd youth,
> Who only misses what I miss'd; who falls
> No lower than I fell.'—P. 75.

And this subject leads to another consideration. No reader of this volume, however alive to its exceeding beauty—however grateful even for the insight into the workings of a great mind here permitted him, can, we think, escape from certain doubts and uneasy scruples as to the expediency and propriety of the anatomical study, self-description, ending in self-appreciation, here indulged in; not, indeed, necessary to the scheme, but from which it has not escaped. Let us respect these scruples as whispers of conscience, and assert the right of man as man to form a judgment on the actions of others in many respects greater and better than himself. Things are, in themselves, right or wrong—safe or injurious, and it is the wisest course to view them in themselves, uninfluenced by the superior spirits who have practised them. Wordsworth's mind is infinitely more worth looking into than that of any chance reader of his poems; and this fact furnishes a full justification of his having recorded for the pleasure or instruction of others certain curious deductions and observations on himself, and the things that made him what he was; but, if it would be unsafe, in any nameless individual, to sit down deliberately to contemplate himself—to weigh his powers—to set out to view his good points and capabilities—to brood over them in rapt enthusiastic speculation—

> 'To watch
> Each little drop of wisdom as it falls
> Into the dimpling cistern of his heart'—

it is a hazardous employment for the greatest. Every one has

some qualities which he may justly think distinguish him—yet, if it still would be a weakness in him to adopt this course with respect to them, is it not also a weakness though we find it to have been the practice of a great poet? How can we separate this industrious study of our good points from *vanity*—a painful word to use in connexion with a name we reverence, but an idea, we own, not seldom forced upon us, and as such not rightly suppressed or concealed; for we are conscious of danger in overlooking or palliating this subtle form of self-love, because it is viewed under the protection of a great name. It is safer to say, 'Wordsworth was a great poet—we owe him much, but his gifts were a snare to him; it is hard to be above other men and not to know it,' than to justify and indulge in similar habits of mind under shelter of his example. But enough on an ungracious subject, especially as, perhaps influenced by misgivings, the poet reserved this history, and these musings on self, to a time when he could not listen to the sympathy and curiosity, tender, or critical, with which he might anticipate their reception by those who felt his power and genius.

The diction of the present poem is so eminently that of its author, as the reader is already familiar with it, that we have not made it a part of our subject; the words are always appropriate to the thought they express, and vary in dignity and beauty with the grandeur and importance of the idea. There are no evident indications of study, in this respect; we are not often struck with examples of *artful* sweetness, such as other poets delight in; but there is always that best grace, a perfect adaptation; we feel an entire confidence throughout, that whatever he desires to express, however new or difficult, the right words will be there, and when uttered, that no other words would have spoken the idea so well. No one can be always clear, harmonious, dignified, consistent, without care and fitting attention. Perfection never comes by a happy accident, however much nature may assist the work. His own sense of the importance of words confirms this conviction; he knew it too well to suppose a man could be a poet and fail in expression. On the mysterious value of words—of a poet's selection of them—he has the following fine passage:—

> 'Visionary power
> Attends the motions of the viewless winds,
> Embodied in the mystery of words:
> There, darkness makes abode, and all the host
> Of shadowy things work endless changes,—there,
> As in a mansion like their proper home,
> E'en forms and substances are circumfused
> By that transparent veil with light divine,
> And, through the turnings intricate of verse,
> Present themselves as objects recognised,
> In flashes, and with glory not their own.'—P. 131.

In our very inefficient notice of this remarkable volume, we have chosen rather to point out evidences of those qualities which have always constituted the strength and value of Wordsworth's poetry, than to follow the author's own division, or to take it in chronological order. We would not willingly forestall the delight of the reader in tracing out the plan and purpose of the poem for himself. Many new and beautiful thoughts, forcible images, touching incidents and recollections, we have passed by without comment or allusion. What we have wished to call attention to is the prominence of certain characteristics, which did, we believe, make the poet what he was—which were the main secret of his power, and the elements of his greatness. Poetry he defines as the image of man and of nature; but there are various reflections of this image; his knowledge of man was drawn from the deep searches into his own heart, of which we have the history in this volume—from hence, he gained his insight into the universal heart of man. Whatever he knew of passion, or emotion, was from this source. Whatever could be learned from the face of nature, by looking into himself, whatever sympathy could teach him, that he knew; but his was not the gift of penetration into individual minds; he had not what is meant by a knowledge of human nature, which implies a perception of minute differences and distinctions; his own heart told him of the great affections, those impulses which sway us all, wherein we are all one. He could not trace, with any subtle truth, the local influences, the idiosyncracies which make each man different from his fellow; and his teaching is of the character to be expected from this. It is not in direct lessons, in axioms such as are framed by those who form theories out of themselves from acute watching and weighing of others, but he gives his own intuitions and experience; he tells us what is in one mind with an intricate truth and faithfulness we had not known before, and we recognise in it the pulse of the universal human heart. He is not didactic; we seldom meet with a philosophical precept, or a formal practical rule for the guidance of conduct, but we have the inner life itself of one mind, and we may learn precious things from it.

And what may be said of his collective labours may especially be asserted of the present poem, which gives, as it were, the secret of his inspiration, and takes us to the very source of that benignant stream, which flowed so long for our healing and refreshment. Back to that source he was for ever looking, and hence the appropriateness of this latest memorial. Always true to himself and to his genius, he was never truer than when he thus connected the close of life with its earliest dawn, and made the history of his youth the gift of his latest age.

ART. IV.—*The Opinions of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, expressed in Parliament and in Public. Second Edition, with a Biographical Memoir.* London: Hall, Virtue & Co. 1850.

THE position in which the people of England found themselves instantaneously placed upon the 3d of July was one of singular difficulty, and would, but for the distressing nature of the accident which led to it, have been one of peculiar interest to any philosophical bystander. We had living amongst us a statesman, a man of acknowledged great ability, not long since the virtual ruler of the realm, and up to that day a moving cause in every thing that his successors dared to attempt of home policy. His career had not been an ordinary one: and at that moment, as for years, the feelings with which it had been regarded were as various as they were intense. One impression at least was universal and unvaried, that his course was not yet run, and that in his future policy, whatever it might be, the Odyssey of Britain's history for many a coming year was wrapped. Some few there might be, sanguine or dreamy journalists, who ventured a further flight, and strove to forecast the judgment of posterity, on that far-off day when Sir Robert Peel should have become a name of the past; but even these scarcely dared to publish such convictions. After much delay the 'great Commoner' spoke upon the great foreign debate. 'We are glad we know what Peel thinks,' was the national comment. In the midst of all this, a vicious horse follows the impulse of brute instinct; a few days of painful interest in the sufferings of the sick-room follow, and then the people of England hear one morning that Peel is gone, and all dreams of hope or hatred are vanished; that they must each for himself, without concert or assistance, the journalist and his reader, the Protectionist and the Leaguer, pronounce his verdict on the man they cannot realize as not amongst them. The answer to this startling demand was, to our minds, one of the most gratifying instances of that honest, healthy feeling which does somehow (although we are our own portrait painter in so bragging) distinguish the English character. Instantaneously, as if by word of command, all one's bitterness on the one side, and on the other, that desire which is so natural to our poor race, to reserve the memory of one's hero to one's own party, were laid aside, and universal Britain joined to proclaim that a famous and good man was dead, and must be honoured.

Now that some time has passed away since the death of Sir Robert Peel, we may, without indelicacy, enter into that

examination of his character and position, which it would not have been right to have undertaken in the earlier days of the national grief. In so doing, we feel that we have taken upon ourselves a delicate and difficult task, and one in the fulfilment of which we anticipate that we shall dissatisfy many of very different opinions; for we must, at the outset, honestly acknowledge that, while on the one hand, we have never compassed an initiation into that idolatry of Sir Robert Peel in which so many seem to have found consolation, so, on the other, we have never been able to discern in him that personification of the spirit of evil, which has haunted the dreams of our Sibthorps and our Tyrrells.

The universal intensity of feeling with which the news of our last statesman's death was received, not merely in England, but abroad—in the courts of kings, and in the National Assembly of Republican France—is indicative of his having been the man of his age, in a sense in which none of his contemporaries, Russell or Stanley, could ever hope to be; at the same time, it is far from proving that he was, therefore, incontestibly the man above his age. National grief, to be so very extensive, must either be entirely unselfish, and then the person whose loss evokes it must, indeed, have been truly great, or else the idea of individual loss must enter largely into it; and the extended lamentation may be even a less certain criterion of superhuman grandeur, than that frequent silence which succeeds the departure of those of whom the world was not worthy, morally or intellectually. We are far from intending to imply that the great and sincere national grief felt for Sir Robert Peel was not the just tribute to great talents and great industry, unsparingly and honestly lavished on the public service; but we do venture to assert that, if any one were to contend that, because the honours which have been paid to Sir Robert Peel were such as no other statesman has ever received, he was, therefore, the greatest of statesmen, he would be hazarding a fallacy. A cursory glance at the principal events of the late Minister's life, will at once show that his history was absolutely unique in the annals of statecraft. Other statesmen have been distinguished for the unswerving pertinacity with which they have, throughout their whole career, acted up to one given line of policy. Others have derived their fame from the honesty and boldness with which, the instant they discovered that the cause to which they had engaged themselves could no longer approve itself to their conscience, they passed through that martyrdom of change (so painful to a generous mind), and joined their quondam opponents. Others, again, there have been whose whole career has been but the record of ambition,

of place, or fame, or money, and whose uncertain changes have only been redeemed in the eyes of history by the illusory glare of talents and eloquence.

To none of those classes can Sir Robert Peel be referred. Consistent he was not; nor, on the other hand, does his career at all betray that species of common-place inconsistency which we have adduced as the characteristic of the third class of statesmen. His history is throughout a strange phenomenon. Fresh from academic honours, the son of a millionaire, yet not endowed with lengthened pedigree, he early found himself linked to a great aristocratic party, of long existence, great power, singular administrative talent, illustrious prestige, ancestral haughtiness, and much nobility of aim, combined with various qualities which rendered it, in its unchanged condition, unsuited for the age in which it found itself. To this party, wholly, and without reserve, young Peel, full of literary distinction—Oxford's first double-first—committed himself, and at the age of twenty-two, like William Pitt, he found himself in office; but unlike William Pitt, this office was not First Lord of the Treasury, but Under-Secretary of State. However, for a man to be Under-Secretary at twenty-two, he must have something in him. Nine years rolled on—the years of Waterloo—and Mr. Peel had in the meanwhile risen to the honourable post of Irish Secretary,—the stern, uncompromising Tory, of the good old breed,—'Orange Peel!' as he was familiarly designated, the challenger of O'Connell, and the originator of the Constabulary Force; a very meritorious piece of practical machinery of the sort, which with all their science and parade of doctrinaire exactness, Whigs, in some way or other, very seldom hit off, or if they do so, generally mar in the working. Then came an epoch—the Currency crisis—and at the head of that Committee which was to spread dismay into the ranks of the innovators was placed the rising man of the party. The Committee sat, and heard its evidence, and published its Report; and its Chairman had vanished from his official place, the victim, as one side said, the convert, as the others deemed him, of his own inquiry. But, after all, the Currency question was not the germ of Toryism, and such a conversion might be pardonable, even in the eyes of the most bigotted. Accordingly, after a brief period of decorous penance, we find Mr. Peel in the Cabinet as Home Secretary,—that Cabinet, the one in which Lord Liverpool presided, and the buttress of the Church, Lord Eldon, held the Seals. The long-vexed question of Roman Catholic Emancipation was then the battle field, and Mr. Secretary Peel stoutly combatted the innovation, prime leader of the Orange Corps. In the midst of the *mêlée*,

Lord Liverpool, by a providential infliction, was incapacitated, and the old phalanx fell to pieces, eight years after the Currency Committee, to be replaced by its liberal section, headed by Canning. Death very soon removed him from the fierce parliamentary conflict in which he found himself engaged with his younger rival. After Lord Goderich's vain attempt to pick up the stragglers, came in that famous Cabinet, of which the Duke of Wellington was nominal sole chief, and Mr. Peel the real co-ordinate minister. The autumn of 1828 is not yet forgotten, when Mr. Peel, the Protestant champion, was feasted through England. In due time, the Session of 1829 opened. What the great measure of 1829 turned out to be, and who it was that moved it, need not be detailed.

The result of this concession of Roman Catholic Emancipation on the part of a Tory Ministry, entirely changed the moral condition of that party, or at least of the section of it which remained in office. They had abandoned their old position and dogma of changelessness, and had to choose between the alternatives of possessing no principles, or of advocating moderate and progressive reform. The Emancipation question once settled, the further one of the whole constitution of the House of Commons opened itself. To any reasoning man, it might, we should have thought, have been quite clear, that the old terminus-like attitude being abandoned, the secondary benefits resulting from the existing organization of the House of Commons could not be pleaded in favour of no alteration at all being admitted into it, and that the fact of Old Sarum and Gatton having at various times served as the refuge of Cabinet Ministers, did not quite constitute a logical argument, why Manchester and Birmingham should not be represented, alongside at least of the older and less populous boroughs. When things were just at this point, the revelations of the East Retford election opened such a door for a brilliant *coup*, as few ministers have ever been lucky enough to find ready made to their hands. But 'the Duke' was in his trenches, and proclaimed no surrender. What was the philosophy of party polemics to him? Emancipation had, to be sure, been wrested from him; but what had Emancipation to do with boroughs? And, accordingly, the dialectic leader of the Lower House proved the utter unreasonableness of the supposition, that while all other social and political arrangements changed with the times, the least modification in the national representation could be admitted, even the enfranchisement of those towns which were the staples of England's manufactures.

In this case the current of events deceived the watchers on the beach; and the slight misfortune of Lord Grey's leader in

the House of Commons not being able to string six sentences together, was superadded to the Whig Reform Bill, in itself undoubtedly a great fact, a great remarkable fallacy which has taken its ultimate form and colour in the premiership of Lord John Russell. It is impossible for any one who compares past events with those which were then still future, to doubt that, had not contingencies which it was difficult to forecast turned out the Wellington Cabinet, Sir Robert Peel would have proved true to his normal policy of holding on too long, and then making a sudden and dangerous turn, like a reckless coachman galloping along a tortuous road. We can as little doubt that Sir Robert Peel's Reform Bill would have been a more clever performance than that of Lord Grey. But it was not to be so, and thus the late Premier purchased an instalment of unfortunate consistency, at the price of what might have been a crowning deed of statecraft, and might have modified for all future ages the colour of British politics.

Before we pass on to the next Act, we must by way of parenthesis notice the unobtrusive way in which the great tradition of Tory royalty, the moving cause of the famous European war, was quietly dropped by the immediate recognition of the King of the French, (a precedent since followed when Lamartine and Ledru Rollin supplanted that same king,) on the part of that Wellington Cabinet, which built its Capitol among the pot-wallopers of East Retford.

We have now come to the most extraordinary epoch of Sir Robert's history. The general election of 1832-3 left the Tory party a shattered ruin—disorganized by internal division, out of credit with the country, untrue to the dogmas upon which it had lived, unprovided with any to replace them, violently deprived of those material engines of influence on which it had so long relied, and which had proved powerless in the last desperate struggle on the floor of an unreformed Lower House, and an Upper House afraid to vindicate its own belief. And yet, amid all this chaos, this dislocation of men and principles, that outworn fragment of a Tory party which in the Parliament of Gully and Silk Buckingham could only muster 150 members against an exulting band of 500, was in the eyes of all thinking and unbiassed lovers of order the only hope of England's future safety—a very dim beacon, scarce gleaming through the sulphurous clouds and the driving spray, but still a beacon. The elements of stability in no way showed themselves attaching to the movement party—the Whigs, in the hour of triumph, proved themselves wanting. In this emergency Sir Robert Peel's peculiar talent displayed itself most conspicuously; the general voice of the respectability of England

having pronounced, he very dexterously systematized it, and—the more marvellous portion of the achievement—he had sufficient influence to mould the old Tory will into conformity with his plans. The new Conservative party, the party of moderate and progressive reform, came forth the birth of the panic, Sir Robert Peel the midwife. The new machinery had hardly been set at work when it was put to a very severe and unexpected test in that freakish dismissal of Lord Melbourne's government by William IV. in the autumn of 1834, by which that most well-intentioned and unregal monarch endeavoured, now that he began to tire of citizen-kingship, to pay off all the insults which his Whig advisers had made him incur for four years. Parliament was dissolved; all the engines of the Carlton were set at work; officials discussed whom they might send to bleed at Sudbury; and the 150 became 250. This was undoubtedly in its way a success, and Sir Robert, so committed to his king and to the country, had no alternative but that of facing Parliament. The first vote was a discomfiture of the most cutting kind, the rejection of that long-tried and able speaker Mr. Manners Sutton, for an individual who proved the worst that had since the memory of man filled the chair. The inevitable result, a resignation before Easter, followed. Short as had been this administration, creditable as had in many respects been its conduct, yet the solitary memorial of its existence which it left behind was a proof of the inadequacy of the new Conservative formulary when applied to matters beyond the immediate ken of Downing Street. We refer to that hastily-devised and ill-arranged Ecclesiastical Commission, with which, under various forms, we have been saddled ever since—a body founded in disregard or ignorance of the simplest principles of ecclesiastical polity, and one which has more than can be described conduced to the stultification of any comprehensive system of real, sound Church reform.

In April Lord Melbourne was again Premier, and then began a parliamentary struggle unexampled in its character,—no contest of high principle, but a perpetual strategy, a long unintermitted sapping and mining and scaling and circumventing—a struggle in which the zealous partisan had to be repressed no less than the determined opponent. Month after month witnessed the slow irresistible advance of Peel and his Conservatives, nearing and nearing upon the Whigs, as in the story the diminishing chamber of iron was said to close around the incarcerated and helpless victim. The issues of life and death seemed to favour the long enduring statesman's policy, for the demise of William IV. in 1837 effected what nothing else could do, a self-acting change of Parliament, which left the falling government and the

rising opposition in possession of their two sides of the House, but with a considerable alteration of the balance of numbers—and yet not too great a balance—one which might be strong enough to turn out a ministry upon, but not too strong to make a speedy dissolution a just subject of complaint even to those whose pockets might be the most heavily mulcted. Then began again the old game—tramp, tramp, advanced the opposition; skilful in dodges, unparalleled in shirking as they were, Lord Melbourne in the Lords and Lord John Russell in the Commons, fenced with a desperate ingenuity. That semi-ludicrous interlude known in history as the Bedchamber Plot helped to strengthen the moral prestige of the Conservatives. At length the crisis came, when all the Whig strength was mustered, when a dying man was wheeled into the House to expire in an unconscious vote, and the Speaker—no longer Mr. Abercromby but Mr. Lefevre—had to announce with his sonorous voice that the first Parliament of Queen Victoria had by one vote declared the Whigs incapable of governing, and a fixed duty on corn a fallacy.

Loud were the cheers of the Conservatives at this triumph of principle; for amongst all the concessions and changes which made old Tory into new Conservative, one badge of the ancient faith was by common consent left, one sacred Palladium was treasured in the temple of consistency—the Sliding Scale. By an unfortunate coincidence, this bequest of the wisdom of our ancestors happened to be a very recent experiment devised since the peace, while Mr. Peel was already in high office. Nevertheless, it came from the old days of unreformed Toryism—so much had happened since, that people forgot their dates; and so it served as a very respectable specimen of premature antiquity.

The ministry, with the perverse ingenuity of its party, did Sir Robert's dirty work for him, in dissolving the Parliament. The Carlton and the Reform set every engine to work—through every borough, and over every county were heard the appeal of 'cheap loaf,' and the rejoinder, 'and no money to buy it with;' the result, as everybody knows, was the election of a Parliament pledged to bring Sir Robert Peel into office, as the symbol of absolute protection. A noble struggle of a few days ensued—the leaders of either side put forth their strength—the battle was won by a large majority; but at the triumph, as in old Rome, the monitor of mortality was present, for this debate witnessed the maiden speech of Richard Cobden. But we are anticipating. August 30th saw Sir Robert again Prime Minister—the Carlton was in ecstasies—the good old days of Toryism had indeed come back—the British Lion was after all alive—the Re-

form Bill had not destroyed the Constitution—the Emancipation Act had been a harmless interlude—the 'great Commoner' takes the First Office with a bold innovation. Hitherto, when a member of the Lower House had been appointed to the office of First Commissioner of the Treasury, it was thought incumbent upon him to assume likewise the responsibilities of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. To this burden Pitt had submitted; Perceval, Canning, Sir Robert Peel, in 1834, had not refused it. But now the Leader of the House of Commons had his lieutenant by his side—and the Cabinet is gazetted:—

> 'Beneath his curb hot Stanley frets,
> And, thankful for the place he gets,
> The last of the Plantagenets
> Walks fetter'd to his car.'

The doctrinaires of the new school are satisfied with the Home Department being entrusted to Sir James Graham; the lovers of international peace hail with delight Lord Aberdeen's return to the Foreign Office; while the phalanx of country gentlemen see in Sir Edward Knatchbull's resumption of the Paymastership-General, that there is somewhere *tuta fides;*[1] and the presence in the Cabinet of 'the Duke,' without office, gives a dignity to the whole body.

We cannot pretend to give the history of that wonderful parliament; we will not venture to depict the unsuspecting docility with which red-hot Protectionists welcomed smooth speeches and liberalising tariffs judiciously doled out to them as bulwarks of their immortal principles. We shall not narrate how in their application the old Tory traditions of petty tactics were proved to be unsuitable to manage gentlemen who had fought popular constituencies at their own risk. We will not detail how the unseasonable *brusqueries* of the Home Secretary, and the constitutional reserve of the Prime Minister chilled enthusiasm. We shall not touch upon the unpopularity which he, perhaps unjustly, incurred by that conciliatory scheme, the endowment of Maynooth College, and how the government incurred the obloquy of, and paralysed, persons who were well disposed to be their friends, by the unjustifiable attempt to carry by a *coup-de-main*, and under colour of the supposed principles conceded in the endowment of Maynooth, a scheme of a widely different tendency,—the establishment of the three 'Godless Colleges' of Ireland; a measure which united in opposition, upon an Irish question, Sir Robert Inglis and

[1] Sir Edward Knatchbull's fame as a statesman and claim to Cabinet office greatly depended upon a speech made against Emancipation, winding up with that original quotation, *nusquam tuta fides.*

Mr. O'Connell. We shall not record the sulky dissatisfaction with which, under threat of a resignation, the house was compelled to stultify itself upon the Ten Hours' question, and to register the ministerial policy upon West India Sugar. We shall pass over that mistake, (not a thing of which a minister had need to have been ashamed, but still, as things go, an undeniable mistake,) which, by neglecting to confer a subordinate office upon a versatile and able *literateur*, raised up an adversary, bitter, implacable, and persevering—an adversary, whose present value on the Office 'Change, may yet puzzle future Cabinets.

It is sufficient to say that without any great crisis having occurred, without the giant majority having sensibly fallen off, the position of Sir Robert Peel and his followers in 1845 was not what it had been in 1841; the whip was still responded to, and the government still carried what it listed, but the golden dream had faded into a russet hue, the enthusiasm of the first days had died away, the heroes of the good old cause were now but men, canvassed and suspected.

Autumn came, and it was the famine year, when the 'Times' frightened us all with the announcement that there was not more than a fortnight's corn in England. The counterpart of the Bedchamber days was played. Parliament met in 1846 like an army in mutiny. The eloquence of Sir Robert was impatiently listened to. Country gentlemen who had sat for years and years mute upon the benches, astonished themselves and wore out the Speaker with their long harangues; one vehement man of noble birth, great readiness, marvellous memory, and utter want of statesmanship, heretofore only known upon the turf, hitherto the unwilling supporter of a minister whom, on the supposition of a long cherished private wrong, he never could endure, sprang forward, in a maiden speech, the self-elected leader of a party, claiming the old Tory pedigree. The entire repeal of the corn-laws passed by opposition votes, and that Conservative party which it had taken Sir Robert so long to build up, in three months falls into the same disorganization which it had cost three years of his policy to bring upon the older Tory race. The cause in either case the same,—the desertion, without due notice given to those who had placed their confidence in him, by the same man, of that dogma which had raised him to power.

Then came a night of deep disgrace, when the opponents of the change, willing to throw away their much vaunted principles, if only they could ruin the man, joined with those who had so recently helped him to his last success, to turn Sir Robert out of office, by opposing a measure of his which they had a very short time before allowed to be necessary for the tranquillity of

Ireland. Sir Robert was left in a minority, and of course resigned; and that nothing might be wanting on any side to complete the picture of entire renunciation of principle, in his parting speech from that Treasury Bench which he never was to occupy again, thanked for his conversion 'the unadorned eloquence' of that man whom, not many years before, he had, amidst the frantic cheers of his majority, held up as a seditious, if not a sanguinary, demagogue, and who has since enacted the part of itinerant speechmaker, with Europe as his beat. Lord John Russell came in as Prime Minister, and the great Parliament of 1841, that national jury, packed to vindicate the Sliding Scale against a man who could dare to breathe a word about fixed duty, sat on for another session, a harmless drudge, quietly registering the edicts of that man and of his entirely Free Trade Cabinet.

The remaining career of Sir Robert is still, and probably will ever be, a riddle. How far he may have still wished for office, how far his protestations of retirement from its cares were absolute and invincible, can now never be solved; for when upon a memorable night after a four years' estrangement from old friends he had once again fought by their side for those great principles of European polity which he and they had pleaded in many an anxious contest heretofore, the end came, and the spontaneous mourning of the people pronounced that Sir Robert was gone.

If our readers have had the patience to accompany us through this sketch of Sir Robert's political life, which we have endeavoured to render at once impartial and concise, they will probably at the end inquire what it was after all which made the deceased Baronet that eminent man which they and we feel him to have been. We see that his career as a statesman has been a course of pertinacious resistances to growing convictions, four times repeated upon four questions of internal constitutional policy of greater moment than it could have been well thought possible to have come across the path of one man; in the first and second of which he suddenly and ungracefully recanted, when almost too late, in the third he overlooked a golden opportunity, and in the fourth repeated the conduct which he had adopted upon the first two occasions. Still Sir Robert Peel was the statesman of his age. We shall now endeavour to track out this seeming paradox by investigating what, viewed as a political character, Sir Robert Peel's true position was in the British Commonwealth. This search will incidentally lead us to bring out those traits which are necessary to complete that picture of him which we have proposed to ourselves to sketch in this article.

If we were to follow the acknowledged routine in such discussions, we should commence with a definition of what are implied by 'true greatness,' 'real genius,' and such like terms. But feeling very convinced, as we do, that when we should complete our definitions, we should not have advanced much further in giving our readers clear ideas of these often canvassed words than they probably already enjoy, we shall not attempt the task, nor shall we even endeavour to prove whether Sir Robert Peel was or was not a truly great man, or whether his talents did or did not entitle them to the appellation of genius. When we have traced out his position in the world of statesmen, each one will be competent to decide for himself, if Sir Robert's career has earned him the meed of greatness and of genius, according to his preconceived interpretation of those terms.

Our explanation of Sir Robert Peel's character is, that he was an example of very great administrative and adaptatory talent, combined with a much unequal development of the inventive and the combinatory, and coexisting with a large amount of self-admiration, the whole bearing upon two objects, the good of his country and his own reputation. If this be admitted, we think we shall have found the key to his successes and to his failures, to the blame which was so unsparingly heaped upon him during his life, and to the regret with which his death was universally received. Sir Robert has often been called the leading man of his age. People have talked of the ability with which he guided the destinies of England. Now, all this seems to us to be a great fallacy; he no more led his age, nor guided the destinies of the country, than the 'Times' newspaper did, between which and the deceased Baronet an interesting parallel might, in more ways than one, be drawn. Both he and the 'Times' administered the nation, realized its fancies, found means to work out safely and well the accomplishment of its decrees, and gave themselves just sufficient credit, and no more, for so doing, as to gain from the mass the reputation of being their leaders, and yet not to make themselves the objects of envy in consequence; only, we must say, that the newspaper showed of the two the greater adroitness. To reflect the popular mind is more efficiently to lead it than by mere didactics. Sir Robert Peel was like the very intelligent and active agent of an old, large, and on the whole, well managed property, who, too honest to cheat and not enterprising enough to despotise, yet by making himself early acquainted with all its statistics and all its history, and by adapting himself to the tastes and prejudices of its somewhat domineering, and at times capricious possessor, so as always to be ready with the scheme which could give them practical action, acquires among all his neighbours the reputation of

being absolute master of the estate, the author of its prosperity, and the dictator of its lord. His readiness in complying with and carrying out his employer's schemes, may or may not be ultimately advantageous to the land, but, in the meantime, it maintains him in his position, while his own administrative capacity maintains his lord, and keeps up during the period of his agency the value of the estate. At length the agent of this stamp becomes absolutely identified with his employer, and when he dies, his master sincerely laments him, and shows his grief by outward marks of respect, without considering the ultimate bearing and value of his faithful servant's acts, or the degree in the intellectual and moral scale which he will ultimately occupy, simply because he has lost his other self, his trusty and clever steward, who had long and zealously, to the best of a very good ability, carried out all his wishes, because they were his wishes. Such precisely was Sir Robert Peel, and his employer was that personification which sometimes skims by us in floating robes of flimsy air under the name of public opinion, and sometimes tramps upon lower earth in top-boots and capacious coat as John Bull. Sir Robert was the impersonification of the average respectable, moral, steady, common-sense Englishman, of no extreme views any way, but very careful about his accounts; not the Englishman of Clumber Park, or the League Committee-room—not the frequenter of Exeter Hall, or the Oratory, but of those numerous worthy individuals, whom we may meet any day by the hundred, in a walk from Charing Cross to the Bank, who go by the generic description of good quiet members of society—of a decorous mediocrity, not to say stupidity, both in principles and practice. Eschewing fanaticism, Sir Robert Peel was apt to undervalue chivalric principle; eager for moderation, he too often showed himself cold and unsympathetic, and he never seemed to see in others the qualities he lacked himself.

If we consider the circumstances of Sir Robert Peel's birth, education, and initiation into public life, we shall not be astonished at this. The eldest son of a man who had earned a princely fortune by his own upright industry and talent, he was born in Lancashire, before Lancashire and its manufactories had established that precise position which they now fill in the body politic. His birth and his early training were provincial, but his public school was Harrow. Oxford, with its literary toils, succeeded to Harrow, and to Oxford with very little breathing time the drudgery of subordinate office. By the time he was twenty-two, young Peel's career was stereotyped. The cautious son of a cautious father, who had at first at a distance supported, and then been honoured by, the then aristocratic party, he

found himself with great natural ability, but little experience of society, the *employé* of that party in whose traditions his education and natural feelings gave him little sympathy, with at the same time the definite scope put before him, not of gaining wealth,—for that would, in the course of nature, come to him by shoals,—but of that which an Englishman always looks after when he has got his wealth, social position. Young Peel's ambition for social position was of the highest, and politics was the mart at which he had to procure it; with this, his poetical and enthusiastic temperament, that temperament which made the great party leaders of other times, the Straffords and the Clarendons, the Pitts and the Foxes, fight for their dogmas and their followers, as Churchmen fight for their creed, was very limited. At the same time, he was too honest to strive as other men have done before him—politicians of the stamp of Shaftesbury and Newcastle—for preferment, by intrigue and low chicane. Briefly recapitulated, he abounded in great negatives. If there be any Protestantism in politics, Sir Robert possessed in its purest form that political no-faith which only deals in denials. He was not a party man; this, had he been a hero of the finest stamp, would have been a great advantage, but he was not so. As little was he the apostle of any great ennobling principle with which he yearned to benefit his race, irrespective of, and if need were, against his party. Neither, on the other hand, was he a jobber, nor a man who had to make his fortune. He was a politician by calculation, a position-hunter, and a lover of popularity.

The natural result was that Mr. Peel, while outwardly the active Tory official, soon became in heart, if he had not always been so, a political sceptic, whilst, at the same time, his natural love of order and administration kept him sufficiently attached to his party as the better one, to make his scepticism imperceptible to the many; and his unbelief was of that class which, without any intentional deceit, practises and recommends strict external conformity for the sake of respectability. To the Tory party he looked as his natural coadjutors in his strivings after high position, but public opinion was to be the master that was to give him his reward. And with all this there was, we doubt not, mixed up a large disinterested desire to serve his country. The public opinion to which he looked, was that of the quiet and loyal, of the orderly and respectable. The first event which opened the eyes of the world to the real character of 'Orange Peel,' was, as we have shown, the Currency question. His maxim of outward conformity had, as long as he had not considered the question, led him to continue the able advocate of the paper party. But once at the head of the committee of

inquiry, public opinion had its full weight upon his rationalistic mind, and hence the change. Similarly, his opposition to Roman Catholic Emancipation was not a political conviction like that of Lord Eldon, nor a religious one like that of Lord Winchelsea and Sir Robert Inglis; accordingly, so long as he was buoyed up by John Bull's hatred of popery, so long as respectable public opinion hailed him as the champion of Protestantism, his championship of 'glorious, pious and immortal' principles of policy was unimpeachable. But a change came,—Daniel O'Connell proved that there were two public opinions in the empire, and that the other one had many million voices to make itself be heard by. Accordingly, forcibly kept in office by George IV., as the price of his own surrender, Mr. Secretary Peel, in March, 1829, moved the Emancipation Bill. His letting Parliamentary Reform slip through his fingers was simply an oversight. While listening for public opinion to whisper him his cue, public opinion for once took the matter entirely into its own hands, and found out men more rough and ready than the cautious family agent to do the work which it had willed should be done.

The construction of the Conservative party out of the shattered fragments of old Toryism, was at once Sir Robert Peel's greatest achievement and his greatest failure; the exploit in which his natural capabilities shone the brightest, and the one in which his deficiencies were most clearly exhibited. To give stability to such a work, a man of faith and chivalry was needed; but a man of faith and chivalry would probably have feared and scrupled about such a delicate task—a task where first principles had to be laid bare, old creeds remodelled, and convictions transferred; and he would in all probability have—unless he were withal a man of that rare energy which only some chosen intellects have possessed—faltered in the mid career, and left his work either half done or undone. But Sir Robert Peel was not troubled with fears or scruples of this description. He had all along measured other people's political convictions by his own,—and they had estimated his by theirs. Accordingly, the bargain was soon struck, old scores were soon wiped off, and his able strategy soon set the new-rigged bark afloat, commanded by a captain and manned by a crew, who both laboured under the delusion that crew and captain were embarked upon the same voyage. They were *πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μόρφη μία*, dogmatic Tories, compelled to eat the leeks of emancipation and reform, and for prudence sake travelling under a *nom de guerre;* but confident that their heaven-sent chief, whose feats they most admired when they could least divine his motives, would bring them, by ways they knew not of, to their ancient home in the

quiet seas. He (and with him his chosen band of confidants) was the moderate but thorough reformer,—the man of palliatives and tentative alterations,—rejoicing that the Eldonitish squires of old times had opened their eyes to the bigotry of their youth, and proposed, so long as they gave him their confidence, to steer them to fresh and fresher fields of modern enlightenment. This compact—this glorious mirage of the great Peel Conservative party—met with the inevitable fate of all compacts which are differently understood by the two contracting parties: a little temporary lull, sugared words, and then a terrible disclosure, a crash, annihilation, and fearful unmeasured recrimination on either side. Sir Robert could not conceive what his followers could have to complain of; his whole career, since he had been a minister, had shown him to be of the most liberal section of his party. He had always been open to conviction. Witness his conduct upon the Currency question; witness that upon Roman Catholic Emancipation. How could they expect him to be peculiarly and singularly bigoted upon that late contrivance of an experimental policy—the Sliding Scale? They retorted, that they were in hopes that the minister of their free choice had by experience learned the evil of concession; that he had come forth through the reform crisis, a wiser and a firmer man; and lastly, that he had accepted office in that very Parliament upon the question of Protection; without which, they never would have helped him to turn out the Whigs. Some did not stop here; and there are still worthy persons who cherish the preposterous notion, that the rich and canny Sir Robert Peel wanted to pull down the aristocracy.

Fully admitting, as we do, that the excessive simplicity which could alone have led the Tory Conservatives to set up Sir Robert Peel, in 1841, as the exponent of their principles, after the experience of 1819 and 1829, is almost sufficient to put them out of court, as objects of compassion, in 1846, we still think that, utterly irrespective of the abstract merits of Protection or Free Trade, they had a great deal to complain of in the way in which the latter was thrust upon them. We do not in the least wish to come forward as the advocates of that unblushing system of making party, and not the nation, the ultimate object of political warfare, which has in all ages and in all countries been the bane of statecraft, and which reached so portentous a height with us during the last century. But the profligacy of this extreme can be no justification of excess in the opposite direction; and we should be ultimately driven back an advocacy of mere chaos were we to deny that the relationip compulsorily existing between the leaders of the mass of

political parties, necessitates mutual obligations, which neither side can honourably, or even morally—for what is honour but the morality of secular life?—ignore. Such a relationship, to our apprehension, undoubtedly existed between Sir Robert Peel and those members of the Parliament of 1841 who had brought in and had supported his ministry. The question upon which Lord Melbourne's cabinet had been defeated was that of Free Trade. A fixed duty upon corn was the popular cry under which Lord John Russell strove to retrieve his falling fortunes. To this Sir Robert Peel had opposed the maintenance of the sliding scale. Candidates presented themselves at the Carlton, tendering for seats upon the Protectionist side; and had won those seats pledged, as deep as members could be pledged, to the support of the sliding scale, and nothing but the sliding scale—the extreme of absolute Free Trade was too much even for the then Downing Street—and they had brought into office Sir Robert Peel as the exponent of these views. Moreover, their own consistency was at stake,—winter after winter they had revisited their constituents, and had renewed their plighted pledges, to their legitimate love, to much-protected British industry. And now, without preparation or consultation, without their advice being asked, without a plenary release in the form of a dissolution of Parliament, without even that convenient formality of a meeting of the party, by which self-love is so often pacified, and self-importance mystified,—they were called upon by the Minister to falsify their pledges, recant their sentiments, and own in a body that their previous life had all been one unstatesmanlike blunder, because the Minister and his cabinet had changed their views. This was a trial too bitter to bear easily; and we do not accordingly wonder at the asperity with which the demand was received. Had Sir Robert boldly changed his sentiments,—had he published his altered convictions, and then appealed to that great jury, the constituency of the empire, whatever might have been thought of the wisdom of his conversion, its manner would have been irreproachable, and he would have continued honoured and respected by all men, in and out of parliament. We believe that under the circumstances the new parliament would have backed up the Minister in his change of sentiments, if not entirely, yet sufficiently to keep him afloat; and that some settlement of the vexed question would have been devised which would have smoothed dissensions. But his evil genius guided his proceedings. Right or wrong as the act might have been, he did it in the worst way possible. He provoked bitter invective; and the reflex action of this invective upon him was to make him still more intractable and unconciliatory. The moving cause of all

this miserable confusion was clearly his exclusive contemplation of public opinion, (then present to him in the guise of the League,) as the one master whose behests he had to obey. Public opinion seemed to be calling for absolute and instantaneous Free Trade; and accordingly consistency was ignored, and the honourable obligations contracted with his followers disregarded. Goaded to retaliation, a great number of the Protectionists committed the fatal mistake of substituting on their side for principle, passion, and turned Sir Robert out upon a bill for maintaining order in Ireland. Hence the subsequent disorder, the paralysis of parties, the Pacifico scandal, the Italian mission of Lord Minto, Dr. Hampden a Bishop, and the Gorham case,—while good men can only sit passively by, and murmur—

> Satis jampridem sanguine nostro
> Laomedonteæ luimus perjuria Trojæ.

We do not at all mean to deny that Sir Robert Peel's subjection to public opinion was the means of preserving him from many snares in which other ministers had been caught. Consistently followed out, it saved him from such downfalls as that of Pulteney into the Earl of Bath, and of Henry Fox into the Paymaster of the Forces. It was not, unquestionably, a high morality, but it was statecraft of a different stamp from that of the days when a 'Danby's matchless impudence' could rule the roast,—or later, when Walpole could boast that every member in the House of Commons had his price except Shippen; Shippen, by the way, sitting in parliament by force of perjuring himself with oaths of allegiance to a dynasty which he believed to be usurpers, and of abjuration of him whom he looked up to as his king. At the same time, we must, to the honour of the departed Premier, record his blameless private life, and his affection to his family, qualities which with his munificence in relieving distress, and his love of art, in no slight degree contributed to maintain him in the popular confidence.

As a speaker in Parliament, he stood undoubtedly extremely high, and yet no man could say that his eloquence was of the highest order. His devotion to public opinion, joined to that undeniably high estimation of himself which he possessed, gave him at all times an appearance of considerable egotism. He was always laying down the law—not reasoning with equals, but instructing disciples—the nation, as it were, coming down to teach its delegates—and hence many of his happiest efforts lost their effect. A young member just elected at the dissolution of 1841, who for the first time in his life heard the famous statesman speak, on the occasion of that memorable speech of his when he turned out the Whigs, expressed himself disappointed

with his speaking, likening it to a lecturer instructing a Mechanics Institute.

Another defect in Sir Robert's speaking, inseparable from his sceptical mode of viewing things, was the want of that genuine earnestness which springs from conviction only. He spoke learnedly, he spoke persuasively, he could pitch his voice in a peculiar low key of considerable melody, he could strike the red box and throw his coat-tails up, he could banter his adversary with an exquisite dry humour, and triumphantly turn round to his followers with an arch smile upon his face for the expected cheer;[1] but still, with all this, it was he who was leading on his subject, and not his subject overmastering him. He was always the calculating exponent of the popular opinion, not the ruler of the people. Once he gave way, for one instant, to a genuine burst of feeling, when, not long after his accession to his second Premiership, he was expounding his fiscal resources. The course of his argument led him to dissect his predecessor's budget. Provoked by its incompetent absurdities, to the astonishment of an attentive house, he thumped the red box, ejaculating, 'Miserable financiers!' The cheer was hearty and involuntary; when, surprised at his own boldness, he muttered some words of apology. These fell unheeded in the excitement, but they were characteristic of their author.

That request of his, which has transpired since his loss, that none of his family should receive any title of honour on account of his public services, is a very striking proof of that devotion to public opinion which influenced his actions. Peerages had, before his time, brought ministers into unpopularity. The spectacle of a man serving his country, without any of those rewards which he is usually considered to have the right to expect, was undoubtedly a magnificent notion for him to have conceived. But still we think that, in putting his family under such a restraint, he committed a great political blunder, and laid a yoke upon them which no father has a right to inflict upon his posterity. It was a great political blunder to cast, what might be interpreted as a stigma upon the British Peerage, by not allowing, so to speak, his sovereign to enrich it with a family, whose social position and large possessions so obviously marked it out as a desirable one with which to recruit the Upper House. Besides, what right had a man, after his part in the drama of life had been played through, posthumously to fetter his sove-

[1] No really first-rate portrait of Sir Robert Peel can exist, because none can represent him in this, his most characteristic face. The only attempt to embody it, which we have seen, is a caricature by Mr. Leech, 'The House in Committee,' given in 'Mr. Pips his Diary,' in Punch. This print is, in its way, of real value on this account.

reign's choice?—Sir Robert Peel had unquestionably the right through life to refuse a peerage. Every one knows that a peerage would, for many years, have been his for merely asking for it; and he deserves all that credit for moderation which a man is entitled to, who continues a Baronet, when he might be an Earl. But it is a different case, when, in his private will, he places a permanent restriction upon the increase of the Peerage, by excluding from it a wealthy and distinguished family. It is true that he limited the prohibition. His family was not to be ennobled for his services. If they won a Peerage for themselves, they had the right to take it. But this was surely placing their consciences in a very false and a very deceptive position—who was to judge whether the Peerage was in consequence of his services or not? Had he died poor, the question was easily solved; but he died extremely wealthy, with an established landed interest, and a borough almost at command, so that his family, according to the ordinary English views of matters, would be thoroughly eligible to the Peerage, whenever an augmentation of it might be called for, and the politics of the Peels coincided with those of the minister of the day, even had the late Baronet been the stupidest of squires, and the most silent of senators. Again, supposing individual merit on their part as needful to win the Upper House, without disobedience to their great progenitor, how much must be considered needful? and when they have done something, how far may his name be admitted as a makeweight? Besides, the first Sir Robert Peel was a distinguished man, and during the war made great sacrifices; why should not gratitude to his memory be allowed to plead in their favour? It is impossible for us to conceive that one so sagacious as the late Sir Robert Peel can have overlooked these considerations, and we are therefore constrained to say, much as we should wish to be able to give a different opinion, that this restriction carries with it an appearance of straining after artificial effect and popular applause, which we are very sorry to see in one so distinguished as he who imposed it. Sir Robert Peel's request that he might not be buried with a public funeral, although the policy of this may likewise be questioned, enters upon the domain of other feelings which are too private and too sacred for us to wish to handle them, and besides, it did not lay the State and Sovereign of England on the one side, and his own family on the other, under a continuance of delicate and embarrassing restrictions, like those which we have shown must arise from this posthumous refusal of those honours which have heretofore been given, as a matter of ·ırse, to the families of great statesmen, and which have ıys hitherto been considered to strengthen our constitution,

which all lovers of order desire to see strengthened; we refer, of course, to the House of Lords.

There is one topic connected with the political career of Sir Robert Peel about which, to the probable surprise of many of our readers, we have as yet said very little. We mean, his conduct in ecclesiastical matters. We have purposely refrained from doing so, in order to be able the more completely to survey his ecclesiastical administration in a connected form, as we have already done his conduct of secular affairs. The two questions quite admit of being separately treated. Many excellent individuals, who participate in our theological views, have long been in the habit of bringing it as a serious moral offence against Sir Robert Peel, that, considering the amount of power which he wielded, and the time during which he was in office, he should have done so little for the Church, and done that little in so unsatisfactory a manner. These persons have, doubtless, very great cause to be bitterly disappointed, that the Minister who was the unquestioned head of that party whose cry has been Church and State, should, after all, have given the Church so little cause to be thankful to him; and we entirely agree with them, that if his ecclesiastical policy had been different, he might have acquired substantial claims to the quality of greatness, of which, according to the turn that affairs took, he proved himself destitute. But we cannot go with them in considering this as any proof of moral turpitude, or in branding him with the charge of being faithless to the Church. This accusation can only be supported by taking an optimist view of the present political position of the Anglican Church, which facts, we fear, can hardly bear out. From the bottom of our hearts we wish we could believe that the rights and privileges of the Catholic Church, in relation to the British Government, were so clear to modern eyes, and the acknowledgment of them so general among statesmen, that faithlessness could be the only explanation of their neglect; but we must in sorrow and in truth confess that the case is very different. Those who are so loud in their comments upon Sir Robert Peel's supposed perfidy to the Church, forget that he and they affixed an entirely different signification to the term Church. We know that theirs is the right one, but we cannot make others, by willing it, equally sure. The right sense of the word Church is, of course, really and ecclesiastically the old one; but practically and humanly speaking, with reference, of course, to British politics, it is a very novel and startling one, dating back no further than Hugh James Rose's Sermons, and the Oxford Tracts. Such a paradox shows a very rotten state of affairs; but the Church herself, with shame be it spoken, has had so much hand in

bringing it about, that it would not be safe for her present Clergy, however guiltless themselves of it, to endeavour to affix the blame upon the secular powers. To be able to decide whether Sir Robert Peel was or was not, morally speaking, guilty of faithlessness to the Church, we must endeavour to find out what sense the word Church would have in the mind of a respectable, sober-minded Englishman, who entered public life on the Tory side in 1809, and who had since been too much involved in politics and the cares of office to make it probable that he would study the current theology of the day.[1]

The Church in his eyes was that form of the Protestant religion established in England by Act of Parliament, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., upon the downfall of Popery, consequent on the Reformation, and restored after the bloody but temporary triumph of the old religion, in the time of that great and wise Queen Elizabeth, and further strengthened by the Revolution of 1688, and the Act of Protestant Succession. Its doctrines were drawn from the pure Word of God, interpreted by the private judgment of the Reformers, and were in character, as the little Histories of England and Grammars of Geography which instructed our youth used to inform us, a mixture of Lutheranism and Calvinism, with an accidental Episcopacy superadded. The chief moral duty it enjoined upon those who were disposed to maintain a respectable appearance and set a good example, was to go to church once every Sunday, unless the weather were very bad, or very pressing business intervened. The Established Church of England used a set form of prayer, and was governed by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Dignitaries. The Established Church of Scotland eschewed both these unessential externals, otherwise she was identical with her English sister. As the champion of the established order of things, he, of course, upheld the Church of Scotland, but still he was inclined to think that the Church of England had taken the wiser course, because, as it was well known, the sober devotion of a set form of prayers imposed a wholesome restraint upon the excesses of enthusiasm; and the maintenance in England of the old offices of distinction in the Church afforded means of rewarding one's own party among the more distinguished clergy, and of providing for the younger scions of nobility; for, as used to be wisely observed, who would ever take one's part

[1] The statesmen, such as Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Vansittart, and Lord Teignmouth, who belonged to the evangelical party, of course held higher notions of the spiritual character of religion, however inadequate and mistaken views of the Church they may have held; but these persons formed a sect apart, and it was not likely that a young statesman would join them.

if he were to get nothing for it? or how could it be expected that men of birth would take orders if there were no prizes in the lottery? and if men of birth left off entering the Church, what would become of it?

Such was the conventional idea of the Church among men in office, when young Peel first came into Parliament, and he had not had, that we are aware of, any peculiar means, during his previous training, of acquiring sounder and deeper views. He was brought up at a public school, and it is well known how very little the notion of theological training of any sort entered into the curriculum of a public school at the commencement of the century. We cannot suppose that he was much more fortunate at Oxford. He must have fallen in there with numerous respectable and amiable Fellows of Colleges, scholars and gentlemen; but is it likely that the circle of his acquaintance included specimens of the Christian priest, as the more earnest tone of many persons, in the middle of the century, understands it? He must have left college, no doubt, with many pleasing recollections of agreeable hours passed in their company, but with these recollections mingled, we venture to say, an acute perception of the gusto with which many of them looked forward to livings, and wives, parsonages, and tithes, deaneries, stalls, and the mitre, as the τέλος of the 'clerical profession;' so that for a young man in his position, entering active life, to have grasped original ideas of the apostolicity of the Church, and of the exceeding responsibility of her ministers and of those to whose patronage they might owe their preferment, would have argued talents differing from and greater than those which we have shown him to have been possessed of. To have fallen below that level would have argued profligacy; to have kept fully up to it—and, as the tone of popular feeling gradually, but slowly, advanced (as it certainly has done since then, though not always in the right direction), proved respectability, and might be consistent with very great natural goodness. This is just the form which Sir Robert Peel's ecclesiastical career assumed. He was a member of that cabinet which first showed a conscience in the million grant for new churches, the acts of parliament which made the creation of new parishes easy, and in increasing the number of our colonial dioceses. When he first came to power, he set the example, in the current language of the day, to make the resources of the Church more available through means of that Ecclesiastical Commission, which, clear proof as it is of the immense ignorance of the wisest statesmen of that time of Church polity, is yet creditable, taken with these allowances, to his good intentions for the cause of national religion. When he came in again, he met the need of church

extension, in our large towns, by an act of parliament which has done considerable practical good, and is, on the whole, of a tolerably satisfactory character, except for the clause which confers so enormous an amount of patronage upon the Government; and he likewise took part in the establishment of that Jerusalem bishopric, which, miserable as it was in its essence, yet was, we are ready to believe, undertaken by him with the fullest notion that he was doing a service to pure religion. On the other side of the picture, his obstinate resistance to Lord Powis's plea for the retention of the Welsh bishopric, showed how much he was at sea when there was not a popular opinion to guide him.

Our readers will observe, that in proportion as we justify personally Sir Robert Peel's conduct to the Church, we admit more and more the miserably unsatisfactory state of the relations existing between the Church and the Government, and the inconceivable ignorance and darkness, 'darkness which might be felt,' which had overspread the judgment of public men, whenever they stepped aside from tariffs, and treaties, and the budget, to legislate for the rights of God, and the good of souls. That things are not altogether so bad now, we fully admit—we should be very blind if we did not do so; the very injustices under which we are this year groaning are in their way a proof that our opponents' vision is becoming clearer, and their dread of that something which they cannot realize, is beginning to scare them. We should be very thankful for this, in spite of our present reverses, and should take deliberate counsel to improve upon our new advantages—but we should be very much at fault, and commit great errors, if we mistook the beginning for the end. This we fear some persons are a little inclined to do; and to advocate a policy which, wise and bold as it might be were our opinions to be those of the majority, and to have the support of a continuous State tradition, will yet be considered rash and ill-conceived by those who fully realize how new and strange an idea is that of the Catholic Church to the political mind of England.

But we are wandering away from Sir Robert Peel. We have, we trust, shown that little as he fulfils our idea of the Church statesman, yet to blame him very severely for his deficiency would be to underrate the difference between his training and ours, and to confuse the Oxford of the first with the Oxford of the fourth decade of this wonderful century. He acted up, we fully believe, to his light. He sincerely undertook schemes of Church Reform and Church Extension—ill-conceived, as we all know, but honestly intended; he gave Church preferment to men of eminence, and what were currently known as mode-

rate views. He was regular in his attendance at public worship on Sundays, according to the forms of the Establishment when in England, and according to the forms of the Establishment when in Scotland. We know as a fact, that latterly at least, he refused to hold his receptions on the Wednesday evenings in Lent. His conformity to the laws of Christian morality was unimpeachable, and amidst the agonies of his dreadful death he sought the consolations of the Holy Communion. In many particulars how favourably does he contrast with Mr. Pitt. So that unless we are prepared to anathematise all our connexions and neighbours, however worthy and respectable in every relation of life, and personally friendly to us, provided only they have not been touched with that revival of Church views, which, because it is a revival, cannot as yet be universal, it would be very unfair in us to vituperate Sir Robert Peel for having while minister neglected those laws of the Catholic Church which it was, humanly speaking, almost impossible that he, with all the distracting avocations of his public life, could have ever mastered. He was a most respectable Establishment Christian of that school which existed when he was a young man, and he deserves at least some measure of acknowledgment for having lived up to it.

It is now time to stop. We have endeavoured most imperfectly to record our impressions of Sir Robert Peel and his times. That he will occupy a prominent position in history is unquestionable. What that position may be, we are not competent to divine, and are therefore unwilling to hazard conjectures about. If we have in any way contributed to help our readers to form their idea upon the subject, we shall consider that we have not unprofitably engaged their attention. We have spoken freely of the late Prime Minister, but not, we trust, unkindly; we most sincerely hope that the good he has done may long continue to embalm his memory, and we most heartily address to him the lines—

> 'Quiet consummation have,
> And renownèd be thy grave!'

ART. V.—1. *Nineveh and Persepolis: an Historical Sketch of ancient Assyria and Persia, with an Account of the Recent Researches in those Countries. By* W. S. W. VAUX, M.A. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co. 1850.

2. *Notes from Nineveh, and Travels in Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Syria. By the* REV. J. P. FLETCHER. Two Volumes. London: Colburn. 1850.

IT would be somewhat curious to ascertain the various meditations and ideas which pass through the minds of the many crowds who weekly visit the sculptures of Nineveh in the British Museum. To judge of their interest from the expression given to thought in the form of definite verbal comments would be a test calculated, we suspect, to disappoint enthusiasts, who, fired with the dignity and romance of Eastern history, see the world twice as large as hitherto, from the magnifying power of modern research, which has brought empires and cities dealing in years by the thousand, into the field of distant vision, as remote nebulæ of the heavens are resolved by a six-feet reflector. The real fact is, that the world generally is very ignorant of all but the affairs of its own immediate age. The calls of hunger, of comfort, of splendour and ambition, the distractions of joy, of pain, of thoughtlessness and passion, absorb a very large percentage of sublunary interests. Something, however, is always left for the claims of comprehensive and disinterested information, and the love of past history occupies no contemptible position in the imaginative as opposed to the real appetite of human energies. Nevertheless, mankind *en masse* are little able to define very accurately, even to themselves, much less to the world at large, of what nature their interest is in remote events, or what thoughts occur to them on beholding and reading of such things as Mr. Layard has unburied alike from time as from the grave of an Eastern desert. Some years ago a gorgeously illuminated copy of Lord Kingsborough's work on Mexican antiquities was presented to the Bodleian Library in that stronghold of antiquated lore, the University of Oxford. So important and valuable was this acquisition, that a special visit of the vice-chancellor in state was thought necessary to celebrate the event. The leaves were turned over before this representative of ancient learning. Proctors and an assembled conclave waited for words of admiration to pour forth from the matured lips of official dignity: but so great was the responsibility of the occasion, or so profoundly mystical were the

thoughts excited within his breast, that no utterance came forth, till feeling at last that something must be said that was intelligible to the vulgar, he exclaimed, pointing with his finger to the object, 'Look at him sticking this fellow in the stomach.'

People can think and talk most readily about what they know, or are accustomed to associate definite ideas with in some way or other. For this reason, the motives of human conduct form a popular subject of conversation under the head of gossip; but on the other hand, the most religious minds find little to talk of in those abstract dogmas of their faith which belong to the regions of the infinite. What, therefore, are we to say when gigantic carvings of exquisite workmanship, full of historical and allegorical meaning, present themselves before us in reference to a vast portion of the world's most illustrious history, that had almost become mythical, or known only as strangely mingled with the dispensation of heaven revealed in the sacred history? Mythical history stands before us in all the absolute and wonderful dignity of real life. The change of ideas in this case is so quick, the contrast so great, that the monsters of Assyrian worship, the representations of Assyrian habits, dress and manners, the noble and stately expressions of the human mind engraven with consummate art, all seem like awakening realities after deep sleep; or perhaps they may be compared rather to the dreamy impersonations which sometimes flit across our slumbering brains, of unknown things and people, till we are convinced that the British Museum actually contains them, and that they are subjects of anxious inquiry to others beside ourselves; nay, that sufficient interest is taken in them to induce men to devote much time and money to investigate their history, a test by which we instinctively feel convinced how vapid mere dreams are. These sculptures are like ghosts come before their time. The majority of people have been quite in the dark as to their existence during that short period between the first gleam of their anticipated appearance and their actual arrival; we have consequently been forestalled in any gradually developing speculations, by the completeness of the result, before our attention had in any way been directed to the affair. But there they are, whether like dreams or ghosts, well able to convince our senses that they exist. All the usual *accidents* that pertain to statuary must satisfy us that they are in substance as they really seem; nor can any assumption of imposture or deceit stand for a moment before the overwhelming credentials by which they have been introduced to us. Yet is it possible that these clean smooth carvings, in soft rather than hard stone, looking like fresh-cut masonry just prepared for one

of the many-styled edifices of the present day,—is it possible that these are identically the 'pleasant furniture' spoken of by Nahum the prophet, or that these adorned the temple of Nisroch, where Sennacherib was slain by his two sons? Have these stones heard the sermon of Jonah? Have they accomplished the purposes for which the proud inhabitants of Nineveh reared them up, and then shared the decay of empires? Have they been overthrown in the dust as things long past and gone, only recorded in history through the terrible destruction prophesied against the city of their birth? Have they thus been formed, used, and laid aside, during the first eighteen out of the forty-two centuries that have elapsed since the world sprung afresh from Noah? Is it 2,400 years since they perished to the whole world, and did the armies of Alexander the Great pass over them as but sandhills of the desert?

Other antiquities and works of art we have long possessed. Phidias, however, lived nearly two hundred years after Nineveh was ruined, and all that the Greeks or Romans have left us, seem to be accompanied with a key for their explanation, inasmuch as they are within the range of existing literature, and from boyhood we have been made familiar with them.

Nineveh, however, is wrapt in sublime freedom from the details of history; a mysterious halo hangs over it, no little adorned by the sacred character of those records by which we are chiefly informed of the power that, having its centre in Nineveh, was once felt from one end to the other of the known world.

But if the remains of Nineveh have taken us by surprise, it is natural to suppose, that we should be anxious to know without loss of time whatever may be collected together, in the shape of information, historical or otherwise, to enlighten our understandings on the subject; nor has the public reason to complain that such a want remained long unsatisfied. Seldom have any books appeared more exactly appropriate to the public requirements of literature than Mr. Vaux's Nineveh and Persepolis, and Mr. Fletcher's Notes. People want to know what they can about the East, and in the former book (for of the other we shall afterwards speak) they have it laid before them most diligently collected, most clearly and concisely arranged, and comprehensively planned. No library, public or private, ought to be without so useful a compendium of oriental history and modern travel. It brings home to all in the simplest form what hitherto has required much labour and expense to arrive at, and the perseverance obviously necessary for its composition, ether with the unpretending character given to it by the hor, are recommendations which cannot fail to please.

The plan of the book is to give an historical sketch, as far as can be ascertained from sacred or classical authorities, of Assyria and Babylon. This is followed by a most interesting summary of the history of Persia, from Cyrus to modern times. An account of many early travellers from Europe to the East is then given, which includes some quaint remarks hereafter to be referred to. Full and particular descriptions are then carefully drawn up of the existing condition of the principal objects and places of interest in the East, viz. Babylon, Khorsabad, Nineveh and Persepolis, and the whole is concluded with a notice, as far as space and the character of the work would allow, of Major Rawlinson's researches in deciphering the cuneiform characters.

The historical portions of Mr. Vaux's book we will first notice. It is this which repeoples the deserted streets and carved palaces with real life, which adds a purpose and a philosophy to the cold remnants of man's early habitations. We have not much sympathy with that mere love of antiquity that dwells on the relic unconnected with its illustrative power, reflected on the being of those who modelled and used it. If antiquity alone is the object, look to the stars above; with these all new events are necessarily hid from us, for their history is written in a character which takes long to reach us; or look to the rocks and strata of the earth's foundation. Antiquarian lore refers to man, and the interest of a relic depends on its representing some phase of character in a bygone race, some principle of the human mind, some illustration of man's social or religious feelings, or perhaps some token of Divine revelations. Associations are thus discovered between ourselves and our remotest fellow-creatures, and we are helping to discover the common elements of mankind, our natural requirements and our religious instincts. The peculiar light however thrown by these remnants of antiquity on their framers and designers will more properly be considered when we come to the descriptive, as opposed to the historical, part of our subject.

As far as any identity can be traced between the geography of the world in its present state, and its antediluvian features, it is nearly certain that the chosen residence of man in his state of innocence must have been in the future kingdom of Assyria. Nor would Moses, in writing the book of Genesis, have described the locality of Eden with reference to such well-known rivers as Hiddekel or the Tigris, and the Euphrates, if the whole face of nature had undergone an entire change in consequence of the deluge. Assyria, therefore, if we comprehend under that name all the country washed by the Tigris and the Euphrates, claims to be the origin of our race. The only city specially mentioned

before the deluge is Enoch, built by Cain and named after his son. This was in the land of Nod, described as being to the east of Eden, which would seem to identify it with the banks of the Tigris; for the Hiddekel is said to have gone towards the east of Assyria, or as the marginal reference translates it, 'eastward to Assyria.' There is, then, a reasonable probability that the cities built in the neighbourhood of these rivers after the flood, were a revival of the traditional pride of the race of giants, who lived to an age that made *oral* tradition a very direct line of communication between Cain himself and the founders of Babylon and Nineveh. Noah, when he descended from the top of Ararat, had the recollection of six centuries spent among a people and cities then perished from the earth, and he probably witnessed two centuries of that very Nineveh's history which is now untombed.

The actual founder, both of Babylon and Nineveh, some would make out to have been Nimrod, 'the mighty hunter;' for it is not improbable, Mr. Vaux thinks, that the marginal translation which states that Nimrod went out (from Babel) into Assyria and built Nineveh, may be more correct than the text, 'Out of that land went forth Asshur,' which would convey the notion that Asshur was a man, not a country.

As Nimrod was very distinguished in the politics of his day, we will quote Mr. Vaux's account of him; first suggesting a comparison between him and Cain, the founder of antediluvian worldly power. In these two men we find that the great founders of secular empire of whose personal achievements most is recorded, were not of the chosen race in the destiny of God's revelation, but belonged to rebellious offshoots, the despisers of the simplicity of God's more peculiar family:—

'In the first place, though no clue is afforded as to the subsequent history of this first Assyrian prince, it is quite clear that his name has been thus prominently mentioned because he was at the time in which he lived, above all others, a remarkable person, and one whose great deeds fitted him for peculiar selection, not impossibly, for some such reason as Sir Walter Ralegh has given, that Nimrod first abolished the simple system of paternity or eldership, and laid the earliest foundations of independent sovereign rule. Whoever, then, he was, it is evident that he was no common man; and the names of the cities which are attributed to him prove, as we shall subsequently show, that his power must have been very great.

'It is not, therefore, at all strange that many attempts should have been made to identify the name of Nimrod with names recorded in classical history, and that it should have been supposed by some that he is the same as the Greek Ninus; by others, as Belus (the Greek form of Baal or Lord). In the traditions of his own country he was considered to be the same as Orion; and the Assyrians associated with him the hare and the dog in that constellation, preserving thereby a curious record of the "mighty hunter" of the Scripture narrative. Mr. Cullimore, in his work on Babylonian Cylinders, has engraven one in which Divinities are represented standing

on a dog, behind which are eight stars. Mr. Selden mentions that in the constellation of Orion, Nimrod is known under the appellation of Al Gebir ("the mighty"); and Bochart has imagined, not without some reason, that the story of the Indian Bacchus is a classical tradition of the conquests of Nimrod and his successors.

'There has been almost as much discussion about the meaning of the name, and some have supposed that he was an usurper, because Nimrod would naturally be derived from a Hebrew word, meaning to rebel; yet there is very little ground for this opinion. We should more naturally conclude from the history in the Bible, that Nimrod had the command of those who went with him into Shinar, and that he received rather than usurped this charge. It is nowhere stated, that Noah himself, or any of the sons of his own body, came with this troop, and Nimrod, as the descendant of Ham, would be excluded from the special promises made to his uncles, Shem and Japhet.

'In the same way, the phrase "mighty hunter" has been variously interpreted, and some have thought that he was not only a leader, or chieftain, by the consent of his own people, but that, turning his weapons of hunting against men, he thereby compelled them to submit to his dominion. Like the heroes of great stature, the giants of the old world, he was doubtless the most powerful chieftain of his day; but tradition has not bequeathed to us enough of his history whereby we might determine the appropriateness of the title "mighty hunter."

'It is not of course possible to ascertain what form of religion he instituted, or how far he may have departed from the primitive faith of the sons of Noah: yet at a period so shortly after the Deluge, it is probable that his creed, like that of the descendants of Shem, was a nearly pure Deism.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 6—8.

Babylon was the first city in point of time, but Nineveh soon followed; and much confusion exists in their history, from the difficulty of separating the intricacies of names and events to their exact localities and periods. Neither of them, indeed, would appear to have sprung into maturity or great power all at once:—

'There is no reason to suppose that for a long period the separate or united empires of Babylon and Nineveh extended beyond their own frontiers, or came into collision with any of the adjoining nations. It is more likely that for many centuries the empire of the plains watered by the Euphrates and Tigris, was divided between the Assyrians of Nineveh, and the inhabitants of Babylon, and that each city was in its turn dominant or subject according to the valour or weakness of its princes. With the solitary exceptions of the traditions in classical authors of the conquests of the Indian Bacchus, which, as we have mentioned already, are by some attributed to the Assyrian Ninus, we have no mention of either Babylon or Nineveh, as the head of a great conquering nation in early times. We find that Assyria, together with the King of Nisibis, sent only twenty thousand men to assist the Ammonites, a notice which implies either a great inferiority or else a disinclination for the cause they were requested to aid. For a long time, though the seat of the chief governments, neither city would be in a position to extend its conquests far beyond the limits of its own territories, and the analogy of the early settlement of other Asiatic kingdoms would lead us to suppose that the growth of the power of both cities was by no means rapid.'—*Ibid.* p. 9.

After its early distinction, Babylon is lost from the pages of history, and Nineveh becomes the most prominent as a military power till Babylon again rises and witnesses her complete overthrow. For a second time, therefore, Babylon is conspicuous in history, though now but for comparatively a short time, from B.C. 606, when Nineveh fell, to its own destruction, B.C. 538. This was a time of unexampled splendour, under Nebuchadnezzar, and as it comes within the range of classic history, is better known than the former glories of Nineveh. It thus follows, that although Babylon is the most ancient city of the two, yet that the remains of it at present known, from belonging to its second period, are not of such antiquity as the excavations of Nineveh.

But Nineveh did not enjoy an even course of independence during its apparent superiority over Babylon. After her early kings, who succeeded Ninus or Nimrod up to Amraphel, mentioned in Abraham's time as king of Shinar, we lose sight of her kings:—

'From the time of Amraphel we have no authentic history of any Assyrian king for more than a thousand years. But during this long period of darkness we have in the Bible an account of the rise of more than one neighbouring state, which for a while rivalled, but in the end submitted to, the growing greatness and almost universal empire of the rulers of Mesopotamia. Of these, the Theocracy of Judea naturally occupies the longest period of time and the most prominent place. Its early history from the time the Israelites entered Canaan under Joshua, to the establishment of the royal line in the House of Judah, is a series of almost unceasing wars with the idolatrous tribes around, broken by short intervals of peace, periods which were little distinguished by those events which make nations great in the eyes of posterity. Its territory had not in this period been extended beyond its original boundaries, nor had there been communication enough of a commercial character with the surrounding nations to extend to foreign people the fame of its rulers, or the greatness of its nation. Under David, however, the kingdom had been considerably enlarged, and settled laws were established. The arms of the Hebrews had become a cause of alarm to the countries near them; hence, the reign of Solomon was peaceful, and a commercial spirit was encouraged by that monarch, which spread far and wide the renown of his people and the wisdom and ability of their sovereign.

'For "he was wiser than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol, and his fame was in all nations round about." In his days, there is no question that the Hebrews were the ruling people, and their empire the chief monarchy of Western Asia. From the Mediterranean Sea to the Euphrates, from the river of Egypt to Berytus, Hamath, and Thapsacus, and towards the east to the Hagerenes on the Persian Gulf, all were subject to the sway of Solomon. The warlike and civilised Philistines, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, the Nomadic Arabians of the desert, and the Syrians of Damascus paid him tribute. Peace gave to all his subjects prosperity, the trade he fostered brought wealth into the country, and the building of the temple and of the several laces introduced foreign artists, by whom his own people were in-ucted: "and the king made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones, and

cedars made he to be as the sycamores that are in the vale for abundance."' —*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 15, 16.

On the separation, however, of the kingdom of Israel from Judah, and the subsequent declension of power during the time of the kings, Assyria was destined to act a very prominent part in connexion with sacred history. This commenced with Pul, who invaded Judæa in the reign of Menahem, about B.C. 769, not far from which time Mr. Vaux supposes that Jonah visited Nineveh, although the date usually stated would make it somewhat earlier. After Pul came Tiglath Pileser, then Shalmaneser, who was succeeded by his son Sennacherib, under whom the Assyrian army so wonderfully perished, and who was himself slain by his two sons, in the house of Nisroch his god :—

'The invasion of Judea by Sennacherib is one of the most remarkable stories detailed in Holy Writ and the profane authors. His object appears to have been to reduce Judah to obedience and to subdue Egypt. Having taken Ashdod (Azotus) the key of Egypt, he returned to Jerusalem, thinking probably that it would not be safe to leave so large and hostile a town in his rear. He soon reduced all the other cities except Libnah and Lachish, to which he laid siege, and sent a haughty summons to surrender, by his general, Rabshakeh, to Jerusalem. But he was destined to fail in his object: a report was spread that Tirhakah, king of Cush, one of the greatest heroes of antiquity, who not only ruled the Arabian, but also the Æthiopian territory of that name, and who is said to have extended his conquests over Egypt and along the coast of Africa as far as the Pillars of Hercules, was on his march through Arabia to attack the Assyrian territory; and not long afterwards one hundred and eighty-five thousand of his troops perished in one night before the walls of Jerusalem.

'The account Herodotus gives of the Assyrian invasion of Egypt is very curious. He states that after the reign of Anysis, there succeeded to the throne a priest of Vulcan, named Setho, who imprudently treated the soldier-class with great severity, and insulted them by taking from them the lands which had been granted to them by former kings; so that when Sennacherib advanced against them with his army, the Egyptian soldiers refused to lend their aid against him. The priest was now in great perplexity, so he went into his temple and complained to his idol with tears in his eyes, of the peril in which he was. In the midst of his complaints he was overtaken by sleep, and there appeared to him a vision of the god standing by him and bidding him be of good courage, for that no danger should befall him from the Arabian army, and that he himself would send him avengers. Confiding in his dream, he took with him such as were willing to accompany him, and pitched his camp at Pelusium, where the descent of the enemy would necessarily take place. None of his warriors followed, but only the merchants, artificers, and populace. When they had arrived there, a multitude of field mice spread themselves among the enemy, and gnawed in pieces their quivers, the springs of their bows and thongs of their shields, so that on the following morning they were obliged to fly, destitute of arms, and with the loss of many of their troops. In memory of that day a stone statue of the king stands in the temple of Vulcan, with a mouse in his hand.'—*Ibid.* pp. 33, 34.

The mention of Nisroch introduces a learned disquisition to identify the god so named with the eagle-headed figures so often

found in Assyrian remains. Certain, however, it is, that an extraordinary sanctity and wisdom was attached to the figure of a man with a hawk's or an eagle's head. For the history of Nineveh from the destruction of the army of Sennacherib to the final overthrow of that city, we must refer to Mr. Vaux. The former event appears, indirectly, to have led to the other:—

'It is very important to keep clearly in mind this portion of the history, as it furnishes a clue to almost all that followed, for the narrative of Judith (i. 12) explains the course of the subsequent events. "Therefore," says the writer, "Nabuchodonosor was very angry with all this country, and sware by his throne and by his kingdom that he would surely be avenged upon all those coasts of Cilicia and Damascus, and Syria, and that he would slay with the sword all the inhabitants of the land of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and all Judea, and all that were in Egypt, till ye come to the border of the two seas." The order of events coincides exactly with this statement: first, we have as the remote antecedent of all that followed, the destruction of the army of Sennacherib, then the revolt of the Medes as its direct consequence; then a lapse of a considerable period, during which we may presume that the Assyrian kings were gradually increasing their strength and preparing for a new struggle, a period interrupted only by one historical event, the descent of Esarhaddon upon Samaria and the taking of Jerusalem by storm, till we come to the 17th year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, B.C. 634, fifty-seven years after the loss of Sennacherib's army, at which period Nabuchodonosor makes his descent into Media and wins the battle of Ragau or Rhages. Previous, however, to his taking the field, we are told, both by the sacred and profane historians, that he solicited the aid of the nations who had been the former allies of his house, and that he received from them in every case a refusal of any assistance. We can hardly doubt that the remembrance of the loss of the great army of Sennacherib and the revolt of the Medes was fresh in their minds, and that they felt sure of the success of Phraortes (Arphaxad), while they had no accurate intelligence of the real strength of the Assyrians.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 36, 37.

The actual date of the final destruction of Nineveh is fixed, with good authority, in the year B.C. 606. From this time Nineveh is unheard of. This immense city was actually forfotten, as connected with any special locality, and Babylon became the chief centre of Oriental power, under Nebuchadnezzar, who appears to have formed a matrimonial alliance, after the fashion of modern times, with some great Median princess. Now as the Medes under Cyaxares were the conquerors of Nineveh, and yet are little heard of for the present, it seems not unlikely that the marriage of Nebuchadnezzar united these kingdoms in friendly alliance, of which Babylon took the lead.

The following passage introduces a people of great interest at this period of history:—

'With the name of Nebuchadnezzar and with the eventful story of his reign, we meet with a people who now for the first time appear to take an active part in the world's history. Much has been written about them, and innumerable theories have been framed to account for their origin. We purpose to consider their history at some length, both from its intrinsic

value in the general narrative which we have undertaken, and from the many interesting facts which late investigations have shown about them. The account of the conquest of Judea and the captivity which ensued, are attributed in the Bible mainly to the Chaldeans and their leader, Nebuchadnezzar; and a new race, or the same people under a different name, take the place which had been previously occupied by the Assyrians, the Medes, and Babylonians. It becomes a matter of some interest to inquire what is known of this apparently new people, to bring together such scattered notices as occur in the Bible and in other books, and to endeavour to obtain a general view, if possible, of their history.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 39, 40.

The various names by which the reigning people of Asia are styled in history, seem to indicate the accidental supremacy of particular tribes and families for the time being, rather than that all so named are strictly of that tribe by blood, or even to imply a direct conquest by force of arms, and the subjugation of all others. The Chaldeans thus appear to have been a tribe of most ancient existence, but never brought prominently before the world as a family, or their name much heard of, till for some reason or other the amalgamation of people which followed the downfall of Nineveh, and which centred in Babylon, adopted this title. The great learning of the Chaldees, and their religious character, may have caused their name to be applied to other people as a religious as much as a national title, or perhaps dependent on language:—

'The religion of the Chaldees at the time of Nebuchadnezzar seems to have consisted chiefly of the worship of the heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, the five planets, and the twelve signs of the zodiac, and that they attributed great importance to the knowledge of the rising and setting of the sun. It is probable that at this period they had lost much of the faith which they brought with them from their original mountain seats, and had adopted the more impure polytheism of the Babylonians among whom they had settled; for there is good reason to believe that their ancient faith must have nearly approximated to the theological system subsequently purified and established by Zoroaster. The wise men of the Chaldees were probably those priests and learned men of their tribe who had adopted and worked out the system existing at Babylon. The adoration of the heavenly bodies led to astronomical observations, and hence the Chaldees are traditionally said to be the first people who reduced these observations to a regular system; thus the Greeks professed to have received from the Babylonians the division of the day into twelve parts. They seem to have used a lunar year for ordinary purposes, but in their astronomical studies to have employed a solar year, similar in its monthly division to that of the Egyptians. Of the astronomers, there were several sects, as the Borsippeni, Orcheni, &c. Bertholdt (Ueber das Magier-Institut zu Babylon) has divided the priests into several classes, one of which he calls the Chaldæans. He explains this theory on the supposition that, on their first coming into the plain country they had a holy Priest-caste, which was preserved, together with the name of the people, when they conquered Babylon.'—*Ibid.* p. 45.

The wisdom of the Chaldees appears to have remained through many centuries, and through many changes of empire; for they

became an important branch of the early Christian Church though charged with Nestorian doctrines, which, however, they repudiated, according to Mr. Vaux, in a passage which is worded too tenderly towards what is an unquestionable heresy :—

'"We do not even understand his language, nor did he ever propagate his doctrines in our territory. Why should we be called by the name of a new doctor? Our religion is most ancient and apostolic, received from the time of the Apostles, who taught among us. If Nestorius believed as we do, he followed us, not we him." The presiding bishop of the Chaldæans is the great Patriarch of the East, the successor of the archbishops of Seleucia and Ctesiphon; he bears the title of Catholicos, and is considered as head of the body wherever dispersed. Till the fall of the Sassanian dynasty, and the establishment of the Muhammedan supremacy in the districts east of the Tigris, the Chaldæans were alternately persecuted and protected; and their condition depended mainly on the relative strength of the Persian and Byzantine empires. Still their tenets were recognised as those of the Eastern church, and their chief at an early period received the title of Patriarch of the East. They spread their doctrines over the continent of Asia, and claimed a Persian king as one of their converts. From Persia they extended themselves eastwards; and, according to Cosmos Indicopleustes, who visited Asia in the sixth century, they had bishops, martyrs, confessors, and priests in India, Socotra, Bactria, among the Huns, Arabians, Medes, and Elamites, and their metropolitans had even penetrated into China.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 50.

The glories of Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar are matters alike of sacred and profane history, which singularly confirm each other on this subject. He extended his conquests far and wide, and, after his foreign travels, settled down at home, engaging himself as the following passage describes :—

'On his return to Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar appears to have been occupied during the remainder of his reign in the improving and beautifying his city, and the classical authors make much mention of the great works which he did there. The eastern quarter of the city was the portion most indebted to him for its magnificence, as it was more especially the city of the Chaldæans. Josephus, following Berosus, ascribes to Nebuchadnezzar the adorning of the temple of Bel with the spoils he had taken in war, the embellishment of the ancient city, the triple wall of burnt brick that surrounded it, a new palace of extraordinary size and splendour, stone terraces which had the appearance of mountains planted with various kinds of trees, and the celebrated suspended paradise which was erected to gratify his Median consort, who was desirous of having scenery at Babylon resembling that of her native country.'—*Ibid.* p. 69.

The great size of this city is explained so as to make it more credible than the old-fashioned contemners of Herodotus were willing to credit. Would that modern travellers and historians were as truthful, as impartial and honest as this great father, of Halicarnassus!—

'It has been argued repeatedly that the description of its size given by Herodotus and other ancient writers must be greatly exaggerated, and that no city could ever have existed similar to that which they describe. Now it must be borne in mind (as Heeren has remarked), that the great cities of Asia were constituted in a manner wholly different from those of Europe.

They generally grew up from the camps of Nomad chieftains, who fixed their abode in the countries they conquered, and gradually exchanged their warlike camps for peaceful abodes. The encampment of a chieftain near an existing city soon became itself a new city, which eclipsed the splendour of the old one. The plan of the camp was regularly followed out, and its square form and regular intersection of streets was generally preserved. The close streets of our continental towns afford a striking contrast to the scattered mansions of many eastern capitals surrounded by extensive gardens, which occupy more than a half the whole area. Quintus Curtius says of Babylon, "that the buildings of the city do not reach the walls, but are at the distance of an acre from them, neither is the whole city covered with houses, but only ninety *stadia;* nor do the houses stand in rows by themselves, but the intervals that separate them are sown and cultivated that they may furnish subsistence in a case of siege;" and Marco Polo describes a city within the confines of China which he calls *Taidu*, and which was built by Kublai Khan the successor of Genghiz Khan in a manner somewhat similar. This city was twenty-four miles in circumference, no one side being longer than the other, but each six miles. The streets were all built in exact lines, so that a person standing at one gate of the wall could see the opposite. The sections of the building were also square, and in every part were large palaces surrounded by spacious courts and gardens. The ancient city of Moscow in like manner contained within its walls a large extent of garden ground, and Mr. Franklin has noticed that the Puránas assign to the celebrated Indian city of Palibothra an extent of not less than seventy-five or eighty miles.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 70, 71.

The taking of Babylon is recorded to us in Scripture, and also by Xenophon and Herodotus, all which accounts agree in their general features. It is therefore unnecessary that we dwell longer on the history of the old Assyrian world, which may be considered to end with Babylon; for a new era of Eastern history, described with peculiar interest by Mr. Vaux, now begins.

The great Persian empire founded by Cyrus on the ruins of Assyria would seem, as in other cases alluded to, to have had a traditional history of the usual Oriental character that prepared the way for assuming an extended position in the powers of the world.—

'Interesting as it would be to trace through the monuments of Eastern history the records of Persia before the time of the monarchy established by Cyrus, the limits we have prescribed to us will hardly admit of our doing so at any length: yet some slight sketch there must be of what has been, and is still, the belief of the Persian chroniclers of the original state of the country before the coming of Cyrus.

'According to all Muhammedan writers, with the exception of the author of the Dabistàn (or School of Manners), the first monarch of Persia was Kaiomurs, the son of Yassan Ajeem, the grandson of Noah, and the founder of the Peisdadian dynasty. He was long subject to the Divs, or Magicians, but at length overcame all resistance by the aid of the lions, the panthers, and the tigers. He then retired to his capital, Balkh, and was succeeded by his son Hoshung. The enemies whom Kaiomurs subdued appear to have been only partially subjected, and the son of Hoshung, Tahamurs, derives his name of Divbund, or the Magician Binder, from his success in vanquishing these supernatural powers. His nephew and suc-

cessor was the famous Jemshid, to whom his countrymen attribute the introduction of the use of the Solar Year, the institution of the festival of Nourouz, the division of the people into castes, and the foundation of Persepolis. The early part of his reign was singularly prosperous; but prosperity made him vain and impious. He forgot to temper justice with mercy; and his government became an insupportable tyranny. Hence, Divine Justice inflicted on him the loss of his dominions, which were taken from him by the Assyrian tyrant Zohauk. Jemshid fled before the conqueror; and Seistan, India, and China bore testimony to the wanderings of the exiled monarch, who was at length taken and sawn asunder by the conqueror. At length, Zohauk, whom some have supposed to be the Nimrod of Scripture, was slain by Kawah, a blacksmith of Ispahan, who raised the standard of revolt to save his sons from being murdered; and Feridoon, a descendant of Tahamurs, was placed on the throne. To commemorate this signal victory, the blacksmith's apron, richly adorned with jewels, became the Royal Standard of Persia, under the name of "Durufsh-i-kawani," (the blacksmith's standard,) till the time of the Muhammedan invasion, when it was taken, and sent in triumph to the Khalif Omar. Several princes, of less note, followed in succession; till at last, in the reign of Nouzer, Afrasiab, the King of Turan, invaded and reduced Persia, which remained subject to Turan till the time of Kaikobad, the founder of the Kaianian dynasty, in whose days Rustum, the Cid of Persian History, defeated Afrasiab, and drove him beyond the Oxus; which became, and continued, the boundary of the kingdoms of Turàn and Persia. Kaikoos succeeded him; and, lastly, Kai Khosru (Cyrus), his grandson, finally crushed Afrasiab, and annexed the cities of Samarkand and Bokhara to the Persian Empire.

'Such are the fabled annals of the people. It would be an ungrateful task, were we to attempt to reduce them to real history: better that they should remain a beautiful epic, than that they should be marred by the rude hand of logic-loving critics.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 80, 81.

There seems ever to have been an extraordinary capacity in Eastern politics for the rise and development of original genius. This may be accounted for by using the word despotism as the key to unravel the whole mystery of the transactions of half the world; but despotism may be the tendency or the result of a particular character in a given people, without being the sole or chief ingredient. On the contrary, we find a noble freedom for talent and energy in all Oriental nations. The individuals who have thus arisen by their own powers may have become tyrants, but an impartial view of history will tend to convince us that the great wisdom and merit, the philosophy and virtue of Eastern heroes, have, in most cases, been the genuine causes of their early distinction. The tyranny of the West, when it breaks out, always assumes a harsher and more sensual character, as the very title of its existence; whereas, in the East, its grosser developments seem only the abuse of a certain high tone of divinely-authorized power on the one hand, and an exalted confidence on the other. European despotism wants a certain veil of lofty abstraction, which, by constant reference to the decrees of heaven that man is the humble instrument of work-

ing out, gives almost a religious aspect to deeds that in Europe are the result of arbitrary self-dependence and cruelty. Eastern rule may be despotic, but it is without that all-consuming pride which characterises Europe. Tyranny is not unnatural to that fatalistic tendency which under all forms of religion has characterised the oriental mind.

Oriental religion and state policy were more completely developed and more favourably expounded during the Persian empire than at any other period. We find them represented by the great Zoroaster. The vague and fabulous monstrosity of Assyrian worship was cleared up in the concise statements of an accomplished metaphysician. The rude dramatic character of early symbolism at this period received an interpretation, which had not yet been weakened and perverted by the corruptions of gnosticism or the deceptions of Mahomet.—

'Again, in estimating the character of the religion Zoroaster introduced, we must not, as Heeren has observed, forget that we are Europeans; and that, if we are more advanced in knowledge, we likewise are not without our prejudices. We must judge him as an Asiatic, living, as he tells us, under an Asiatic despotism; and hence, as one who would picture to himself, and enforce in his doctrines, just such a system, as an Asiatic under such circumstances would consider the most beneficial to his people. Thus he would imagine the idea of a despotic government in the hands, not of a tyrant, but a father, under which every class of men, and every individual, might find his appropriate sphere of action; he would therefore attempt to create such a sovereign as Xenophon has delineated in the Cyropædia, or such a king as the oriental legends describe Jemshid to have been. His philosophy commenced and ended with the attempt to find a solution for that phenomenon which must at once engage the attention of the careful observer, the separate existence of good and evil in the world. The simple doctrine of a Good and Evil principle, the sources of existing good and evil, seemed to embrace everything, and was therefore the corner-stone of the structure of his religious and political philosophy. He maintained the existence of a Kingdom of Light, in which Ormuzd, the author and giver of all good, resided; and a Kingdom of Darkness, in which Ahriman, the source of all evil, moral as well as physical, had his dwelling. All things, whether rational or irrational, animate or inanimate, belonged, according to his view, to one of these two kingdoms. There were pure men, pure animals, and pure vegetables, the creation of Ormuzd; and there were impure men, impure animals, and impure vegetables, subject to the dominion of the Divs or Genii, and appertaining to the kingdom of Ahriman. The conservation of his ordinances was entrusted to the Magi, or priestly caste, who under the Medes formed one of their original tribes, and who are expressly mentioned as such by Herodotus. According to his own statement, he was but the restorer of the doctrine, which Ormuzd had himself set forth in the days of Jemshid; a doctrine which had been misrepresented by a false and delusive system; he must therefore be only considered as the reformer of the caste of the Magi. If, indeed, it were true that Zoroaster flourished under a Median dynasty, we should be prepared to expect that, on the downfall of its monarchy, its hereditary religion would be adopted by the conquerors; though such adoption would probably be slow. As the religion of the state, its progress would be still

more gradual; for, though strongly marked by the principles of intolerance, it appears never, like that of Muhammed, to have been propagated by fire and sword; and its author, we know, was neither a warrior nor a conqueror. It seems much nearer the truth to suppose that the reception of the religion of Zoroaster was at first confined to the Court; for not only do Herodotus and Ctesias describe the Magi as an order of priests under the first Persian princes, but the express testimony of Xenophon, in the Cyropædia, leaves no further question, possessing as it does historical value from an observation appended by the author. Having described the etiquette of the Persian Court as copied from that of the Medes, he adds, "Cyrus also first appointed the Magi to chaunt the sacred hymns at the rising of the Sun, and to offer daily sacrifices to the deities to whom it was enjoined by their law. This state of things continues to be maintained by each successive monarch, and the rest of the Persian nation followed the example of their prince, conceiving that they should in the same way be more likely to prosper, if they worshipped their gods as their monarch did." '—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 97, 98.

Persia was now, however, to be invaded by European nations, and for a time the two continents were to be mixed up in their political divisions. The career of Alexander the Great is thus favourably spoken of:—

'In Alexander, as has been well remarked, all the energy which peculiarly distinguished the Greek character was united to a power such as no Greek had ever possessed before, while the youthful energies of his mind had been fed and fostered by the intellectual training of a Philosopher who has established an empire far more enduring than that of his pupil. From Aristotle, Alexander acquired that ardent love of knowledge, and those enlarged views, which raised him so far above all ordinary conquerors, and which made his conquests and his empire such important engines in the advancement of civilisation. In his early youth it is said that Lysimachus, his favourite instructor, won his heart by giving him the name of the hero of the Iliad; and when his father's court was visited by some envoys from Persia, his inquiries respecting the civil and military state of the East showed the great schemes that already occupied his mind. And now came the time, that "a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will." Crossing the Hellespont in B.C. 334, he won the battles of Graneicus and Issus, besieged and took Tyre, overran Phœnicia and Egypt; and in the decisive battle of Arbela, determined the fate of the Eastern empire. The unfortunate Darius, after seeing his best troops cut down, fled first to Ecbatana, and thence towards Bactriana, where he was murdered by his own nobles; and the Persians showed that they had as little chance against the compact and serried phalanx of the Macedonians, as the Jacquerie or Burghers of Ghent at Resebecque had, in later times, against the steel-clad chivalry of France.' —*Ibid.* pp. 104, 105.

But we must hasten through the maze of conflicting powers that kept Persia ever changing its political condition. After Greece had declined, the Romans extended their iron sway over all the civilized world. All yielded to Rome with but one exception:—

'One country alone succeeded in maintaining its ground, and was never wholly conquered by the Romans even in the zenith of their power. Free as they who led their conquering legions against them, the Parthians

possessed a method of tactics against which the heavy accoutred infantry of Rome could never fight on equal terms; hence, though often beaten in the open plain, the fastnesses of their native mountains remained their own. "The war was made," as Sir John Malcolm has well described it, "not against the army but against the supplies by which it was supported; and the mode in which the Parthian warrior took his unerring aim while his horse was carrying him from the enemy, may be viewed as a personification of the system of warfare, by which his nation, during the era of its history, maintained its independence. The system was suited to the soil, to the man, and to the fleet and robust animal on which he was mounted; and its success was so certain, that the bravest veterans of Rome murmured when their leaders talked of a Parthian war." '—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 110, 111.

But Persia again enjoyed a prosperous freedom under the Sassanidæ for 415 years, till in A.D. 641 Mahomet arose. The following interesting sketch is given of Nushirwán, the great Sassanian monarch:—

'Nushirwán is still the synonym in the mouth of every Persian for wisdom, justice, or munificence. He found the empire groaning under a variety of abuses, among which was the prevalence of a sect, whose leader was named Mazdac, who taught doctrines peculiarly agreeable to the needy and the dissolute. From the evil result of the doctrines propounded by this impostor, Nushirwán gradually relieved his subjects, and at length put an end to the delusion by destroying the prophet and his followers. Nushirwán restored the bridges, rebuilt towns and villages which had fallen into decay, founded schools and colleges, and held out such encouragement to learned men, that even the philosophers of Greece flocked to his court. A disciple of Plato, it was said, was seated on the Persian throne. The literature of Greece and Rome and the East were collected by his diligence, and preserved at his court. Aristotle and Plato were translated into Persian; the fables of Pilpay were brought from the Ganges, and, though their original and its translation have alike disappeared, they have still been preserved to us by the Arabian and Persian versions; and the game of chess is, traditionally, said to have been invented for the amusement of this monarch. In his war with Justinian, Nushirwán maintained his superiority, and extorted from the humbled emperor of the Greeks eleven thousand pounds of gold as the price of a perpetual peace. The reduction of Antioch and Syria, and the extension of the Persian territories from the banks of the Phasis to the Mediterranean, and from the Red Sea to the Iaxartus and Oxus, bear testimony to his military genius. In the West, one great general, the last who remained to uphold the dignity of the Roman arms, checked his further progress; the veteran Belisarius, old and infirm with the weight of more than eighty years, led the armies of the empire against Justin and Tiberius, and reaped the reward of his valour and perseverance in the conquest of Dara and the plunder of Syria. But the glory of the Sassanidæ was already on the wane; already the small cloud as big as a man's hand had arisen on the sea of the desert: Muhammed, whose writings and whose followers were destined to exercise such an extraordinary influence upon the nations of the East, was born in the reign of Nushirwán.'—*Ibid.* pp. 114, 115.

The rapid conquest of Mahomet and the Arabs swept all former remembrances away, and established a new era throughout one quarter of the globe. But whatever convulsions have

shaken the East, whatever changes have come over the birth-place of the human race, the same character has always prevailed, the same quiet repose in the destinies of an Almighty Being, and the same orderly disposition on the part of the governed, with the same vast and reverently assumed power on the part of those gigantic rulers that from time to time have sprung up to direct their fellow-creatures. In place of the stern severity of Nineveh, the boldness of Babylonian supremacy, and the profound discipline of Zoroaster, we now find ourselves in the fairy land of Baghdad; for base as the deception of Mahomet was, sufficient of Eastern romance was interwoven in his system to give a soft luxurious charm by no means without intellectual or religious beauty to that ideal reign of Muhammedanism, the age of the Khaláfat. The former wisdom of Asia stands far higher in our estimation as Christians, for it was true according to the dispensation of Gentile nations before the Christian era, and from not being called into direct covenant with the Almighty had not the responsibility of hindering the revealed truth. The visit of the Magi, on the contrary, is a solemn recognition of a certain Divine light in those profound mysteries which dwelt in the Eastern world. The religion of Mahomet, however, whether we view it as a new faith, or, perhaps more correctly, an apostatizing heresy, was directly opposed to that of Christ, and therefore was void of that true foundation on which the cotemporaries of the Jewish dispensation in some cases would seem to have rested.

On the authority of Benjamin of Tudela, the following notices of the Khaláfat are given.

'Since the commencement of the Muhammedan system, three different appellations had been usually given to its chiefs, which have been too often carelessly confounded by European authors, who were not sufficiently acquainted either with the real history of these people, or with the language which they spoke. It is necessary to discriminate carefully between them, and not to confound together titles which, though constantly borne by the same leader, were at all times considered to denote distinct offices and duties.

'The first, and most universally known, is that of khalif, which, in its simplest meaning, may be rendered in English by the words *successor*, or *vicar*. Under this signification of *representative*, it is met with in the earliest times; Muhammed himself, during his absence, nominated a khalif (who should be his *vicar*, and exercise his authority) for the town of Medina; and, during his last sickness, transferred to his father-in-law, Abubeker, his power, and the maintenance of the government he had established, by naming him his *khalif*. Abubeker himself accepted the office under the same understanding, that he was to act for, and in the same spirit as, the deceased prophet; and, refusing the higher title of God's Messenger, which had been given to Muhammed, accepted only the more modest one of Khalif Resul Allah (the Vicar of the Messenger of God). Abubeker is said to have replied to some who addressed him as the Khalif of God, that

he considered himself to have no claim to that title, but simply to be the successor of the Prophet. Under this general signification, this title remained to all Abubeker's successors, and was considered holy, even by the princes who had made themselves independent of the rulers of Baghdad; and none of them dared to assume it, and to style themselves by this title in their official decrees. So strong was this feeling that even the Ommiad princes of Spain, who were the inveterate enemies of the Abbasides (to whose house the real khalif then belonged), were unwilling to take the lower title of Amir al Mumenin (or Prince of the Believers), till the time of the great Abd-al-Rahman III.; and it is probable that, had any prince claimed for himself the distinguished designation of Khalif, he would have been considered by his own subjects as an usurper and a rebel. Abd-al-Rahman III. assumed at length the form of that power of which he had long held the substance; and he appears to have been the more justified in this act, as at this period it was that Radhi, the Khalif at Baghdad, first established those regents who, like the *Maires du Palais* of early French history, in the end destroyed the power they were appointed to vindicate. At the most flourishing period of their empire the Khalifs bore a singular resemblance to the Popes of the Middle Ages; possessing estates of their own, which they swayed with spiritual and temporal power; and using, on their decrees, their letters, and their coins, almost the same title as that of the Successors of St. Peter. The khalifs who succeeded Radhi were, with few exceptions, divested of any temporal power, and exercised only a spiritual supremacy, analogous to that of the Popes before the territorial donation of King Pepin.

'The second title which was usually applied to the leader of the Muhammedans, was that of *Amir al Mumenin* (Prince of the Believers). It was first given to Omar, the third descendant of the Prophet, who had declined, like his predecessor, Abubeker, the more presumptuous title of khalif. Since his time, this title has been taken by all those princes, who were recognised as the successors of the Prophet, or who, in their own opinion, had claims upon that distinction. Yet, though in the course of time many princes were dignified by this honour, the prerogative seems to have been rarely claimed by any other than such persons who, as lineal descendants of the Prophet, were generally considered real and legal khalifs. The Moravide chieftains called themselves Amir al Masalmin, and the Fatemites of Egypt, Amir al Mumenin; but few, except such princes as Malek Shah, the Sel-Ajukian, dared to add the sacred name of khalif to the usurped power.

'The third title which was usually attached to the name of the khalif was that of *Imám al Masalmin*. The word Imam, in its strictest sense, means the spiritual leader of the congregation while in the mosque. The Imam was the priest, whose peculiar duty it was to recite aloud the public prayer. Muhammed was himself the first Imam, performing personally the public acts of worship, and addressing the people from the pulpit. In process of time every mosque had its Imam, as each congregation required a spiritual leader; and their office, therefore, corresponded in most points with the Rabbi of the Synagogue, and the Clergyman of the Christian Church.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 151—153.

Space will not allow us to trace the wonderful careers of Mahmud, Malek Shah, Timur, and Shah Abbas, successively figuring in the history of Asia, nor would we spoil the romance of their lives as recorded in Mr. Vaux's book, by anticipating the reader's pleasure with any attempt to pick out interesting pictures illustrative of their character. We therefore

leave the historical portion of the subject generally, satisfied if we shall have tempted any, by the faint outline we have given, to study with deserving attention the able summary in the book before us.

The early travellers from Europe to the East were naturally pilgrims whose wish was to visit the Holy Land. But few of these have left any records behind them; they were satisfied with the accomplishment of the one great object of their lives.

'The first document, which has been preserved, is the Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, which was made by a French Christian in the year A.D. 333. This curious monument has preserved to us some of the local traditions of the Syrian Christians under the Romans. The course of the traveller was over the Alps, through Italy, Pomerania, Illyria, Dacia, and Thrace, to Constantinople, and, thence, across the Bosphorus, through Asia Minor to Syria. On his arrival at Jerusalem, he gives a full description of the Holy City: from thence he returned to Constantinople, and retraced his steps through Macedonia to Italy!'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 143.

Others followed this example, and they do not appear to have met with much opposition from the Muhammedans after they became masters of Jerusalem. Willibaud, a relation of the great Boniface and a native of Wessex, was the first Englishman whose travels have been recorded. On his return he was made a bishop, A.D. 740. One traveller was astonished on his road to the Holy Land through Egypt, at the sight of the seven barns in which Joseph stored up the seven years' harvest. These buildings he gives an accurate description of, proving that he attributed this useful purpose to the Pyramids. We have already mentioned Benjamin of Tudela; he also gives some information about the extraordinary sect of the Assassins.

'The Assassins, either by force or treachery, obtained possession of many castles or hill-forts in Persia, and spread into Syria, where they acquired the strongholds in the mountains near Tripoli, where Benjamin found them. To accomplish their objects, they never scrupled to resort to assassination; and the fourth sheikh of the sect taught openly, and without reserve, the contempt and violation of all Muhammedan laws. "The united voice of Asia," says Mr. Frazer, "called on Sultan Sanjar to root out this detestable sect from his empire; but a warning note, pinned by a dagger to his pillow, struck such a degree of terror into the heart of that undaunted warrior, which no danger in the field could have inspired, that he desisted from his enterprise. Khalifs, princes, and nobles fell victims to the secret arms of the Ismaelians; the Imams and Mollahs who preached against such murderous doctrines were poniarded, pensioned, or silenced; and for some years the followers of Sheikh al Gebel increased in number and insolence." But the system of these ruffians did not, fortunately for humanity, long survive the death of its founder. The Persian branch was ubdued at the request of the khalif by Manku Khan, who sent his brother, celebrated Hulaku, in A.D. 1256, to extirpate the murderous sect; and stronghold of the Syrian Assassins was destroyed by Bibars, the mluk sultan, in A.D. 1270. Some few of them found refuge among the untains of Syria, and were mixed with the Kurds; and their tenets were

long supposed to have remained, and to have been professed in modern times by the hated sect of the Yezidis, a supposition which Mr. Layard's visit to that interesting people will, we hope, finally set at rest.'—*Ibid.* pp. 159, 160.

The adventures of Marco Polo, an Italian of the thirteenth century, are deserving of especial notice. His father and uncles being at Constantinople engaged in trade, crossed over the Euxine, and after long travels reached Bokhara, whence they were accompanied by a Tartar nobleman on a journey of twelve months to the Grand Khan, who after many inquiries about the West, sent them on an embassy to the See of Rome. On their return they brought Marco Polo, and proceeding through Chinese Tartary, at length reached the imperial residence at Tai-guan-tra.

'Their reception by the emperor was as favourable as they could have wished; and Marco was received into the imperial household, and treated with peculiar regard. In this position he soon became distinguished by his talents. Becoming a great favourite with the emperor, he was employed on services of importance in different parts of the empire, even to the distance of a six months' journey. On these missions he availed himself of every opportunity of obtaining information on all subjects, of which the Grand Khan was insatiable. The substance of the notes, which he then made, form the most interesting part of this work. [*sic.*] That his father and uncle were partakers in the regard shown by the emperor to the younger Marco, is evident from the emperor's constant unwillingness to be deprived of their services. After a residence of seventeen years at the court of the Grand Khan, the Venetians began to be impatient of their return; but found it quite impossible to persuade their aged host and benefactor to permit their absence. At length an embassy arrived at the court of Kublai, from the Mogul Tatar, Arghun, the grandson of Hulaku, to solicit a wife of his own lineage. On the request of the ambassadors having been granted, a difficulty arose as to the manner in which the princess and her retinue should be transported to Persia, the residence of her intended husband; and on the commencement of their journey proving unfortunate, the princess returned to the capital.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 162, 163.

Marco Polo undertook the transmission of the fair bride, but the intended husband was dead before they arrived, and the Italians at once proceeded home, to the astonishment of their Venetian friends, who after twenty-four years' residence in Tartary could with some difficulty be induced to own them.

All travellers make mention of Babylon, in which respect it forms a contrast to the entire oblivion in which Nineveh so long reposed. The ruins of Babylon are spoken of with great confidence by our quaint countryman John Eldred, on his road to Baghdad, in 1583. On his way thither, he passed the 'mighty 'old city of Babylon, many old ruins whereof are easily to be 'seen by daylight, which I, John Eldred, have often beheld.'

'He mentions particularly, what he calls the Tower of Babel, describing it as a quarter of a mile in circuit, and about the height of St. Paul's (the

old cathedral, which was burnt in the fire of London), "but it showeth much bigger." He states that it was built of very large sun-dried bricks, cemented by courses of "mattes made of canes, though they had been laid within one yeere." Rauwolff, a German, who visited the ruins in the 16th century, speaks of the remains of an ancient bridge and fortifications, and of the Temple of Belus. "This tower," says he, "is so much ruined and so full of venomous animals, that it can only be approached during two months in the winter, when they don't leave their holes." Boeventing distinguishes this tower from another square building 125 paces in circumference, which he considers to be the Tower of Belus; and Texeira agrees with other travellers in saying, that there are but few remains of this once famous city, and that there is no spot in all the country so little visited, as that on which once stood Babylon.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 169.

During the present century Babylon has been visited and described by Mr. Rich in 1811, and Sir R. K. Porter a few years later. The whole country around is a morass, with great mounds rising up, of which the chief is called Birs Nimrud.

'On the 9th of December, Mr. Rich made an expedition to the Birs Nimrud. He found vestiges of mounds all round it to a considerable extent, and the country traversed by canals in every direction. The soil round it is sandy. Close to the Birs, or at about a hundred yards from it, and parallel with its southern front, is a high mound, almost equal in size to that of the Kasr. "The Birs," says he, "is an enormous mound. At the north end it rises, and there is an immense brick wall thirty-seven feet high, and twenty-eight in breadth, upon it. This wall is not in the centre of the north summit of the mound, but appears to have formed the southern face of it. The other parts of the summit are covered by huge fragments of brickwork, tumbled confusedly together; and what is most extraordinary is, that they are partly converted into a solid vitrified mass. The layers are in many parts perfectly distinguishable; but the whole of these lumps seem to have undergone the action of fire. Several lumps of the same matter have rolled down, and remain partly on the side of the mound, and partly in the plain. The large wall on the southern face of the summit is built of burnt bricks, with writing on them, and so close together, that no cement is discoverable between the layers. Small square apertures are left, which go quite through the building, and are arranged in a kind of quincunx form. Down the face of the wall the bricks have been separated, leaving a large crack. On the side towards the mound of Ibrahim Khalil, the mound slopes gradually down, and up nearly half its height is a flat road running round this part of it, twenty of my paces broad. From this, the mound slopes more gradually to the plain or valley between it and the mound of Ibrahim Khalil, and is worn into deep ravines or furrows, like the Mujelibé. On the other, or north face of this pile, it slopes down more abruptly at once into the plain, with only hollows or paths round it, the road before mentioned, which from that part appears to surround the building, losing itself before it reaches this. On the north-west face, where it also slopes down into the plain, are vestiges of building in the side, exactly similar in appearance and construction to the wall on the top, with the holes or apertures which are mentioned in the description of that. At the foot of all, is, seemingly, a flat base of greater extent, but very little raised above the level of the plain. The whole sides of the mound are covered with pieces of brick, both burnt and unburnt, bitumen, pebbles, spar, black stone; the same sand, or limestone, which covers the canal at the Kasr, and even fragments of white marble.'—*Ibid.* pp. 175, 176.

This remarkable pile is further discussed by the same travellers.

'In his further examination of the Birs Nimrud Mr. Rich modifies his previous opinion. He thinks that the remarkable correspondence between the ancient accounts of the Tower of Belus and the existing structure, must strike the most careless observer, and adds, that in his opinion, this ruin alone is of a nature to fix of itself the locality of Babylon, even to the exclusion of the ruins on the eastern side of the river; indeed, that if the ancients had actually assigned a position to the tower irreconcileable with the Birs, it would be more reasonable to suppose that some error had crept into their accounts, than to reject this the most remarkable of all the ruins. None of the ancients have fixed the spot where the tower of Belus stood, and if we receive the dimensions of Babylon assigned by the last of the ancient historians, both the Birs and the eastern ruins will fairly come within its limits, while, at the same time, against receiving such testimony we have only our own notions of probability. The whole height of the Birs Nimrud above the plain to the summit of the brick wall is 235 feet. The brick wall itself, which stands on the edge of the summit and was undoubtedly the face of another stage, is 37 feet high. In the side of the pile, a little below its summit, is very clearly to be seen part of another brick wall precisely resembling the fragment which crowns the summit, and still encasing and supporting its part of the mound. This is clearly indicative of another stage of greater extent.

'Without forming any conjecture, as to what might have been its original construction, the impression made by the sight of it is, that it was a solid pile, composed in the interior of unburnt brick and perhaps earth or rubbish; that it was constructed in receding stages, and faced with kiln-burnt bricks having inscriptions on them, laid in a very thin layer of lime cement; and that it was reduced by violence to its present ruinous condition. The upper stones have been forcibly broken down, and fire has been employed as an implement of destruction, though it is not easy to say how or why. The facing of fine bricks has been partly removed and partly covered by the falling down of the mass which it supported and kept together. A still later traveller, Mr. Buckingham, is of opinion that the traces of four stages are clearly discernible. The tower of Belus is said to have been a stadium in height (in round numbers about 500 feet); if, then, there were eight stages, which is Major Rennell's opinion, we ought to find traces of four of them in the fragment which remains, and whose elevation is 235 feet. The Birs Nimrud is, apparently, as we have stated, the tower of Belus, mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela, who, stating, that it was destroyed by fire from Heaven, had probably himself observed the vitrified masses at the summit. Niebuhr (as we have mentioned) was only able to take a very hasty view of it, but he gives the opinion that this ruin is the tower of Belus.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 180, 181.

Sir R. K. Porter's visit to this place presents a striking scene.

'Sir R. K. Porter paid two visits to the Birs Nimrud, and, the second time he was there, encountered some objects which he had not expected. "On this my second visit to Birs Nimrud," says he, "while passing rapidly over the last tracks of the ruin-spread ground, at some little distance from the outer bank of its quadrangular boundary, my party suddenly halted; having descried several dark objects moving along the summit of the hill, which they construed into dismounted Arabs on the look out, while their armed brethren must be lying concealed under the southern brow of the mound. Thinking this very probable, I took out my glass to

examine, and soon distinguished that the causes of our alarm were two or three majestic lions, taking air upon the heights of the pyramid. Perhaps I never had beheld so sublime a picture to the mind, as well as to the eye. These were a species of enemy which my party were accustomed to dread without any panic fear; and while we continued to advance, though slowly, the hallooing of the people made the noble beasts gradually change their position, till in the course of twenty minutes they totally disappeared." "Wild beasts of the desert," says Isaiah, speaking of the utter fall of Babylon, and the abandonment of the place, "shall lie there; and the houses shall be full of doleful creatures; owls shall dwell there; and dragons shall cry in the pleasant places."'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 186.

Another ruin is thus described:—

'Sir R. K. Porter gives an animated description of the other great ruin which we have mentioned, Al Hymer, which is about eight miles and a half to the east of Hillah and the Euphrates. After riding over a country, which is now a complete desert, intersected by beds of numerous deep and broad canals, he arrived within one mile of the ruins, and found the whole of the intervening space was covered with broken bricks, pottery, glass, and all the other usual relics of Babylonian ruins. When he reached the great mound itself, which had long been a conspicuous object above the horizon, he found that it was pyramidal, with numerous smaller dependencies. Its base was nearly circular, its circumference two hundred and seventy-six yards, and its height about sixty. One-third of its elevation consists of unburnt, the remainder of burnt brick. A large and solid mass of the latter surmounts the whole, standing clear from any of the loose rubbish which so abundantly encumbers its base. The whole of the mass of building, as it stands on its rounded foundation, presents four straight, but unequal and mutilated faces, looking towards the cardinal points. The southern measures thirty-nine feet, the northern thirty-seven, the eastern forty-eight, and the western fifty-one. Through them all, the usual air channels traverse one another. Sir R. K. Porter mentions that the courses of the bricks in this building differ from any that he had previously noticed, as a layer of clay seems to be their only cement; though, at the unequal distances of four, five, six, and even seven bricks, a bright white substance (proved subsequently, by chemical analysis, to consist chiefly of common earthy matter) appears in some places an inch thick, as if spread between them. The bricks themselves are larger in surface than those which have been found in other ruins, and one of them contained an inscription, in ten lines of cuneiform writing in an upright column, differing from any which had been met with before.'—*Ibid.* pp. 188, 189.

An accurate examination of Babylon remains, however, to future travellers to accomplish, who may have the means at their disposal to make large excavations, and the patience and endurance to bear the many hardships attendant on such a work. As we have before suggested also, it is very probable that the only remains to be clearly traced would not be of the same antiquity as those discovered on the banks of the Tigris.

To the last few years it has been reserved to lift up at once the veil of centuries that has covered the great Assyrian capital of Nineveh. The notoriety of Mr. Layard would make it a reduplication of his adventures if we transferred the outline given of them by Mr. Vaux to these pages. As, however,

M. Botta was the first to commence the excavations, we will quote the passage descriptive of his entrance on the labours of digging at Khorsabád :—

'M. Botta left France to take the office of French consul at Mosul in the spring of 1843, and immediately determined to spend what time he might be able to spare from the more serious labours of the consulate, in investigating the great mounds which were on the eastern and opposite side of the Tigris from Mosul, and which were traditionally supposed to contain the ruins of the ancient Nineveh. Several travellers had noticed, as Mr. Layard observes, the great mounds of earth opposite that modern town; and when the inhabitants pointed out the tomb of Jonah on the summit of one of them, it was of course natural to conclude at once that it marked the site of Nineveh. The existence of this tradition is, indeed, no proof that Jonah was really buried in what is now called the Nebbi Yunus, and while there is no passage in Scripture which throws any light upon the fate of Jonah after the delivery of his famous sermon, it still seems very probable that there would be in the early times of the Christian Church, a Church or Convent at Nineveh, dedicated to that Prophet. The building which now stands upon the mound, and which is supposed to cover the tomb, is very much venerated, and Muhammedans alone are permitted to enter it. In the time of S. Jerome the Jews pointed out Gathhepher, in the tribe of Zabulon, as the traditional place of the burial of Jonah. Mr. Macdonald Kinneir imagined, that these mounds marked the site of one of Hadrian's camps, which, however, a slight observation would have shown that they could not be.

'M. Botta's first operations were confined to excavations in that part of the mound which approaches the river side, which had been supposed to be the ancient earth-work originally surrounding the city of Nineveh, but which was more probably the ruins of one of the many palaces of the kings of Assyria. One objection to this place for commencing his excavations was, that as the mound was so near the town of Mosul, it was probable that even if it had contained sculptured stones, these would in process of time have been removed, and the ancient remains of the palace employed as a quarry to build the modern city. The result of these labours was the acquisition of a few bricks with cuneiform inscriptions upon them, and a few similar inscriptions on stone. While they were, however, in process, Mr. Layard wrote to M. Botta, and encouraged him to proceed notwithstanding the apparent paucity of results, and particularly called his attention to the mound of Nimroud some miles further down the river, which, however, the French consul declined to investigate owing to its distance from Mosul and its inconvenient position. But, though he declined undertaking the more distant expedition, M. Botta determined to proceed with excavations nearer to Mosul, in the mound of Koyunjik; and to him is due, as Mr. Layard has remarked, the honour of having found the first Assyrian monument. His perseverance was soon rewarded most remarkably.

'While he was still at work near Mosul, the peasants from the neighbourhood were constantly in the habit of bringing fragments of bricks and alabaster, when they perceived that every fragment which contained characters upon them was carefully put aside and preserved. One of them, on observing this to them strange proceeding, inquired why M. Botta so carefully preserved each fragment, and on hearing that he was in search of sculptures, the peasant advised him to try the mound on which his village was built, asserting that many such things had been discovered on digging the foundations of new houses. On further inquiry it was discovered that the village was named Khorsabád, and that it was situated on a little hill

near the river Khauser, about five hours by caravan north-east of Mosul. M. Botta states that a little hill extended from east to west, and that at the east end it terminated in a cone, which the people said was a modern work, though he was led to suspect the accuracy of this statement. Its western extremity was divided into two smaller projections. It was on the most northern of these two that M. Botta commenced his excavations. His first operation was to sink a well into the mound: at a small distance from the surface, they came upon the top of a wall, which, on digging deeper, they found to have been built of gypsum; a wider trench was then formed and carried along in the direction of the wall. M. Botta then discovered that they had entered a chamber, connected with others, and surrounded by slabs of gypsum covered with sculptured representations of battles, sieges, and similar events.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 191—193.

The village of Khorsabád is to the north of that district which may have been all occupied by the city of 'three days' journey.' Nimroud, the scene of Mr. Layard's operation, is to the south, but both are, we imagine, to be included under the name of Nineveh, as belonging originally to that metropolis of Assyria.

The discoveries effected by M. Botta consist of much the same list of winged bulls and men, horses, and eagle-headed monsters that are familiar as described by Mr. Layard; they are not, however, on so extensive a scale, or apparently so old. A striking contrast is drawn by Mr. Vaux between the means placed at the disposal of these two travellers by the Governments of their respective countries. France was all liberality, while England has manifested a strange reluctance. In fact we must say it; the sordid money-grubbing mind of the English administration has been of late painfully illustrated both by the schemes which we do, and which we do not, encourage. On the one hand, view the thousands squandered on the Manufacturing Exhibition of 1851; on the other, recall the Nineveh monuments, and the sale of the King of Holland's gallery.

'For the expenses of continuing the excavations alone at Khorsabád, the French Government voted a sum, which considerably exceeded the whole grant to the Museum, which was to include private expenses, those of carriage, and the many extraordinary outlays incident to the East, when works of this nature are to be carried on. To preserve the memory of such monuments as the hand of time had too hardly dealt with, and whose shattered remains it was hopeless to think of transporting to Europe, an artist who had distinguished himself by his skill in similar drawings, and whose constitution had been tried under the sun of Persia, was sent out by the French Government, and was a most able and zealous assistant to M. Botta. When the sculptures from Khorsabád had been packed and floated down in safety to Busrah, the spirit of France did not think a frigate was ill employed, as a ship of burthen for those glorious remains, nor did the French Navy deem themselves dishonoured, as some of our Captains ventured to think, when, on a former occasion, a man-of-war was employed to bring the Xanthian marbles to England. When, at length, the sculptures reached Europe, the munificence of the French government decreed

their publication and description in a volume which has been seldom surpassed, whether for the excellence of the designs it contains, or for the cost at which it was published. What did England do towards assisting the removal of sculptures, even more important and more interesting? Did she offer the assistance she could so easily have given from her unequalled naval resources, to ensure the safe conveyance to this country of these inestimable treasures? She refused an artist to the wants and necessities of Mr. Layard; she refused him the assistance, not to say the comfort, he would have had, from the presence on the spot of some scientific Englishman to assist him in his various labours; she left it to him, unaided and unassisted, to superintend the excavations, to draw all the bas-reliefs discovered; to copy and to compare innumerable inscriptions, to take impressions of many which could not be removed, by pressing damp paper upon them, a most laborious and troublesome occupation, and to preside over the moving and packing of all the sculptures. Since no native could be trusted to overlook the diggers, Mr. Layard had to be continually present and frequently to remove the earth himself from the face of the slabs, as, through the carelessness and inexperience of the workmen, they were exposed to danger from the pickaxes of the men employed. When, at length, the sculptures were packed and had reached Busrah, months were allowed to elapse before they were shipped in frail and doubtful merchant ships to Bombay, where, in some instances, they were unpacked and left unheeded to the gaze and the petty thefts of the common multitude of that town, while the great bulls and lions, now, after more than two years, remain at Busrah unremoved, a lasting disgrace to the stinginess and illiberality of Government at home. When Mr. Layard returned to England, no assistance was offered him by the country in the publication of his interesting discoveries, and it was left to the private munificence of the East India Company to afford him the most effectual assistance in the publication of his large volume of drawings, by giving their subscription for a considerable number of copies. Lastly, for his services the Government thought Mr. Layard sufficiently remunerated by an attaché-ship at Constantinople, for some time even an unpaid office. We regret to add that for the second expedition, on which Mr. Layard is now employed, the funds placed at his disposal are equally contemptible: to perform all his duties, to excavate, to pack the monuments, to pay his own private expenses and those of his draughtsman, the country has voted to Mr. Layard the large sum of 1,500*l.*, the pay of the Captain of a steamer on the Euphrates. We will only say that if England shall lose the results of Mr. Layard's discoveries, it will be only what she ought to expect; and that, for the loss, she has only to thank her own Governors and Councillors, who have shown their incapacity in this, as in every other department of the public administration.'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 228—230.

Few travellers have ever equalled Mr. Layard in the dignity with which he has sustained an important part in literature and history, as few have equalled the value of his discoveries. The whole management of the affair, from first to last, his intercourse with local authorities, his treatment of the Arab people whom he had to propitiate not only for the absence of molestation, but for manual labour, is all without parallel, if we consider the coincidence of such master tactics with the extraordinary nature of those vast discoveries to be brought to light by their instrumentality. It is a worthy subject of national pride to observe how frequently our fellow-countrymen exhibit

great powers in the art of enlisting widely different tribes of the earth to their service, whatever the work may be about which they are engaged. Mr. Layard's primary object was antiquarian, and therefore the world had no right to expect any great political sagacity or power of diplomacy in combination with the perseverance and zeal necessary for these researches. An instinctive power of command, united, however, with great mildness and good nature, seems to have aided him in all the troubles he endured from the vicissitudes of nature and of man.

It were vain to speculate on any purpose which is destined to result from a discovery like the present. Yet it is not too much to assume that there may be some providential reason in this strange laying open of cities, the overthrow of which is made the subject of such express revelation, and occupies by Divine appointment so important a place in the daily reading of the whole Christian world. Is there any tendency in the age to mythicize, or to suppress, the literal meaning of Scripture history? Is there any disposition to solve that bold dramatic character in which the patriarchs of old are presented to us, by too free a licence towards an allegorical interpretation? Is it the fashion of modern intellects to talk more of ideas than of facts? Does that idle vanity which the French indulge in about political affairs, under some such title as the inauguration of an idea, extend to the disparagement of sacred as well as profane substantialities? May this manner of talking mean as little from certain divines of the German school, as it meant the other day from the lips of Louis Napoleon, who received the applause of Rheims with the gracious assurance that he felt such acclamations to be given in no personal manner to himself, but only as far as he represented an *idea* in the minds of the French people? It has pleased Providence, however, to convey ideas through a personal medium, and that not only by means of the prophetical office, which definitely conveys a verbal message, but historically through the actions of men who feel themselves free agents. The idea and the person cannot be separated, for the human mind craves for example, admires the concrete good, and submits to the guidance of a *person* more readily than that most intangible of all things, an *idea*.

We ask, then, was there, or is there, a tendency of this kind to be feared, which may, perhaps, be set right by our sudden insight into the life of the very times thus called in question? We answer this by referring to our own pages, through a singular coincidence of time, of that very half-year in which Mr. Layard was actually engaged in his excavations. A paper came out in our July number, of 1846, which, from the respected

initials that, contrary to usual custom, were affixed to its termination, we may unhesitatingly pronounce of great interest. This was a review of Chevalier Bunsen on Scripture Chronology, and chiefly with reference to his approval of the writings of Ewald. The subject of Ewald's work is the Prophets of the Old Testament; yet an ominous expression, implying that the same principle of interpretation may affect the Gospel dispensation, is there pointed out. He says—'One must confine oneself to the *idea* of Christianity.' His principles are then explained in the following remarks of Dr. Pusey, the writer whose initials we referred to:—'He abstracts from Holy Scripture, as it 'stands, what he thinks the essence of it—admires, panegyrises 'it: the truth which he lays aside he is not at the pains to 'argue about any more, but ignores it, and assumes it to be 'untrue. And yet, because he holds something which he 'imagines to be the essence of Holy Scripture, he thinks that 'he is on the side of faith, and himself unbelieving, speaks of 'himself as opposing unbelief.' His treatment of the Old Testament is described as follows:—'The prevailing character 'of the Bible relation, Professor Ewald declares to be unhisto-'rical. The three patriarchs stand at the head of a series of 'ideal pictures, analogous to the "heroes" as distinct from the 'gods of heathen antiquity; and the juxtaposition of Abraham, 'Isaac, and Jacob, as the fathers of this ideal house, and the 'prominent figures in it, may, he says, be compared to that of 'Agamemnon, Achilles, and Ulysses, on which three all the 'Iliad turns.' It was then shown, at great length, how that both Chevalier Bunsen and Ewald overturned the literal genealogy of the patriarchs, by supposing them not to stand in the relation of father and son, but of successive tribes moving from one part of Asia to another. 'Abraham can only denote one of the most important and oldest of these Hebrew immigrations.' Isaac is a 'fainter copy of Abraham—a less self-dependent hero,' connected with Abraham by *a* genealogy, in order to give to the children of Israel 'a definite relation with that hero.'

There was danger then feared of a certain indefinite character being popularly affixed to sacred history. This danger was pointed out by one whose warnings generally have not been disregarded by the friends of our Church, or silenced by her enemies. The subject was brought to the notice of our readers at the very time, as it happened, that certain investigations were being zealously carried out, which we suggest may bear upon it. No historical facts, indeed, have to our knowledge appeared, that relate immediately to the patriarchs of Scripture, but we have records of what may be considered almost

cotemporary history. The general character of the earlier sculptures would suggest a comparison as to race, personal habits, and even religious feelings with them, which we shall presently consider more fully; but assuming thus much, we would claim a certain force of analogy from some statements of history, already interpreted by Major Rawlinson, that would seem to give life and reality to all similar history. The point most emphatically urged, in all the inscriptions thus translated, is the direct descent from father to son of certain kings, with the actions of these kings related in the most personal manner. We quote the following passage from a note written after the main body of the work was drawn up :—

'There can be no doubt, that the names of the kings found on the inscriptions at Nimroud, represent the most ancient monarchs of whom any records have been discovered on the Euphrates or Tigris. Six of these kings, who followed in a line of direct descent, are mentioned by name. The third is called Asser-adan-pal, or Sardanapalus; the fourth Temenbar. This Sardanapalus must not be confounded with the voluptuary of Greek and Roman fable, but was a prince of great might, and an illustrious warrior. He was probably the same king whose tomb is described by Amyntas, as placed at the gate of the Assyrian capital, and who has been distinguished by Callisthenes from the luxurious monarch of later times. His name has been found repeated more than one hundred times on the monuments of the N. W. palace, in which his inscriptions generally commence with the formula, "This is the palace of Sardanapalus, the humble worshipper of Asarach." '—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 284.

Again :—

'The most valuable monument, which Major Rawlinson has submitted to his analysis, is the black obelisk found in the centre of the mound. He has shown that it is a record of the wars and history of Temenbar II., the founder of the Central palace, the events of whose reign, for thirty-one years, are recorded on the monument, year by year; and whose name is also found on the large bulls from the same palace, and on the sitting figure from Kalah Sherghât. The inscription on the obelisk commences with an invocation to the Assyrian gods, among whom occur the names of Asarac, Beltis and Bar, with the genealogy of the king himself, who names his father Sardanapalus, and his grandfather Alti-Bar. The monument itself is mainly the chronicle of the wars of Temenbar in Syria Proper, against the people of Atesh, whom Major Rawlinson thinks represents Hems or Emesa, and of Hamath, who were confederated with the Sheta,—probably a large tribe, holding the country between the Syrian desert and the Mediterranean, and of whom the Scriptural Hittites were, not impossibly, an offshoot; and with the people of Armenia and Naharaina, or Mesopotamia. The different expeditions of the king are generally prefaced with the phrase, "I crossed the Euphrates." '—*Ibid.*

To refer, later in history, to the same style, in the case of Darius, at Persepolis, might seem far-fetched; but, nevertheless, we will give the following translation of the inscription on the rock of Behistun :—

'"I am Darius the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the King of the (dependent) provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the

grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian." Says Darius the King. "My father was Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes was Arsames; the father of Arsames was Ariyaramnes; the father of Ariyaramnes was Teispes; the father of Teispes was Achæmenes." Says Darius the King, "On that account we have been called Achæmenians, from antiquity we have been unsubdued (or we have descended), from antiquity our race have been Kings." Says Darius the King, "There are eight of my race who have been Kings before me; I am the ninth. For a very long time we have been Kings." Says Darius the King, "By the grace of Ormazd I am King; Ormazd has granted to me the empire." Says Darius the King, "These are the countries which have fallen into my hands, by the grace of Ormazd I have become King of them, Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt; those which are of the sea, Sparta and Ionia; Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Asia, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, the Sacæ, the Sattagydes, Arachosia, and the Mecians, the total amount being twenty-three countries." '—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 375, 376.

But now let us consider, in a more general way, the character of these people, from the knowledge we possess, with the view of establishing our right to draw some analogy between them and the patriarchal races of Scripture.

The Nimrod of Scripture was of the race of Ham, but Mr. Layard most strongly urges the Semitic origin of the Assyrians generally; we therefore take this for granted. Suppose, then, that we had never heard of Assyria or knew nothing whatever of the people of Nineveh, but had carefully studied and strongly impressed on our minds the early history of Scripture, had a vivid sense of patriarchal dignity and serenity of countenance, as exhibited in personal actions both warlike and domestic, and had felt that Abraham must have expressed in outward features, a certain abiding consciousness of the Divine presence more than ordinary mortals whom we see around us now;—suppose this, and then suddenly unveil the sculptures of Nineveh. We there see figures that cannot but represent our preconceived notions. We see an unusual dignity of aspect, a calm unperturbed manner of performing the various transactions of life; in fact, we see the same tokens of a symbolical mode of drawing, that may be taken for mythology, which Scripture in the eyes of some is thought to possess. Yet every fact known, every human probability warrants us in supposing, indeed the vividness of the drawing proves, that all this represents actual life, with the same matter-of-fact relations between man and man, and the same motives of common actions, that exist in the present age of the world. For some reason or other, which we need not metaphysically discuss, men in the early ages of time had a more mythological aspect, had more the look of symbolizing some principle of faith, seemed more fresh from the unseen world, than is the case after a few more thousand years of trouble and care. Surely then there may be some

analogy by which our seeing all but alive the revered old Ninevites, should convince any wavering thoughts tempted to look on Scripture too much with the eye of mythology. But many of the sculptures are obvious mythology, it may be said; have wings and eagles' heads. With regard to the latter figure, it is, however, supposed that it represents the great founder Nimrod, in process of time become an object of worship; but, as in classical mythology, gods are generally traceable to actual men with living genealogies, which there is no reason to doubt, so this is no argument against the character of a genealogy. The winged figures of Nineveh have a peculiar interest, we cannot but imagine, as representing the scattered fragments of revelation that descended to idolatrous countries. For instance, a figure of noble aspect, as if representing an ideal man, a type of our nature, with wings to denote heavenly origin, and sacerdotally robed and crowned, holds up with his right hand, as if to admiring gaze, or in ceremonial worship, what is styled a fircone, while with the left he bears a precious burden, called a basket. May not this fircone be the fruit of the tree of life, and the precious burden some gift of inestimable value from heaven to earth? Again, the same lordly figure, in what duly represents a stole, surplice and cope, being turned to the east, bears a tender kid for sacrifice, and raises up at one time a branch with five flowers, at another, an ear of wheat, maybe to signify again the tree of life, and our means of access to it. Is there some tradition of Melchisedech in these figures, or some sweet relic of paradise and the hope of its recovery?

In the present imperfect state of our information, of course, we must approach all speculations with care and reverence, as without rashness in presuming that any direct evidence is to follow bearing on Scripture history. The analogy, however, we have suggested is, we think, fair, and the lesson appropriate to modern philosophy.

The ruins of Persepolis occupy a large portion of Mr. Vaux's comprehensive work. These belong to the era that succeeded Nineveh, and were the metropolis of the Sassanian monarchs, who for so many years represented the power and dignity of Eastern dominion. A moment's reference to the map will point out the position of this ancient city. It stands between Shiraz and Ispahan, about 600 miles south-east of Nineveh. We quote the following description of the approach to it:—

'The approach to Persepolis, as the traveller crosses the vast plain of Merdusht, is described by every one who has had the good fortune to visit it, as magnificent in the extreme. The clearest and most spirited, that we have met with, is that of the author of "Rough Notes of a Rough Ride from the East." "We were in our saddles," says he, "at the first streak

of day, and ere the sun's rays had gilded the few surviving capitals of Chehel Minar, its tall white columns stood before us in naked majesty at the foot of the bare and dreary ridge of mountains which bounds the wide alluvial plain of Merdusht. No other work of man was visible, except a few tents of wandering Eelyauts—specks in the distant horizon. There stood in stately solitude the pride of ages, which appear almost fabulous from their distance; of empires nearer by five centuries to the time of Noah than to ours, and of which no trace remains: but here are sufficient to verify the narrations of their splendid existence, and to show that in some arts, and those among the noblest, our vaunted march of intellect is but an idle boast; indeed, were it not for the models we imitate—the more servilely the better—this 'march' would most certainly be a countermarch. As it is, where is the modern city which will have such a glorious wreck as this after its ephemeral, though perhaps more utilitarian, existence has passed away?"'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 287, 288.

The solemn ruins that mark this fostering habitation of Eastern romance and oriental subtlety of mind, are different from the severe relics of Nineveh, and show an approach to classical art, which may perhaps be correct as a matter of refined taste, but which lacks the peculiar boldness of its predecessor, and the peculiar charm which captivates by the very novelty of entire freedom from all vulgarized associations. The concluding remark of our last extract suggests a reflection which may teach humility to the admirers of advancement in the present age. It is commonly supposed that the world commenced in barbarism, and is now unshelling that rough coat and turning out clean. We acknowledge that the world is well whitewashed with self-satisfaction, but we imagine that history will convince its students, that there is such a thing as retrogression, and that the tide of civilization has ebbed and flowed, has shone forth in one branch of existence, and died away to be revived perhaps in some other. We live in wonderful times, at least so it appears the fashion to think, in consequence of some great conveniences of a physical nature, but still we must not let these outweigh many excellences that may have redeemed the cities of old from barbarism. We know not, indeed, much of the private habits of Assyria in those early days, but we feel sure that immense power and depth of mind, great largeness of conception, and great attention to the externals of life, must have characterised them. These are attributes of cultivated life, and we hesitate not to express a doubt as to whether in some of these respects we may not ourselves be suffering from the shadows of retrogression. Without, however, diving into comparisons of too general a nature, we will illustrate one point only, by which we may judge. Imagine London buried for 2,000 years—would it bear witness to the same grandeur or even the same civilization which we find in the cities of old? All small comforts, we must remember,

would perish and leave no trace behind; so posterity would have to judge from architectural monuments. We do not say this would be a fair test, because there are arts of civilized life independent of solid memorials that will carry them down to all ages in their shrines and temples. Nevertheless architecture may, perhaps, be a greater test of mental cultivation than an unarchitectural age would readily allow. How then would London come off in 2,000 years? In the first 100 years the leases of land and the houses on them would fall together. But one or two buildings alone would remain, all the rest being converted into alluvial soil, well limed from the abundance of stucco. What specimens of art would remain? To the excavators of Westminster there would, indeed, be no lack of sculptured lions from our *new palace,* but we think that the remains altogether would not justify the discoverers in supposing that as great or magnificent a city had there existed as we may suppose to have stood on the plains of the East. We mean not, of course, to undervalue the privilege of advancing knowledge, or those social advantages which are the fruits of Christianity, even to society at large, from the wholesome institutions and the kindly feeling that pervade the atmosphere of a Christian country; but taking the remains of Assyria and Persia as we find them, we doubt if the present age would leave as many traces to mark a period of high civilization as these countries have handed down to us. The real abiding memorials of the Christian faith which would then be found are not probably of modern time or of late construction, but of years back. It would, therefore, often appear to these excavators on our soil, that England had flourished and was declining before our own much talked of era. This, of course, would be only considered by many as an argument against proficiency in architecture being any test of civilization; we must, therefore, leave the subject to this abstract question, qualifying any apparent contempt of modern art, by saying we only speak of a certain bold form of time-defying architecture and sculpture, which may have been more useful at an early age of the world, than now, when, in the destinies of Providence, the more perishing beauties and comforts of our own days may be lasting enough to fulfil their respective uses.

The labours of Major Rawlinson in deciphering the cuneiform characters have met with well-earned applause. Without him we should, as it were, have found a book which we were not able to read. But this is a remarkable instance of the readiness with which the genius of man supplies what is in demand at the shortest notice. The method of working out a language such as the cuneiform characters is itself curious, but from the vague-

ness and uncertainty that attend the early stages of such a discovery, it hardly admits of a pointed and showy description. The chief method seems to have been, to observe accurately those marks which are often repeated, concluding thence that such marks signify a likely subject for the inscription. The position of marks, again, helps to distinguish one from another. Certain marks, for instance, from the frequency and position of their occurrence, were at once supposed to represent the word 'king.' Every help that could be imagined has been brought to bear, and in good time, no doubt, history will receive immense additions, both in new material and the correction or authentication of old, from these venerable manuscripts, that surpass the toughest parchment in durability, for, most curious device, the stone would seem to have been covered over with some preparation after the cutting, which hardened the limestone into adamant, and defied all the vicissitudes of time and weather.

We have now shown to our readers certain landmarks by which to trace a journey of no ordinary interest through the history of Asia, and the records of 4,000 years from the present time. We have reminded them of times even further back than the flood, when may be our first parents walked where Nineveh afterwards arose. We have seen the rival powers of Nineveh and Babylon holding the world's empire, till Europe began to appear on the stage of history. We have then invited some meed of admiration to the romance of the Persian dynasty and the wisdom of Zoroaster. After the Christian era we have witnessed the decline of all learning and all virtue that embraced not their divine Head and recognised not their true Patron. From the reminiscence of a better philosophy, but also from that element of the Oriental character which refused to be governed by a Christian rule, arose the terrestrial-minded doctrines of Mahomet, kept within bounds for a time by the religious sentiments of the Khalifat, but becoming in after times pure despotism in its bearing towards man, sensualism with reference to self, and fatalism as the only recognition of the Divine Power.

Any definite history of the East opens out a new world, and it is on this account that we attach such great interest to all investigations, either actual through means of the pickaxe, or literary, through the pen. Many works, no doubt, will appear on questions affected by Oriental antiquity, but none that deserve so well of the public as that of Mr. Vaux, as a real and practical introduction to a comprehensive study of the whole subject.

The second book mentioned at the head of our review also deserves especial notice, both as carrying on the history of

Nineveh to the present aspect of the country and the character of its inhabitants, and also from the very graphic way in which all that the writer has seen and heard in those lands is described.

Mr. Fletcher resided at Mosul, the modern Nineveh, for two years, about the period when M. Botta was engaged in his excavations at Khorsabád. He thus had great opportunities of knowing thoroughly the whole state of society, with its great division into Muhammedan and Christian, as well as its various branches of the Christian Church, and also he has given a sketch of Assyrian history, showing an accurate examination into the debateable ground of early times. We have not space to enter upon the respective merits of opposite theories, as to the origin of the Assyrian empire, but we will briefly explain the view advocated by Mr. Fletcher. He conceives that the Mount Ararat on which Noah rested after the flood was not the mountain so called in Armenia, but one of those in the neighbourhood of Nineveh, whence that city's name, as he would derive it, Nin meaning any floating substance such as the ark, and Niveh or Nooh, a resting-place. The original Babel he would make somewhere in this neighbourhood, and he would establish Nineveh as the first city in point of time. On the dispersion he suggests that some went southwards and there built a city, the modern Babylon, after the name of the one they had left. We must let this question, however, rest with the following statement:—

'The Babel of a later period seems to have been founded by Semiramis; nor does this view appear at all repugnant to the testimony of Scripture. In Isaiah xxiii. 13, it is said, "Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrians founded it for them that dwelt in the wilderness; they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof." This passage must refer to the foundation of a city, nor do we know any city of the Chaldeans which more fully answers to the above description, than the later Babel or Babylon.

'Nor does it seem probable from the words of Scripture that the Babel mentioned in Genesis, survived for any length of time the confusion of languages and the dispersion of mankind. It is expressly stated that they left off to build the city, while all traditions agree in affirming that the first Babel was destroyed by a storm. In no place do we read of Babel as a kingdom until the time of Hezekiah. A king of Shinar is mentioned Gen. xiv. 1; while in the Karnak Tablet, references are perpetually made to kings or chiefs of Saenkara (Shinar), but the name of Babel does not occur. It appears likely, then, that the Babel of Genesis was either destroyed or left unfinished soon after the dispersion, and that the plains of Sinjar and of Nineveh, with perhaps all the northern parts of Mesopotamia, were included in the kingdom of Shinar, which formed the germ of the Assyrian empire. It is probable that Nimrod succeeded Asshur in the government of this kingdom, and greatly extended its boundaries. He may be considered as the founder of the first dynasty of the Assyrian kings, and was probably afterwards deified under the title of Nisroch, which signifies not

only an eagle, but a hawk, a bird which, being used in the chase, typified the ruling passion of the "mighty hunter." '—*Notes from Nineveh*, vol. ii. pp. 92—94.

Without, however, entering critically on the different theories of Assyrian history, which space will not permit, we must bear witness to Mr. Fletcher's general adherence to the letter of Scripture. Acting on this principle he erects a fabric of history, that, to say the least of it, has as much probability as any other version, and indeed more. The great charm of Mr. Fletcher's book is the attractive manner in which he mingles entertaining stories of Eastern manners, with most useful information. He is an impartial writer without the bigotry of many Anglican devotees, who yet boast themselves of freedom from prejudice. Certain travellers, who would fain be citizens of the world, confine their absence of prejudice almost to matters entirely out of their province, such as dogmatic principles of faith. A traveller should be free from local prejudice, but we cannot understand the necessity which appears to be established as proper, of being somewhat of a free-thinker on religious topics, in order to give an unbiassed account of other nations. Now, instead of being a citizen of the world in this sense, Mr. Fletcher is a member of the Catholic Church. He thus avoids those local prejudices that are really an obstacle to a traveller, while he acquires an invaluable key to penetrate into foreign manners, customs and habits of mind, so far as the religious instincts and the religious condition of man are concerned. A man who scoffs at dogmatic faith does to our mind shut himself out from so important an element of man's nature, that he is incapable of transmitting any interesting view of what he sees and hears, to those who peruse his pages. He is defective in his philosophy, and ignorant of what he attempts to describe, inasmuch as he penetrates not to the common centre and common sympathies of human nature, from which he may trace the various external phases submitted to a traveller's eye. He is a painter in hard dry outline, a sculptor in cast iron; he wants the soft touches, the realities that find entrance to the soul.

Mr. Fletcher is a sound member of his own Church, and is able to appreciate the merits of constancy in other bodies which claim to be branches of the same universal Church; whereas many travellers are neither sound at home, nor allow others to be so abroad.

'It seems strange when we reflect that the English, who pride themselves upon being one of the most pious nations in the world, should be infinitely behind every other in providing for the spiritual wants of those of their countrymen who reside abroad. One can scarcely find two Oriental families anywhere without a priest and a church; the Romanist has his chapels and clergy in every inhabited spot, and even Mohammedans and

Pagans rarely live long in any foreign land without raising a mosque or a temple for the services of religion. But when the English do provide such accommodations, they are generally of the meanest and most inexpensive description. Some garret or some cheap apartment on the second floor, situated, as a matter of course, in the filthiest and most remote corner of the town, is generally pointed out as the English chapel. Nor is it surprising that, under these circumstances, the natives of Great Britain should gain the credit of having no religion. The Italian friar, the Greek or Syrian priest who resides at Aleppo, sees a large body of our countrymen living without a church, a clergyman, or any outward manifestation of their religious faith, and he immediately comes to the same conclusion that every other reasoning being would, namely, that the Ingleez are fermasoon or infidels.

'Nor has this been the impression of foreign Christians only; it has been shared by Mohammedans and Pagans. I have heard both, in different parts of the world, give our countrymen this character. Now, while these things are so, it would be surely better to alter and amend them, than to indulge in the national cant about being misrepresented and calumniated. Are we to give men, two or three thousand miles off, whose ideas of our island are confused and contradictory, credit for knowing what passes in England; and expect that they shall understand all about our religious and charitable societies? Their estimate of us must, and will be, formed by the conduct of the persons who come out from us, and this we cannot prevent.

'It is somewhat ridiculous to hear a sensible man like Mr. Layard, accusing the Romish missionaries of misrepresenting the English character. In the first place, what they say is not misrepresentation according to their opportunities of judging; and secondly, it is, unfortunately, not the Romanists alone who entertain this opinion of us. Let Mr. Layard ask any sensible Mohammedan, any decent Pagan, or any devout Jew his sentiments respecting the English and their religion, and he will obtain the same reply in nearly the same terms. The Romish missionaries may have been guilty of exaggeration, this is probable enough; but I am certain they have too many grounds on which to found their remarks. Surely in the nineteenth century it is time to discard the wretched Pharisaical cant respecting Englishmen being so much more pious, moral, and religious than their neighbours.'—*Notes from Nineveh*, vol. ii. pp. 297—300.

The religious character of the English is thus too truly represented also in a note of Mr. Vaux's book, describing the Kurds:—

'Though their creed is theoretically Muhammedan, they rarely abstain from animal food or wine; and even the flesh of the hog is not unfrequently a Kurdish delicacy. "Our religion, and that of the Franks, have much similarity," observed a Kurd to an English gentleman one day; "we eat hog's flesh, drink wine, keep no fasts, and say no prayers."'—*Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 23.

The following is an entertaining history of the English Church, from a merchant of Aleppo:—

'"The Ingleez," he said, "are a very fierce and intractable nation. They marry many wives, and care very little about Allah, whose name [illegible]alted."

[illegible]ere interrupted the speaker, and asked if, in the course of his travels, [illegible]ever heard of the English Church.

[illegible]elli, yes," he answered, "I know the whole history of your Church. [illegible]ist understand," continued he, turning to the rest, "that once there

lived in England a great sultan whose name was Napoleon Buonaparte. This sultan was like unto Antar and Iskander, the Macedonian, and he made many of the kings of Frangistan his footstool. But his heart was lifted up, and he defied Allah in his pride. And Napoleon's wife was old, and she was no longer pleasing in his eyes. Then it came to pass that he looked upon a certain fair damsel with the glances of love, and he said, Inshallah, I will divorce my wife and get me this fair one in marriage. Now, the Ingleez were all Catholics then, and therefore, Napoleon sent a message to our Father the Pope, desiring that he would grant him a divorce. But the Pope reproved Napoleon for his pride and unkind dealing with his wife, at which the Sultan waxed wrath, and said, Surely this Pope is no better than Abou Jahash, even the Father of Stupidity; but Inshallah, I will make him eat abomination. So he went with many soldiers and besieged Rome, and took the Pope prisoner, and shut him up in a great tower in London, which is the chief city of the Ingleez. But the kings of the Franks all joined together, and made war upon Napoleon Buonaparte, and overcame him. Then their soldiers came to London, and set the Pope at liberty. And when the Pope returned to Rome, he cursed Napoleon, and excommunicated him and all the Ingleez. But Napoleon laughed at his beard, and said, Inshallah, but I will have a Church of my own. So he made bishops, and they divorced his wife, and they married him to the beautiful damsel, after which he founded the English Church."

'All the assembly were deeply penetrated and impressed with this narrative, which was delivered with great volubility and lively pantomimic action. I had but little chance of being attended to in my vindication of my country and its religion, for say what I would, the audience shook their heads doubtfully, and departed full of admiration at the wisdom of the Aleppo merchant, and regarding the English Church as the profane invention of that second Nimrod, Napoleon Buonaparte.

'The Aleppo merchant had probably heard some mangled account of Henry the Eighth and Anne Boleyn, while his lively imagination, or the suggestions of some Roman missionary, had supplied the rest. The reputation which Napoleon has acquired in the East would account for his being the hero of the story, more particularly as Orientals are not very exact in their notions of countries and dates. Even the chronology of their own land they know little about, and all time past is divided into two epochs, the period before Mahommed and that which has elapsed since.

'Yet when I came to reflect upon the tale of the worthy Elkoshite, the feelings of contempt for his ignorance were checked by the recollection that few persons in England were much better acquainted with the East, its manners, religion, and history, than the Oriental was with the nature of the Reformation. How often since have I heard well informed persons enquire whether there were any Christians in the East, and express surprise on hearing of the Oriental Churches. The Nestorians have of late excited a little attention, but the great mass of sympathisers with them know nothing of their history, except that they are a sort of Asiatic Protestants, who read their Bibles and abominate the Pope.'—*Notes from Nineveh*, vol. i. pp. 279—282.

Few, indeed, are aware of the prevalence of Christianity in the East. The independence, however, of the Eastern Churches would seem to be yielding marvellously before the power of Rome.

'The progress which the Church of Rome is making, in winning over the members of the Oriental Churches, to acknowledge her supremacy, and to submit to her jurisdiction, will affect different minds in various ways.

By the devout adherent of the See of Rome, it will be regarded as the triumph of truth over error and heresy, while those who deem the pretensions of that See alike opposed to reason and Scripture, will feel sorrow that the long maintained independence of the Orientals is slowly, but surely yielding to usurpation. Yet, whatever effect it may produce on his mind, no candid observer of the course of events can, for an instant, deny that the Roman interest is gaining rapidly in these parts, and that ere long, as far as human foresight can foretell the future, the Pontiff of the seven-hilled city, will add the patriarchs and bishops of the East to the long list of his tributaries.'—*Ibid.* pp. 138, 139.

As partial notices, however, of the Eastern Churches might misrepresent both the facts of the case, and Mr. Fletcher's sentiments, we must be content with referring our readers to his own pages as the writings of one who has studied the subject from life, and who has far too great an admiration for the principles of independence in Church matters, to pass slightingly over the merits of any Christian community, wherever it may be. The following is an interesting contrast to the profanity of many English, with reference to this point of recognising fellow-feeling with remote Christians:—

'The next day after our arrival, we repaired to visit the Greek Church, which was under the custody of some nuns, of the order of S. Basil; the priest having gone some distance into the country, to serve another congregation. As the church was not in use, we asked permission to read our Morning Prayers there, which was cheerfully granted. We each took possession of a stall in the choir, and turning our faces to the altar, B—— read, while I made the responses. A few Greeks, who had been attracted to the spot by curiosity, and the novelty, in their eyes, of an English service, remained during our prayers, and conducted themselves with great reverence and decorum. We felt ourselves once more among Christian brethren, no small consolation, when wandering in a land, where you are perpetually reminded of the predominance of Islam over Christianity. An acolyte came forward before we began our prayers, and lighted with much ceremony two large candles, about sixteen inches in circumference, and nearly ten feet in height, that were placed on two massive brass candlesticks, before the entrance to the sanctuary.'—*Notes from Nineveh*, vol. i. pp. 99,100.

The many instances of Turkish oppression augur, we trust, that the power of that tyrannical rule is decreasing, and that Christianity will soon be triumphant over Mahomet.

'Few travellers can have journeyed for any distance in Asiatic Turkey without having been struck with the number of ruined villages, which one encounters everywhere. Even in the great towns and cities, the quantity of houses either wholly or partially in ruins is very great. Diarbekir, Mardin, Nisibis, and Mosul, were large and flourishing cities about four centuries ago. The two former, and the latter, have very few houses that are not in some degree in a dilapidated state; while the whole of ancient Nisibis, which Abulfeda describes as an extensive and populous town in his
has entirely disappeared from its site, and a few mud huts bear
ne of one of the most powerful cities of former days.
is fact marks the great and gradual diminution which has taken place
numbers of the population since the conquest of these countries by

the Turks. It must be borne in mind also, that no new cities or towns have arisen to supply the places of those which have been, and are thus rapidly sinking to decay. Should the decrease in the population go on in the same ratio, the close of the next three hundred years will find the whole of Mesopotamia and Assyria in as desolate a condition as the mounds of Nineveh. Vast and uncultivated solitudes will occupy the sites of some of the largest and most celebrated cities of Asiatic Turkey.

'The Ottoman dominions are inhabited by different races, who, separated from each other by various prejudices, agree in a common hatred of the Osmanlis. The Kurds and Arabs, although sincere, if not bigoted followers of the creed of Islam, entertain a greater aversion to the Turks than to the Christians. The latter are divided among themselves, but lack only union to make them formidable opponents of the Turkish rule. Thus the enmity which exists between the several heterogeneous materials of which the Sultan's dominions are composed, alone prevents their combining against the common enemy. Yet the same cause proves also an insurmountable obstacle in the way of reform.

'The fear of increasing the power of one portion, or of exciting the prejudices of another part of their subjects, leads Turkish statesmen to prefer a stagnant calm to the necessary agitation which projects of useful reform could not fail of producing. An attempt to limit the authority of the Pashas might induce these governors to form projects of independent sovereignty, which would be certain to find support from some at least of the discontented. A chief who could stir up the old Moslem fanaticism, either of the Kurds or Arabs, might succeed in detaching from the Sultan's dominions many considerable districts of the present Turkish empire. Should the Roman Church be able to unite in one the various Christian sects, a second Peter the Hermit might rouse the warlike inhabitants of Mount Lebanon and Kurdistan, to undertake another Crusade. The powers of Europe could scarcely with decency refuse their aid to an enslaved population of Christians struggling to be free.

'Yet, notwithstanding all the oppression, tyranny, and stupidity which characterize the Ottoman rule, the individual Turk is far from participating in the vices of his superiors and of his government. He is not naturally cruel nor avaricious, he is a lover of his children, and by no means an unkind husband. If the customs or prejudices of his country, and the ignorance and childishness of Oriental females, prevent his treating his wife in the European style, she is seldom the victim of brutality. Our English notions respecting Polygamy, female slavery, and unfortunate wives sewn up for the least trifle in a sackful of snakes, are somewhat exaggerated. Fiend-like acts of cruelty do occur occasionally, but they emanate from the Pashas and men in power, who have frequently little of the pure Osmanli blood in their veins. They are generally the sons of the descendants of slaves, or of Georgian adventurers who have embraced Islam.

'The genuine Osmanli hates the trouble and fatigue of power, he loves to spend his days on a carpet engaged in contemplation, and inhaling the fumes of his chibouque. He is not sanguinary, except when violently excited, and then he becomes a tiger. He is charitable to excess, and a strict observer of the good as well as of the evil precepts of El Islam. He is child-like in his simplicity, and loves the amusements of a child. Yet, when once his courage is stirred up, and his blood on fire, he will fight like a Spartan. In the field, he has always shown himself the true descendant of the conquerors of Asia.

'Yet, the Turk is conscious that his empire is waning, and his day of dominion passing away. On his countenance sits the shade of mute and dignified resignation, as he observes with a sigh, that the Ottoman

rule is drawing near its close. His favourite tenet of predestination, however, serves to soothe the disappointed feelings which are provoked by national vanity. The hand of Allah is working the decay of his people, and it is no degradation to be vanquished by Him who is All Powerful. With an earnestness of faith, which it is impossible not to admire, the Turk sees the working of Providence in his day of downfall, as much as in his hour of success. He only regrets that his rulers have not suffered his nation to fall with dignity, but have sought to uphold her by arts and customs borrowed from the Franks, which innovations he views with a mixture of hatred and contempt. The true Osmanli would rather meet his fate with the scimitar of his fathers in his hand, than be indebted to the Franks for instruction in warfare, only to be more completely vanquished by them at last.'—*Notes from Nineveh*, vol. ii. pp. 17—21.

The principal subject of our review must excuse another lengthened extract, descriptive of Nineveh, as now seen:—

'The storm was passing over, and the moon was shining in her full brightness, with that clear brilliancy which is witnessed only in Eastern skies. Sheltered by a pillar, I watched the movements of the gazelle. It stood for some minutes as if irresolute, and then leaped over the rampart; I rushed forward, and clambering over some rubbish, reached the place where I first saw it. Looking down I beheld the beautiful creature bounding from ledge to ledge along the side of the mountain, as if exulting in its wild freedom, and defying the swiftest efforts of pursuers. I was enjoying the sight when Toma and his companions joined me. Feeling in no mood for their society, I dismissed them to their repose, and continued to gaze with much interest on the scene before me.

'At the foot of the mountain lay the plains of Athur, once the site of that great and mighty Nineveh, where reigned the first conquerors whom the earth ever knew. Happy might it have been for her children, had the era of conquest, spoliation, and violence, terminated with the downfall and ruin of that haughty city, which first taught the lessons of ambition and crime to those who too eagerly received and carried them into action. Yet what a moral might be derived from the present condition of the capital of Assur. In lieu of lofty palaces and gorgeous temples, the eye surveys only the mounds composed of their dust, or the miserable collections of huts which have arisen on their site. The gardens where Sardanapalus revelled are wasted and desolate, the sounds of soft and luxurious music that once floated on the soft Assyrian breezes, have yielded to the silence of devastation or decay. Nothing could be more striking indeed than the stillness which prevailed. Not a sound interrupted the profound repose of nature and of man. Even the cry of the wild animals which disturbs the solitude of ancient Babylon, was not heard here. It was the calmness, the dignified decay of ruined majesty, not the blighting operation of a curse which the crimes and the sins of past days had called forth. The relics of Babylon impressed me with awe, almost with terror; those of Nineveh inspired more a feeling of sympathy and mournful regret.

'As I pace that lonely rampart in my midnight walk, visions of the past seem to rise from yonder deserted plains, and to present themselves before me. Lofty palaces uprear their towering pinnacles in every direction. Terraced gardens, where art has done its utmost to rival, and, perhaps, to outvie nature, appear filled with choicest fruits, and garnished with flowers of the most varied and brilliant hues. Artificial streams pursue their winding course amid these luxuriant plantations, and temper with refreshing coolness the heats of a summer sun. On their banks a thousand

curiously wrought bowers receive the gay troops of revellers, who, crowned with garlands, spend their hours as if life were designed to be one long and uninterrupted revel. From his marble tower, the Chaldean sage tracks the silent course of the heavenly watchers, as they gleam with redoubled brilliancy from the blue and cloudless expanse above. Glittering bands of warriors pass to and fro, exhibiting to the gaze of the curious, the spoils of distant India and Media, mingled with the trophies torn from the cities of the sacred land. Suddenly in the midst of that careless and rejoicing city, a worn and travel-stained form pronounces in a loud and unearthly voice—"Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed." The monarch quits his throne, the people change their habits of festivity for sackcloth, and all prostrate themselves before the God of the stranger. The supplication is heard, and, for a time at least, the doom of Nineveh is averted.

'The vision changes, and in lieu of the gay and joyous scenes, which first attracted the eye, or the mournful and penitential groups that succeeded to them, the imagination pictures the public places of the mighty city, filled with anxious and apprehensive crowds who recall with trembling earnestness the fearful predictions of a Hebrew Seer. From the neighbouring regions of Alkosh, have gone forth the accents of doom. The bloody city, the city of robbery and lies, must perish. Hosts of barbarians rush from the neighbouring hills, overpower the effeminate and feeble inhabitants; and Nineveh falls, even as a gallant ship that founders in the midst of the solitary and trackless ocean, leaving no trace of her existence, no floating memorial of her fate.'—*Notes from Nineveh*, vol. i. pp. 205—209.

It is time we should close our very incomplete and hurried review of two most instructive and interesting works. We doubt not, however, that our readers will supply this deficiency by reading for themselves.

One more extract, however, we must give, by way of hearing both sides of a question in these days of impartiality. Lest any one should err in too rapturous a love of Assyrian antiquities, let him learn an admonition from the quiet philosophy of the following passage.

'When I mentioned to Mohammed the excavations of Khoorsabad, he ruminated for a moment, and then asked me, in a confidential tone, how much gold the French Balios (Consul) had discovered. When I told him that M. Botta neither sought for nor expected anything more valuable than some ancient sculptures, my worthy old friend looked grievously disappointed, and, after a few thoughtful puffs, said—

'"I have often been astonished, O Yacoub, that a people so wise and intelligent as it must be admitted the Franks generally are, should take such delight in old stones. Praise be to God, I know nothing of Nimroud and Athoor that you have been telling me of, except that one of them put our Father Ibraheem, upon whom be peace, into a great furnace, from which he miraculously escaped. They were both Kafirs, and have, doubtless, been roasting in Gehennam for many years on account of their misdeeds, so why should you or I trouble our heads about them? Did I not know that the Ingleez are a truth-speaking nation, I should suspect that you were telling me falsehoods when you assure me that crowds of people in your country go to gaze upon these idols. I have heard that they of your nation curse the other Christians who worship images, and I know that Musa the Prophet was charged by Allah the Exalted to forbid the

making of such abominations. Why even the mountain Nestorians would not suffer a picture in their houses, and are you less wise than they?

'"I remember I once went to the house of a Frank who passed through here a little time ago, and he received me with great honour. We sat down together in peace, and were quietly smoking, when a dog of a Jew brought some worn and rusted coins, for which I would not have given a para. The Frank acted as if the father of the Djin (genii) had possessed him. He leaped from his sofa like one who had discovered a treasure. He viewed the rubbish as if it had been some beautiful damsel, and gave the old thief of a Jew a sum which would have kept my household for a week. The cunning rogue departed laughing in his sleeve, may confusion rest upon him, and the Frank left me hastily, without saying peace be with you, to examine his purchase. I asked the servant if they were relics or pictures of saints that his Excellency worshipped, but he only laughed at my beard. Verily the Franks are a strange people."

'After this speech, a long one for him, my old friend kept silence till the sound of the Muezzin's voice summoned him to quit his beloved pipe. His sentiments, however, represent accurately the feelings of his countrymen with regard to antiquities.'—*Ibid.* pp. 292—294.

ART. VI.—1. *Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical. By the Rev.* WILLIAM ARCHER BUTLER, M.A. *late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author's Life, by the Rev.* THOMAS WOODWARD, M.A. *Curate Assistant of Fethard, in the Diocese of Cashel, and Chaplain to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.* Dublin: Hodges & Smith. 1849.

2. *Letters on the Development of Christian Doctrine, in Reply to Mr. Newman's Essay. By the Rev.* WILLIAM ARCHER BUTLER, M.A. *late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited by the Rev.* THOMAS WOODWARD, M.A. *&c.* Dublin: Hodges & Smith. 1850.

EVERY one who has remarked on the history of theology, has drawn attention to the two very different shapes into which the theological literature of different ages or communions is apt to run, though the terms by which to denote the difference may not be settled. It is in one case what we may call constructive, in the other, discursive. In the one case it is formal, technical, methodical; in the other, unsystematic and irregular, loose in coherence, indefinite and indistinct in outline, not ambitious, whether capable or not, of well-arranged order and visible consistency. In the one case, it is busy in the harmonious adjustment and employment of an inheritance, vast it may be, but yet definitely circumscribed, of traditionary materials, or in raising on certain great principles a compact and well-guarded fabric of theoretic truth, strong in its internal connexion of parts, and not too vast to be held in one view by the human mind. The procedure in the other case is, compared with this, desultory and fragmentary. Such a theology, for whatever reason, does not seem to feel the necessity of sitting down before it begins its work, to enumerate distinctly, and cast in fixed and immutable formulæ, the principles from which it starts, or to follow out beforehand their consequences, with a view of reconciling and limiting them in theory, before the urgencies of practical difficulty arise. Its principles are elicited by occasions; when enunciated, they are seldom without the stamp of the occasion; and when no longer prominent on the surface of the time, their theoretical position is seldom thought important enough to be settled for the mere satisfaction of speculative reason. Such a theology, viewed as a whole, appears out of shape, dragged hither and thither as its history has proceeded, disproportioned in its parts, and in their elaboration, unsettled, and variable in its subordination of the one to the other. To the eye trained to precision and method, and accus-

tomed to exact them, such a spectacle will present little to command sympathy or respect. The weaknesses and the inconveniences which go along with want of system, are palpable, and to many minds, unpardonable. But they whom the fascinating charm of internal coherence, and the admiration felt for the august majesty of a system, comprehensive, symmetrical and complete, do not blind to other forms of truth and greatness, may inquire, and perhaps find that a theology may have strength and reality, though its principle and elements have never been reduced to order and form. There is a greatness in methodizing abstract truth; but there is greatness also in grappling with and grasping the manifold and ever-new facts of life and experience; and if one theology presents the truths of religion, as profound and patient thinkers have drawn them out and marshalled them in just array, the other may present them as thinkers equally profound and patient have investigated them one by one, with a keener sense of their separate importance than of their mutual connexion as a whole. If the latter are less rigorous in statement and deduction, they may escape much narrowness and much that is visibly the mere necessary artifice of theory. Their theology, if less guarded by received modes of exact and well-weighed expression, may be far more satisfactory and persuasive when it deals with what really meets us in life; may be more elastic, more observant, more free, more genuine, more natural. It may fail to meet the exigencies of the dialectic school, as a complete system; and yet present a series of argumentative masterpieces, and sow the seeds of deep and fertile thought for generation after generation.

This is of course but a loose and broad way of stating the contrast; there are systematic minds and unsystematic ones in all ages, and nations, and schools of thought, and religious communions. Yet, on the whole, the general set of the current may be discerned from the eddies which interrupt it, if looked at over a sufficiently large extent. Viewed as a whole, the theology of one body values and aims at method, of another, dispenses with it—of one, is technical, of another, inexact—of one, leaves nothing unaccounted for, of another, is more solicitous about the soundness and evidence of its separate facts, than careful to conjecture their reasons or divine their results, or balance their relations—of one, trusts to the completeness of its superstructure to guarantee the one assumption on which it all rests, of another, bases itself with unconcern on several distinct principles which seem to it undeniable, without troubling itself to answer the challenge that they are irreconcileable. And these tendencies show themselves in quite other ways than as respectively distinctive of ancient or modern, or of ecclesiastical or unecclesiastical theology. The theology of the later English

Church is not more unsystematic, or less technically coherent, than the theology of the early undivided Church, which, in form at least, it so strikingly resembles; and the theology of the Middle Ages or of modern Rome does not try more studiously to reduce all its doctrines to a perfect system, and to eliminate at any cost all refractory and incongruous principles, than do the various philosophic theologies of Germany—nor, may we add, more successfully.

We have been led to these remarks by the Remains before us. Whether it be an accident, or the fate of the English Church, of such a sort is for the most part her literature. From end to end, it is marked with genius, and with earnest solemn religiousness. Its great works take their place in the front rank, in a national literature second to none the world has ever seen in grandeur richness and beauty, if not in finish. It bears, indeed, the scars and disfigurements of time; like its great rival, it has the marks of conflict—want of knowledge, want of justice, want of temper, want of charity. Yet not even an enemy would deny how singularly and how inexhaustibly thought springs up in it—thought various, profound, original, genuine, versatile—thought that touches and that reveals the truths of our present state, and connects them in all their reality with the verities of the Christian faith—thought that appreciates all that is greatest and loftiest in man's inheritance of truth, which will not trifle with what is shadowy and gaudy, though, partly from passion and prejudice, but partly also from instinctive shrinking from what is not purely simple and severe, it may miss much of secondary greatness—thought which, as signally as in any age or branch of the Church, has kindled devotion, has quickened religious affections, has solved (as far as man can) the secret of our mysterious being, has justified the faith. Yet in that magnificent array of teachers, we may look almost in vain, for one who has taught a system, in the sense in which Aquinas, or Schelling, or even Calvin, are systematic teachers. Compared with them, Hooker and Jackson, Pearson, Taylor, and Bishop Butler, wrote but for the occasion, and have left us but the detached materials of an unattempted fabric. They have left us but their remains—varying in bulk, in variety, in completeness of finish, but equally wanting the bond of entireness. All was given them—all they have shown—but the spirit of system. And in each new instance of a great theological mind, the same thing reappears. The last great ornament of English theology, now, alas! living but to bring it, if possible, to nought, though trained to be what he is by its traditions and its spirit—whose dominant craving is for system, and who has come to think that nothing but a complete intellectual system

can now save the faith—has hitherto shown himself as little capable of system as any of his English predecessors.

The two volumes of Mr. Archer Butler's writings, for which we are indebted to the editorial care of his friend Mr. Woodward, comprehend, in the first place, a selection of Mr. Butler's Sermons, preached before the University of Dublin, and elsewhere, together with a brief sketch of his life; and in the next, a series of Letters, originally addressed to the 'Irish Ecclesiastical Journal,' and containing an examination of the principles and method of Mr. Newman's Essay on Development. They are volumes which, with all the disadvantages of posthumous publication, and consisting but of occasional and fragmentary writings, offer very unusual and melancholy interest. They embody what is left us of the thoughts of a mind of very uncommon power and comprehensiveness; but they also remind us that at a moment when we most need such a mind we must look for it no more. It just showed its strength and its sympathies; showed how high and self-possessed intellect could understand and venerate and freely use English principles—and then it was taken away.

We hope our Irish brethren will forgive us, if we say that the character of Mr. Archer Butler's writings strikes us the more forcibly as coming from an Irish pen. That circumstance would have accounted for much that is admirable in them; their spirit, their eloquence, their brilliancy, their ingenuity, their nobleness and warmth of tone. But these are not the features which raise Mr. Butler's writings above the level of ordinary talent. The noticeable thing is, that though he often writes like an Irishman, he can also at other times write like an Englishman—with all the self-command, the majestic sense of simplicity and precision, that deliberate measuring of expressions, that resolute limitation of general statements by the severity of facts, that serious clearness and grasp of his own thoughts, which we are wont to consider as some of the distinctive excellences of his great English namesake. And it is the more striking because it is not forced or put on; it is not mannerism; it is the visible and natural effect on the writer's mind of the presence of a great subject, subduing and restraining him, calling for self-recollection and sober words.

Mr. Woodward's memoir raises interest, rather than satisfies it. It is evident how deep is his admiration for the character of his friend; and he has justified it by the publication of his friend's writings. But of one who wrote so well and so strikingly, we should like to have known more personally. The absence of detail is ill made up by general praise of his wit, his popularity, his worth. It is the hard task, doubtless, of the

biographer of a friend who is gone, to analyse and reproduce for others, as a picture, that of which he feels the reality, and perhaps does not care to feel more; but however hard, it is his business. He calls on us to admire and sympathise; we are ready, if he will give us the means; but we cannot do so towards mere qualities, of which he alone was the witness in action. There was little of incident, he says, in Mr. Butler's life; but those few years of such vigorous and active thought as we have the proofs of, in the volumes before us, cannot but have shown something that was characteristic of the *man*. Whatever it was, whether a contrast to his writings or a reflection of them, we should have been thankful for anything, which would have enabled us to individualize and imagine him better than the highly unsatisfactory portrait, prefixed to the volume of sermons. Of course, the public has no right to prescribe to a biographer the materials which he is to use; they have no right to ask for a sight of private letters, or notes of conversations, or details of private life, opinions, ways, likings and dislikings: but in default of such documents, the biographer must find some other mode of leaving on the minds of his readers a distinct and personal impression of his subject. The memoranda of a summer day's walk with Wordsworth, which is all that is given us of the kind, are very inadequate to make us realize what sort of man Mr. Butler was.

He was born about 1814; he died in the summer of 1848—one of those children of the long peace, who lived to see it issue in such strange moral and political results. Two points appear distinctly from Mr. Woodward's memoir—that his mind exhibited a singular combination of imagination and power of abstract thought: and that he united the ardent pursuit of philosophy and theology, with the hard work of a parish priest among starving Irish paupers. But we look there in vain for anything to show us, in what peculiar features and mould of individual character these were embodied. His writings leave the impression that he was a person who must have been worth knowing about; but it is from his writings almost exclusively that we are left to imagine what he was.

There is one circumstance in his history about which, though it belongs to his early youth, we should have been glad to have been told more. His father was a member of the Irish Church, but his mother was a Roman Catholic; and he followed, till about his eighteenth year, his mother's faith. His mother is stated to have been zealous in her religion, as would indeed be suggested by her son having been brought up, not in his father's, but in her communion. He was warmly attached to her, and his biographer says, that he yielded himself faithfully and earnestly to the religious influences under which he was trained. He was sent to

a Grammar School kept by a Clergyman of the Church, where he continued from nine years old till his entrance into Trinity College, Dublin; and while at school, he left the Roman communion, and joined the Church. The account of this event is thus given by Mr. Woodward:—

'It was during his pupilage at Clonmel, about two years before his entrance into College, that the important change took place in Butler's religious views, by which he passed from the straitest sect of Roman Catholicism into a faithful son and champion of the Church of Ireland. He had been from the cradle deeply impressed with a sense of religion, and conscientious in the observance of the rites and ceremonies of his creed. His moral feelings were extraordinarily sensitive. For long hours of night he would lie prostrate on the ground, filled with remorse for offences which would not for one moment have disturbed the self-complacency of even well-conducted youths. Upon one occasion, when his heart was oppressed with a sense of sinfulness, he attended confession, and hoped to find relief for his burdened spirit. The unsympathising confessor received these secrets of his soul, as if they were but morbid and distempered imaginations, and threw all his poignant emotions back upon himself. A shock was given to the moral nature of the ardent, earnest youth; he that day began to doubt; he examined the controversy for himself, and his powerful mind was not long before it found and rested in the truth.'—*Memoir*, p. vii.

This does not give us much information. Butler, who was no unworthy match for one of the greatest of living minds at thirty, was, probably enough, more capable than most boys would have been, of making such an eventful choice at eighteen. Still, it was a boy's choice; we cannot talk of it as if it had been a man's; and, in ignorance as we are of the circumstances, Mr. Woodward's terms respecting it seem to us out of place, as applied to such a decision. It is more to the purpose to observe how a character, thus educated in one system, turns out in another; how far in its later growth it shows the traces of its earlier; and what was the convert's way of regarding that system which had moulded his childhood, and which he had afterwards deliberately renounced.

To the communion of his childhood we have no right nor wish to deny the credit, of having moulded him to that deep and instinctive sympathy with the spirit and temper of the Church Catholic, which is one of the most striking features in his writings. He might well learn there, what assuredly it is able to impart, those axioms and first principles, very simple but very characteristic, of Catholic piety, which give their awful reality and depth to the 'Imitation of Christ,' and the 'Introduction' of S. François de Sales on the one hand, and to the 'Whole Duty of Man' and the 'Devotions' of Bishop Wilson on the other. If, as his biographer says, he was brought up by a zealous mother in the devotional spirit of the Roman communion, and as a child

yielded himself unreservedly and heartily to the guidance supplied him, no one could doubt but that the honest and good heart would learn from it those excellent lessons, of which we at least have no disposition to deny the abundant and admirable fruits, among those who have been brought up from their youth in that communion. It is natural to trace to such an education that serene yet warm piety, that high yet balanced idea of the Christian service, that steady contemplation of the severe rules of Christian perfection, that instinctive appreciation of dogmatic truth, that hearty ecclesiastical spirit, which are as marked and as natural in him, as if he had been all his life in the schools whether of Bossuet or of Andrewes. But if he gained in the Roman communion this temper and these principles, he did not lose them when he left it. They were not the burden which he found too heavy there. Whatever may have offended him in it, either in the first instance, or in maturer years, he found in the communion which he joined a sphere where those principles had a congenial home, and that temper could be perfected more and more.

One striking indication—too striking not to attract attention—of the natural position which he found in the English Church, is to be seen in his tone towards the body which he had quitted. In one so earnest and so ardent, and gifted with that perilous warmth of imagination and exuberance of language which often betray his countrymen, we might have expected those exaggerated feelings and expressions, which are usually said to characterise a convert's estimate of the body, whose supposed evil has forced him to break from it. Converts are not usually thought to be equitable; and it is easy to conceive that if they are converts from conviction, a great effort, or a rare fairness of mind, should be necessary to make them so. Now, Mr. Butler, though a convert, a controversialist, an Irishman, and an Irish clergyman, writing with the Roman priesthood there before his eyes, is, on the whole, remarkably equitable, and remarkably measured in his words. He does not, indeed, shrink from expressing his sense—his indignant sense—of the contrast between the evils, whether inevitable or tolerated, of the Roman system, and that faultless and exclusive perfection which it claims—claims with the alternative of otherwise making void all Christian promises and hopes. But he never goes out of his way to insult, or insinuate, or sneer. Among many strong and severe expressions about it, we cannot recollect one of bitterness. There is always a grave and collected dignity when he speaks of it as a whole; and there is no ill-nature when some special instance of misconduct provokes a livelier expression of anger or sarcasm. He speaks as one who feels that, however much there

is in it which shocks his deepest religious instincts—however unreasonable and arrogant its pretensions to subvert and supplant everything that is not squared to its rules, it is still the system of a Church which has been the mother of real saints, at whose font he received his baptism, and under whose shadow he first learnt to adore and obey.

Coming from a convert, the following remarks on proselytism seem to us an evidence of remarkable balance of mind. We shall not stop to comment on them; but they come, it will be remembered, from one about whose earnestness there can be no question, and who was at once fully capable of appreciating dogmatic differences, and anything but insensible to their practical importance:—

'In a letter, published February 10, 1847, Professor Butler thus writes: "Hardly any observer can have failed to remark how, amid a thousand miseries, the present tremendous visitation has at least contributed to one good result; how it has tended to remove prejudices,—perhaps mutual prejudices,—but, at least, those which, in some degree, existed towards the clergy of the Church, on the part of their poorer Roman parishioners. Myself the weekly distributor of charitable funds to great numbers, chiefly of that persuasion, I cannot fail to see it, and to be gratified with seeing it. I can be content with this for the present. Special and peculiar cases apart, where a duty is plainly pointed out, imposed by superior authority, or arising out of circumstances manifestly directive, I am willing, in faith and humility, to leave the great revolutions of religious history to the disposal of that Providence who keeps their times and seasons in His own hands, content, in the mean time, to observe how, amid all these perplexing mysteries in the history of the Church, ONE principle, at least, shines out in its old immutable brightness; how that great law of love, which our Divine Founder made the main characteristic of His religion, still, in even the most adverse circumstances, exercises its inherent tendency to unite and endear,—how it has but to show itself, and the most repulsive elements of our nature are unable to keep asunder, combined, as it were, in spite of themselves; and thus, even in these imperfect and fragmentary glimpses, testifying to the reality of that great consummation to come, when faith shall no longer be arrayed against love, and the unity of a common belief shall be permitted to conjoin those who would fain, even in these dark and discordant days, be one in the unity of a common charity.

'"For my own part, I will not scruple to say, though, perhaps, it is scarcely wise to enter upon such a topic without more room than I can now demand, to explain and guard my meaning,—it is not without fear and trembling I should at *any* time receive into the Church a convert from any of the forms of Christianity outside it, *whom I had known to be sincerely devoted according to the measure of his light.* The duty of so doing may arise; and, when the duty is plain, it must of course be done; I only say that I should feel very great anxiety in doing it. Men ought never to forget how fearfully heavy is the responsibility of a new convert. You have unsettled all the man's habitual convictions; are you prepared to labour night and day to replace them with others as effective over the heart and life? If not, you have done him an irreparable wrong. Motives to righteousness, low, mixed, uncertain, as it may be, are greatly better than none; and there can be no doubt that he who has lost so many he once possessed, requires constant, earnest, indefatigable exertion on the part of

the teacher who undertakes to supply their place. What care, what skill, what persevering patience does it need to repair the shattered principle of faith in one, whom you have succeeded in convincing, that all the deepest practical convictions of his whole past life are delusion!"'—*Memoir*, pp. xl. xli.

The rest of his life is briefly told. He went from school to Trinity College, Dublin, where he was soon known and distinguished; less, however, in the course of study favoured by the University—in critical scholarship, and mathematics, his distaste or incapacity for which subject kept him out of a Fellowship—than in his prize poems and prize essays, the debates of the College Historical Society, and the pages of the Dublin University Magazine. He had been, from a boy, a rapid though somewhat ambitious and desultory reader; but it was a style of reading, suited to his very strong and comprehensive as well as clear mind, which could range widely and fast without losing its point of view, or entangling itself in detail. He might, it would appear, have gone through the University in which his reputation stood so high, without obtaining any of its regular honours, but for the establishment of an Ethical examination just before the time for his degree; and, on the first occasion of the examination, he took the first place. Still his dislike of mathematics prevented him from getting a Fellowship; and he would have been lost to the University, but for a Chair of Moral Philosophy, which was founded by the exertions of the Provost, Dr. Lloyd, with the express view of keeping him in Dublin. His lectures are described as highly successful and popular; at once eloquent and rich in illustration, and full of strength and keenness of thought. With his Professorship, he united the care of country parishes, in the wilds of the West of Ireland. There he worked with as much energy and good-will as if he had no other occupation to interest him. Mr. Woodward thus speaks:—

'Simultaneously with his appointment to the Professorship of Moral Philosophy, Mr. Butler was presented by the Board of Trinity College to the prebend of Clondehorka, in the diocese of Raphoe, and county of Donegal. He resided constantly upon his benefice, except while his Professorial duties rendered absence necessary. Among a large and humble flock of nearly two thousand members of the Church, he was the most indefatigable of pastors. In the pulpit he accommodated himself with admirable success to their simple comprehension. He imagined that the interest of his rural auditors was more engaged by an unwritten address, and unfortunately he soon ceased to write any sermons. His exquisite skill in music was brought down to the instruction of a village choir. Never was there more fully realized in any one that union of contemplation and action, of which Lord Bacon speaks as the perfection of human nature. His loftiest speculations in mental science, his erudite researches into Grecian and German philosophy, were in a moment cheerfully laid aside at every call of suffering and of sorrow. His parishioners were widely

scattered over an extensive district, along the shore of the Atlantic, interspersed with bogs and mountain. Many of their residences were difficult of access even upon foot; but they were all visited with constant assiduity. Amongst the papers left behind him were found catalogues containing, not merely the names of each individual, but comments, often copious, upon their characters and circumstances, that he might reflect at leisure upon their peculiar wants, and supply consolation, instruction, or reproof, according to their several necessities.

'The obscure and laborious prebend of Clondehorka was held by Mr. Butler, along with his Professorship, until the year 1842, when he was re-elected to the chair of Moral Philosophy, and promoted, by the Board of Trinity College, to the rectory of Raymoghy, in the diocese of Raphoe. His flock was here considerably smaller than in his former benefice, but his labours were scarcely less abundant. In a life thus made up of parochial ministrations and closet study, it is hard to find incidents for narration. These tasks, indeed, furnished to him all he asked,

> '"Room to deny himself, a path
> To bring him daily nearer God."'—*Memoir*, pp. xxiv. xxv.

Nor was his work merely the ordinary one of a country Clergyman. He had to meet, in their full force, the trials of the great Irish famine. His parish suffered very severely; and he had to give up all other employments to the duty of providing, from day to day, for the bare existence of his parishioners. In this anxious and awful task he laboured all through that sad season, yet laboured with cheerful calmness, and with his thoughts still about him.

'The famine of 1846-7, which visited the northern province, in general, with comparative lightness, was felt with appalling intensity in the neighbourhood with which Mr. Butler was connected. The conduct of the Irish clergy during that terrible calamity cannot soon be forgotten. The inestimable value of our parochial system, even in a temporal aspect, in districts which could be reached by no other machinery, was powerfully and practically impressed upon the minds of many not disposed before to regard the Church Establishment with friendly eyes. The exertions of Professor Butler were ceaseless and untiring. Literature, philosophy, and divinity, were all postponed to the labours of relieving officer to his parish. From morning till evening he superintended the distribution of food, often toiling with his own hands in this ministry of love.'—*Memoir*, pp. xxxviii. xxxix.

The theological questions of the day, naturally enough, engaged him deeply. He studied the great issue between England and Rome with much care. In December, 1845, he began a series of letters to the 'Irish Ecclesiastical Journal,' on Mr. Newman's Essay on Development. These letters, remarkable in themselves, are still more remarkable from the circumstances under which part of the series, at least, was written. They were the work, many of them, of a man busy at the same time amid the pressing miseries of the famine. 'They were written 'at intervals,' says the Editor, 'between the close of 1845 and 'the commencement of 1847, and were the work of hurried

'moments, snatched from labours of beneficence to the starving 'crowds who daily flocked around their author's residence. 'The famine, which, during that period, was at its height, had 'visited with fearful intensity the parish and neighbourhood of 'Professor Butler, and he was indefatigable in remedial efforts. 'Such a scene, so beset with harassing interruptions, so far 'from intellectual converse, was, indeed, almost incompatible 'with calm processes of subtle reasoning and erudite investiga-'tion. The composition of such a work, under disadvantages 'so overwhelming, is, in truth, no small evidence of Butler's 'extraordinary power of thought.'

He was one of those men who live and work under the presentiment of an early death. His last six months were employed in preparing materials for a work on Faith. Mr. Woodward thus describes his last days:—

'The last week of his health was passed at the house of his valued friend, Archdeacon Gough. He had gone there preparatory to the ordination of the Lord Bishop of Derry, holden on Trinity Sunday, in the church of Dunboe, on which occasion he was selected to preach. During his visit to the Archdeacon, his unaffected simplicity, his brilliant wit, his deep-toned piety, were the admiration of the entire party. Full of health and spirits, he seemed like one destined to be long an ornament and pillar of the Church. But God's ways are not our ways, nor His thoughts our thoughts. He assisted at the Ordination, and preached the sermon. His text was Matt. xxviii. 18—20. Unfortunately, according to his usual custom, the discourse was unwritten. The following brief notice I have obtained from one of the Clergy who heard it:—

'"He showed how with this, the great Apostolic commission, was combined, in a sort of comprehensive symbol, the Catholic faith, even the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, contained in these words, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' We may not be able to see the link which binds the Apostolic Order of bishops, priests, and deacons, to the conservation of the Apostolic faith. But in a rapid and masterly sketch of those reformed communions which had forfeited the Apostolic Order by abolishing episcopacy, he proved that, as a matter of fact, those bodies had, as *corporate bodies*, failed to bear witness to the Apostolic faith; while the episcopal Churches of Christendom, however otherwise corrupted, had preserved this great truth intact in the worst of times. He then proceeded to show that the doctrine of the Trinity, so far from being merely abstract and speculative, was intensely personal and practical, calculated to form the staple of the teaching of an Apostolic Church. More especially as regarded the Divinity of our Lord, he said it might be proved by internal evidence to any mind which could be brought to feel what sin was, for such a mind could never feel sure of an adequate atonement without an infinite sacrifice. This led him to speak of those divines of the Anglican Church, in whose writings would be found an armoury against all heresies, as well as the most touching lessons of practical holiness. He took a series of these authors; he dismissed each with a few sentences, but not before he had characterised his peculiar excellences, and made the audience feel his distinguishing merits. His description of Taylor, in particular, was *startlingly* beautiful, and *literally took away our breath*. He recommended us to read some works of a practical character

by dissenters. Baxter, Howe, and Edwards were amongst the number mentioned.

'"And now came the promise, without which all knowledge and all zeal were vain. Christ had promised to be with His Apostles and their successors always, whether in the blaze of noon or the dark night, or in that twilight between the two, wherein mostly the course of our probation moves on. Still he was with His ministers, and to that presence they should look when heart-sick with disappointment in their work, or bowed down under the weight of conscious imperfections. They had to preach the cross of Christ,—on the one hand its efficacy to save, on the other, its sharpness and its sternness; its contradictoriness to luxury and ease, and its daily self-denials. This aspect of the cross was what men did not wish to see, and what might not be popular, but a woe was on us if we preached it not."

'The Friday after the ordination Mr. Butler returned to his home, a few miles distant. On the road his death-sickness struck him. He had heated himself by walking before he took his place upon the public car by which he travelled. He became chilled, and on his arrival at home felt indisposed. Fever rapidly set in. He was soon aware of the dangerous nature of his malady, and expressed a wish, if it were God's will, that he might survive one month, until he had completed the work already alluded to on Christian Faith. One ejaculation was constantly upon his tongue, "Christ my righteousness!" The Rev. Mr. Ball, a neighbouring clergyman, who attended him night and day with a brother's tenderness, declares that his very wanderings were full of the most splendid eloquence and exalted devotion. Upon Wednesday, the 5th July, 1848, his spirit was translated to a more congenial atmosphere, even the glorious company of the Church Triumphant in Heaven. He breathed his last without a struggle, so softly that they who watched beside his bed knew not that he was no more on earth. Upon Saturday, the 8th of July, his remains were laid in his own churchyard. The Bishop, the surrounding clergy and gentry, and *several thousands* of the humbler classes, were assembled to pay the last tribute of respect. When the coffin was lowered, a burst of grief was heard from the collected throng, and many a manly heart was dissolved in tears.'—*Memoir*, pp. xlii.—xliv.

Such is all the record that remains of a man whose writings tell a story of much thought, of keen and varied sensibility, of much self-discipline. It suggests, though it does not exhibit, two characters in one. There is on the one hand the man of genius, of accomplishment, of brilliancy, of wit, of frank and engaging manners, gay in society, ready and affluent in conversation, the poet, the orator, with a dash of melancholy that does not sadden, fond of music, fond of children. We may put, too, on this side, the philosophical spirit, the power of giving life to what is abstract, and the disposition to reconcile and reduce to harmony what is confused and jarring; the zest of inquiry, and the enthusiasm of exposition; the faculty of observation which can range and then concentrate; the susceptible and obedient memory; and, we may add, the speculative theological interest, deeply alive to the vastness, the depth, the mystery, the ineffable relations of its subject with what is beyond this world, yet treating it, in its relation to human

reason and knowledge, with the calmness and steadiness which are always a duty, where it is a duty to use reason in perplexity and difficulty. On the other hand, there is the disciple of the cross, the minister of consolation and charity, apparently in loneliness, and, as far as we are concerned, almost in silence and obscurity, using, as actively and rapidly as he can, the years allowed him of a life which he felt was not to be a long one,—perhaps, not unpleased to feel it passing,[1]—the mind which, though alive to the beauty and greatness of the world, forgets it in the vivid ever-present sense of its ruin, and vanity, and impending close—the spirit which has been disenchanted, and sees in those trials and sacrifices which to most are so hard, but the easy and natural lessons of common sense, and which yet can admit, without disturbing it, into the stern prospect it habitually contemplates, the softer fading lights of our earthly life—too large and true to be otherwise than equitable, considerate, and even indulgent, though it has already begun itself to enter into the joy and rest of the world of hope—

> 'The heart at leisure from itself,
> To soothe and sympathise'—

which has found in self-renunciation its true liberty—the faith, which, after thought has done its work, with reverence and wisdom, in adjusting the words of Christian doctrine, rises by the help of them, and yet beyond them, to the invisible, but never forgets its objects in its words; clinging thankfully and loyally to all that it has received and knows, but at the same time realizing to itself that, in the infinite sphere of its contemplations and hopes, what it knows is almost as nothing to what it does not know.

This at least is the impression of their author which these volumes have left on our minds—a character, genuine Irish in its exuberance, and buoyancy, and freedom, its tendency to the ambitious in thought, and the ornate in language; yet blending congenially and naturally with remarkable severity of principle, and precision both of thought and style,—not altered by them, not embarrassed and voluntarily maimed in its own spontaneous action by other elements, salutary checks, it may be, but still checks and abatements of power,—but disclosing them in their due occasion and place, as original and harmonious parts of itself.

The sermons were most of them written without any view to publication. They are taken, says the editor, 'from manu-

[1] Vide Serm. ii. 'To those who partially live in eternity, Christmas is a time of 'solemn rejoicing,'—'and *to many such*, no unpleasing token, in the close of yet 'another year, of the rapid passing away of that period which still separates the 'suffering disciple from his glorified Lord.'

scripts often much abbreviated, and very difficult to decipher.' At the first glance, their general style strikes an English reader as suspiciously ornate, and as aiming at force and pointedness by means which a severe taste would refuse; and the suspicion will probably turn out to be not altogether without justification. But a further acquaintance will, we are sure, throw this fault into the background, and it will weigh as little against the real vigour and reality of thought which it accompanies, as do very opposite characteristics of style, in his namesake of the Analogy.

Mr. Woodward remarks, that 'his style of preaching before a 'cultivated congregation was strongly marked by the character-'istics of the French school;' and, making due allowance for so much that is incommensurable in French and English composition, there is truth in the remark. The great French preachers combine singularly, though often too artificially for our taste, highly wrought declamation with clear and lucid statement; and while their declamation is of a far more stately kind than we are accustomed to in our best models, it is very far from being mere words. It takes hold, broadly and grandly, of the great leading truths of morality and religion, and urges them home, not on the reason or imagination only, but on the conscience, with a power which will not be trifled with. Their sermons fail in naturalness, in ease, in condescension; but they unite the theological spirit, and a large, and often remarkably simple and beautiful use of Scripture, with classical elegance and pomp, and with the polished wisdom of men of the world. Perhaps the following passage, more dramatic and rhetorical than we are accustomed to, yet marked with a startling power and truthfulness, which makes it far more than rhetoric, may convey in part an idea of what is meant. It is part of a very striking sermon, on the 'Wedding Garment,' in which he sees that temper of Christian joyfulness, which is the test of our being gradually more and more prepared to find our happiness in heaven.—

'Such is the test I propose to you, as simple and irresistible; God grant to us all earnestness and sincerity to apply it! But this is the work of the life that now is—of the world of time and of trial. The parable stretches beyond it. We follow the great Revealer; He withdraws the curtain, and the scenery of eternity is before us.

'III. The hour is at last arrived, the burden of so many prophecies,—the hour to which all other hours are but preparatory,—the hour of the everlasting union and the everlasting separation. "The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready." "Blessed are they 'ich are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb;" yea, blessed are :y which are "called," for of the called are the "chosen."

And now the courts of heaven are peopled with the crowding guests of d, the multitude of those, to whom mercy and acceptance has been prof-

fered, and who hence, in whatever spirit, professed to obey the call. Manifold, no doubt, and complicated, are the feelings in all that myriad host of candidates for glory. But Scripture ever takes large and general distinctions. They have, or they have not, the temper of heaven, the heart trained to the love, and fitted for the eternal service, of God. They have, or they have not (for the single guest of the parable is, of course, but the representative of a multitude like him) the spirit of a holy sympathy with the ways and works of God, the rejoicing anticipation that exults in the new scene of duty before it; for the happiness of heaven is the happiness of everlastingly serving God, and is intelligible only to those who love that service. They possess, or not, the hope, the joy, suitable to this mighty spousal of earth and heaven, in short, the "wedding garment" of the soul!

'Of this indispensable requisite, the need (which is, as we shall see, altogether unfelt by the wretched defaulter himself) is at once visible to the penetrating glance of God. "When the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding garment." "A man,"—he is represented as single, to impress more perfectly the accurate scrutiny of the divine eye, detecting the individual amid the multitude; and also in order that each of us may more distinctly appropriate to himself the individual lesson. The eternal Judge, now about to purify his long-defiled Church, beholds the culprit, who dares to claim glory while unattired for glory. The awful eye, rapidly traversing the ranks of the blessed, pauses darkly upon him. You remember the memorable moment when "the Lord looked upon Peter," and the Lord looks upon the guilty now again. But, oh, difference dread and unspeakable! It is the same God that gazes, yet that look was of grace, this of judgment,—that to melt, this to scorch and to consume. Uneasy, fearful misgivings glide into the heart of the wretched man; for the first time conscience is aroused, and her late awaking is terrible; for the first time he feels the hopeless distance of his own state from the purity of a world of holiness. Dim recollections return, of warnings despised in that long-vanished earthly life, now so dream-like and so distant. Words that once seemed meaningless, the cant of superstition or weakness, come back upon him fraught with terrible truth. Even before the Judge has spoken he feels his ruin sealed. And yet the words are calm and untroubled: "*Friend*, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?" "Follower of mine! how is it thou hast thought to bring the defilements of the world, the 'garment spotted with the flesh' into this home of holiness? A servant of mine,—where is the livery of thy service? A soldier of mine,—where is the uniform of the mystical warfare? Baptismally consecrated to be a priest of spiritual sacrifices, where is the vestment of thy priesthood? Called to be a king,—a sharer of the very throne of Christ,—where are thy royal robes?" "And he was speechless."

'"Speechless!" It is the terrible silence of conviction. Hardly the most thoughtless have ever read this Parable, and failed to be struck with the force and significancy of this part of the representation. Of all that multitude of excuses, that now pass current to justify the world's forgetfulness of its Maker, not one rises to his lips. Perhaps they have wholly vanished from his thoughts, in the unimaginable terror of that hour. Or he may remember them, but feels them too glaringly worthless to hazard now. He dares not address to the visible God those easy apologies for worldliness, on which he was willing of old to venture his salvation. He dares not avow to God in person those excuses for sin, which are themselves a worse sin than that which they are brought to justify; for the sin may be of sudden passion, but the excuse is of deliberate corruption. He dares not say—*dare we* now to say—we who shall yet stand beneath the same awful eye that froze his speech within him,—that, forsooth, the

engagements of society, the necessities, however artificial, yet the necessities of station, the urgency of business, the more attractive urgencies of pleasure,—that these things detained him from the life to God. From one of our own hired servants should we tolerate such excuses as these for a neglected task? And is the Master of us all to endure them? "Business?" What business can compete with the security of an immortal inheritance? "Station?" What claims of social position can rival the claims of that eternal King, who summons us to be the honoured officials of His celestial administration? "Pleasure?"—but this is too futile. Alas! it is our deepest guilt that we find no pleasure in the true "ways of pleasantness," and look forward to none from Him at whose "right hand are pleasures for evermore."

'But "he was speechless." He saw at last into the awful reality of things. Religion—the phantom of this world—substantiated in all its terrific truth, and the solid-seeming world the phantom in its stead. The ghastly reality so long evaded would be put by no longer, Conscience was to sleep no more. The vastness of the loss, the hopelessness of the doom, the infatuation of the delusion, all burst upon him. His heart withered within, and "he was speechless." But through all the horrible silence of the time, while all heaven was mute to hear, his ear could catch the awful voice that spoke, never to be again heard, but to leave its dread echo, for all eternity, within the heart: "Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."'—*Sermons*, pp. 239—243.

But with this power of amplification, is also combined another and a different power—that force of historic imagination, which can seize what is thrilling or awful in what may be most familiar, and can make it felt, in words equally familiar. We will quote from the same sermon:—

'These verses [about the wedding garment], though taken from a different Evangelist, form the second part,—the closing scene and consummation of the impressive parable of the festival and guests, which you heard read as the Gospel of this day. They have always seemed to me to derive a peculiar awfulness from the connexion in which they occur. I do not merely mean that that connexion puts the tremendous import of these verses beyond doubt, that is too obvious to require much confirmation; but that the connexion with the earlier part of the parable gives the prediction now before us—the prediction of eternal judgment—all the terrible simplicity of a plain matter of historical fact. For this parable—the series of events symbolized in the parable—stretches across all time, from the first call of the Jews to the final judgment of mankind. Part is past, part is to come; we are in the midst. The part that is past,—the repeated invitations, the perverse refusals, the fearful punishment of the Jewish people, is certain, for it is fulfilled; certain, not in the expectation of faith, but in the ordinary belief of historical record; certain, exactly as we are certain of any unquestionable event of times gone by, of the leading circumstances of any national history whatever,—of the fall of the Roman empire, or the reign of Charlemagne, or the Norman Conquest, or the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Nothing is of such felt reality as what we know to be past. It has made sure of existence. No power can ever make that to be in itself doubtful, or barely possible, which has already occurred. Not Omnipotence itself could now make that not have been which has been.

part of the parable—that which we are about to be engaged on—is yet me; and what I desire to impress is this, that the felt reality which gs to the one communicates itself, with a most awful power, to the

other; that it makes the future event as much a matter of downright historical certainty as the past event. They are both equally included in the one simple sketch, and when that sketch was drawn both were alike future. The great event of the divine vengeance on the Jews, in the seventh verse, was just as much a thing to come, as the universal judgment in the verses before us, at the time the Lord spoke the parable that proclaims both. *Both* were then to come; both were predicted in the self-same prophecy; *one* has notoriously taken place; who can doubt that the other is certain? He who was so fearfully right when He predicted the one, was surely not mistaken in predicting the other. The one was the judgment of the Church Jewish, the other the strictly analogous judgment of the Church universal. Events have made the one a fact, and we look back upon it as such; events as surely will make the other a fact too, and the time will as surely come, when, from a point in the eternal ages yet to be, men will look back upon what we now call the Last Day, and see in it, too, the *first* day of a further and mightier dispensation, the dawn of a new celestial development of the one everlasting kingdom of God.

'This awful certainty of the judgment prophecy, arising out of its being but *one of a chain of predicted events, of which some are now undoubtedly certain, because already past*, seems to me so very important, as a matter of practical impression, that I may be pardoned attempting a further illustration of it.'—*Sermons*, pp. 223—225.

And now let us compare with these passages, specimens of bold and vigorous oratory, the calm and exact and measured way in which he deals with an idea of practical duty. The swell and pomp and ambitiousness of language subsides, and subsides without an effort—not into a forced epigrammatic simplicity, which may reveal the artificer and master of phrase, just as much as its flow and magnificence, but into the easy unconscious plainness, which suits itself spontaneously to the serious statement of a principle of human life. We quote the following, as an example of our meaning, and as containing also one of the leading moral ideas which pervade the writer's teaching. It is from a Sermon on the 'Daily self-denial of Christ.'

'*If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.*'—(Matt. xvi. 24.) "This," brethren, "is an hard saying; who can hear it?" . . . . . .

'In truth it *is* an "hard saying," but in a different sense from that mysterious saying to which Christ's hearers first applied the expression. The discourse at Capernaum was "hard" to the natural reason; *this* is hard to the natural temper and disposition. But so far from opposing the calm verdict of unprejudiced *reason*, it will, I believe, the more we reflect, be found the more perfectly to correspond to everything we can collect from the notices of reason, and the information of experience. The doctrine, I say, that man must ordinarily be made perfect through suffering; that affliction, in a greater or less measure of it, is—particular instances of exception apart—the great earthly instrument in the hand of God for bringing the spirits of men into subjection to the Father of spirits; that a course of uninterrupted prosperity is, in its very nature, adverse to the inward principle of religion, and, therefore, requires to be tempered by extraordinary prudence and secret self-denial; this I conceive to be not only

the universal voice of Scripture, but clearly demonstrable to every one who will patiently attend to the lessons of common experience, and the workings of his own heart within him.

'When, however, we speak thus of affliction, and suffering, and self-denial, as requisite to the formation of the Christian character, it is right, in order to prevent doubts and misconstructions, to say that the terms are employed in a wide sense. I do not mean to assert, that direct persecution is essential to holiness; that saints can be bred only in sight of the dungeon and the stake; or even that overwhelming earthly reverses are necessary to form the man of God. The thing required is *self-denial*, and it may be exercised in many—in all spheres of life. The thing required is not momentary, or the result of any thing momentary; it is a constant and habitual temper, and hence, in St. Luke's record of this discourse, the taking of the cross is declared to be "daily." The cross is a large and comprehensive word, but with whatever variety applied to individuals, it cannot lose its essential nature; it still carries the nails that pierce the body, and the shame that penetrates the soul. Wherever it rises upon the page of Scripture, it cannot but bring with it the shadow of pain and trouble; wherever it is planted, whatever be the celestial consolations, surely the daily world can no longer be the pleasant land it was of old. Wherever it is erected, surely as at first there will be "darkness over all the *earth*," even though that darkness may make the stars of heaven shine more brightly. The thing imported in this daily cross is *self-denial*, and with self-denial the uneasy murmurs of the self that is denied, with self-denial more or less of pain; of pain that has many alleviations, trouble that may gradually decrease as patience grows to the consummation of her "perfect work," and the stamp of God is deeper impressed upon the soul, but that in few cases can ever be expected wholly to cease, and that no earnest pilgrim of Zion should ever wish to wholly cease. Think of all the fettered but impatient vices, the tolerated imperfections, the residues of old follies, the rash impulses of even the better nature, the self-deceits, the masked and plausible weaknesses—benevolence becoming lethargic under the name of retirement, or ambitious under the title of zeal—the self-excusings, the concealed reluctancies, that beset even the holiest among us; and you will incline to pronounce that, where life is but too short for discipline, we ought not to covet too much repose before the grave. Circumstantially the cross may vary, but its purpose is the same in all; and that purpose our Lord has here, with great precision, assigned. When the Apostles had to exhort and console, they spoke of direct and pressing *persecution* as the characteristic of the cross which they had themselves to sustain, and to induce others to sustain. Christ, with (as became Him) a master grasp of all the coming ages of the Church, went back upon the universal principle, and spoke of *self-denial*—self-denial that applies with equal force to every age, rank, and position of human life.

'Thus, to take the ordinary state of Christians—which always must be the most important practical one—the law of life here intended will be chiefly evidenced in such characteristics as these (always reserving a *readiness* for any of the more searching trials of Christian firmness, which few can expect to be very long without, in some form, experiencing); a subdued, strict, and patient temper, the produce, or the progressive growth of the "overcoming" power of faith, realizing the invisible, and filled with the awe of a present God; a constant and zealous watchfulness over the peculiar occasions of temptation belonging to one's station; an avoidance

all exaggerated excitements, as being, however seductive, wholly un-
d to the healthy state of the Christian mind, which is eminently
ver:" in short, that tenderness of conscience and habitual humbleness
irit, which seems so touchingly expressed by the Hebrew idiom of

"walking softly." It is thus, perhaps, that one would describe the spirit of Gospel self-denial in the average condition of human life. In prosperity and adversity, new characters of the same spirit emerge.'—*Sermons*, pp. 31—34.

Or take the following remarks on the language of Scripture, as adapted to various classes, and as fitted to keep alive the attitude of expectation. It is from a Sermon, on the 'Practical Uses of the Uncertainty of Christ's Coming;' a beautiful expansion of Tertullian's thought—'*Ut pendula expectatione solli-citudo fidei probetur, semper diem observans, dum semper ignorat, quotidie timens, quod quotidie sperat:*'—

'It would be the perfection of a revelation designed to operate on the heart, to employ forms of phraseology which should, at the same time, justify themselves to the reflective inquirer, and yet, to the mass of mankind (for whose use it must ever be mainly meant), tend to suggest thoughts and feelings, such as a more literal statement must in many cases altogether fail to generate. This, which is one of the chief excellences of the whole Bible language (though a common ground of the short-sighted cavils of infidelity), is remarkably exemplified in the case before us. These forms of phrase, which startle us as with the very presence of Christ, seem specially and exquisitely adapted to keep alive expectation, by bringing emphatically before us the perpetual *possibility* of an immediate manifestation: and thus, indirectly, second all those express exhortations which make the hope and desire of the coming of Christ a leading motive and impulse in the whole life of the Christian disciple.

'In this matter it is His gracious will to be the perpetual subject of watchfulness, expectation, conjecture, fear, desire—but no more. To cherish anticipation, He has permitted gleams of light to cross the darkness; to baffle presumption, He has made them *only* gleams. He has harmonized, with consummate skill, every part of His revelation to produce this general result; now speaking as if a few seasons more were to herald the new heaven and the new earth, now as if His days were thousands of years; at one moment whispering into the ear of His disciple, at another retreating into the depth of infinite ages. It is His purpose thus to live in our faith and hope, remote yet near, pledged to no moment, possible at any; worshipped not with the consternation of a near, or the indifference of a distant certainty, but with the anxious vigilance that awaits a contingency ever at hand. This, the deep devotion of watchfulness, humility, and awe, He who knows us best knows to be the fittest posture for our spirits; therefore does He preserve the salutary suspense that insures it, and therefore will He determine His advent to no definite day in the calendar of eternity.'—*Sermons*, pp. 10—14.

We have said that, in this combination of rhetorical ornament with precision and plainness, Mr. Butler resembled some of the great French preachers. But the contrast, in his case, is the more striking, from the character of his eloquence. In the loftiest flights of French oratory, at least in the days of Bossuet, even where sentiment is allowed free play, there is always great severity of taste; it is grand, but not rich; proudly limited in its choice of ornament to that which use has sanctioned. And thus it descends to exposition, or rises from it, with far less difference in the mere form of style, than a free and

exuberant eloquence, which lays less restraint on its natural expression, which trusts itself into homeliness and detail, and gives itself great liberty in illustration and imagery. And such, at times, even to excess, is Mr. Butler's. It has the charm of freshness; there is no appearance of labour; but it would often be improved by being chastened. His ready faculty of association led, and sometimes tempted, him to range widely, and make free use of a varied store of recollections and knowledge. His writings show frequent traces of a tendency, which is now becoming widely observable, to turn to account, in ordinary writing, the technical language of the physical and even the mathematical sciences—a language which in some of them, especially chemistry, is often most invitingly felicitous in the precision of its illustrations, though the use of it may easily be overdone. And more than his memory and his imagination—his sympathy, his power and willingness to keep before his own mind and heart the characters, the dangers, and the sorrows of others—his efforts to contemplate sin and pain, not merely in the gross, but by their real tokens in the souls which they bow down—to keep in view not merely ideas but persons, all this gives a reality and life to his warmth of expression, which compensate for what it may want in dignity. We might refer, among other exemplifications of this power of sympathy, to two Sermons, in which he brings out with touching force the condition and peculiar privations, respectively, of the deaf and dumb, and of the blind.

But if it is an eloquence less confined or less fastidious in its resources than that of the great models whose names he has suggested, Mr. Butler's is equally the eloquence of thought and earnestness. His Sermons are those of a preacher 'whose inmost spirit,' to use his own words, 'has been busy with the New Testament.' They show that familiarity, at once, with the words and spirit of the Bible, which is more distinctive of ancient than of modern preaching; a familiarity which has not lost its sensibility to the meaning, by long practice with the texts, of Scripture; which shows itself not more in the way of stated inference and comparison, than in the almost unconscious way in which Scripture expressions and images blend in a new yet perfectly natural association with the course of the writer's thoughts. And his thoughts are those of one who, merely as a moralist, has meditated very seriously and unshrinkingly on the objects and the real condition of human life. He is very far from a gloomy writer; cheerfulness and brightness of spirit seem naturally no hard attainments with him; and it is a leading principle, in his view of a religious life, that the temper of Christian joy, which is to be fulfilled hereafter, must be gained in no unreal beginnings here. 'The wedding

garment must be woven and fashioned on earth, and taken thence to Heaven;' and it is the great test of the progress of our preparation; 'for a man may persuade himself of much 'that is imaginary, but he can hardly believe that he derives '*joy* from a field of thought which never yields it.' But when he comes on subjects which elicit sterner thoughts, he shows that he has not been afraid to get to the bottom of those symptoms and facts in our state, which are more indisputably real, than agreeable and consoling to dwell on. He states them with great force of language, as in his Sermon on 'Self-Delusion as to our State before God,' but in language which derives its force from its truth; it is impossible to take refuge, from the awful questions which he suggests, in the mere energy and vividness of his style.

In their theological character the Sermons, generally, seem to be marked by two distinct characteristics. In the first place, they show a mind thoroughly familiar, and in sympathy, with the theological learning of the Church, and moulded by it. They are the work of one imbued with ancient ideas, and accustomed to consult and weigh the decisions of the 'thoughtful guides of the Church of old.' But, in the second place, these ideas are reproduced in him, as they were from time to time by them, in the forms of his own mind and age. You detect the theologian, but he does not obtrude himself. It is by congeniality of thought, rather than by similarity of language, that he shows himself the disciple of the Catholic schools of doctrine.

He writes like a modern,—as the Fathers, and even the schoolmen did in their day. Relying on the living safeguard of truth, realized and ever present to their thoughts, they gave themselves free course, and were not careful to confine themselves to the methods of exposition and forms of expression by which their predecessors had caught and reflected the same truths. They wrote, indeed, with ancient language before their eyes, and with careful regard to sanctioned or time-honoured forms. But not even the schoolmen copied the Fathers, or restricted themselves to existing language. And as an imitated and conventional phraseology, modelled on some one school, was not necessary for orthodox belief then, there can be no reason why it should be so now, unless, indeed, the living faith is lost already, and can no longer be relied on, as it mainly was in those perilous scholastic days, to guide and protect living thought.

We can but refer to the book itself, for a proof and exemplification of our statement. It will be found in the way in which the great truths of the Creed are set forth; devotionally, yet

with thoughtful accuracy, in their fulness and their proportion, with reverence at once and with vividness, as by one to whom they are not mere ideas to the intellect, but objects of belief as real as they are infinite and incomprehensible. It will be found in the way in which the great truth, which is the light and life of theology, the doctrine of the Incarnation, penetrates and illuminates every part of his teaching, practical and moral, as well as dogmatic. It will be found in his incidental theological statements, in that freedom which can give in its own words the received traditions, or the most authoritative decisions of the Schools of the Church; words well weighed and exact, and implying careful attention to what has been said of old, even though not a literal repetition of it. It will be found in his tacit but continued reference to the belief and sentiment of the Church as the channel of truth, and organ of teaching, and regulator of opinion—as real in him, and as unostentatious, as it is in the Fathers. It will be found in his view of Scripture, of its depth, its many-sided aspect, its divinely appointed and perpetual correspondence with the independent order of the world, its unspeakable sanctity and awfulness. It would not be easy to find in later writers anything representing so closely those views of Scripture which led the Fathers to the system of mystical interpretation, though externally so unlike in argument and expression, as two sermons in this volume; one, 'The Canaanite Mother, a Type of the Gentile Church;' the other, 'Christ Sought and Found in the Old Testament Scriptures.' They remind us in some degree of what we possess, indeed, now, but in fragments and glimpses—of the way in which the history and figures of the old dispensation, and their relations to the new, are drawn out and compared by the clear spirit and thoughtful faith of Pascal.

If we were to single out from his sermons any which specially show him as the theologian, which show his grasp of doctrine and its connexions, which may show, further, to those who doubt it, that the form of Christian doctrine, as it was believed in of old, is not exhausted and worn out, that ancient faith is not inconsistent with largeness, and openness, and balance of mind, is capable still of blending with refinement of thought, and truthful depth of feeling, and even in its mystery has a practical bearing, we should point to three sermons, on the text, '*It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you.*' The spirit and character of them, though of course not their argument and power, may be judged of from the concluding passage:—

'All these things, exhibiting, in various aspects, the cardinal truth of the text, "The Comforter comes not unless I depart," are, doubtless, linked

by an invisible bond, and resolve into some common idea which rests upon the very essence of the spiritual itself. They are all developments, in different forms, some nearer, some more remote, of that primary principle in the nature of things, which makes man capable of exaltation, through the exaltation of his nature in a divine representative. We cannot follow every step that conducts them to their last original, but we can see in them all the traces of a common descent; we catch them as fragmentary glimpses of one vast and harmonious system, whose remote connexions and dependencies retreat from the eye into fathomless, impenetrable mystery.

'But, if "secret things belong unto the Lord our God," "those things which are revealed belong to us and to our children for ever." The great facts, with which I have engaged you, are equally true, however we explain their mutual bearing; we rejoice to know that the precious inheritance of faith is independent of the success of human speculation. It is certain that we live under a government all-seeing but unseen; that Christ is still among us in Himself and by His Spirit; that He disappeared from the eye, as the condition of descending with a new power into the heart. These things are the blessed objects of our faith and hope, whether we can see or not see their reciprocal correspondencies. It is certain that we possess our Lord, by a presence more real and more intimate than *he* enjoyed, who "lay in the bosom of Jesus." "Christ in us, the hope of glory," abides with power and vitality, such as His bodily presence never diffused. "He hath ascended up far above all heavens," but it is "that He might *fill all things*." In designating His Church the "kingdom of heaven," and "of God," does He not Himself blend in one wondrous transit, His passage into the highest heavens, and into this lower province of the same heavenly empire? That that mysterious translation was gradual is certain, from many expressions relating to it; for aught we can tell, it was accomplished not till the very day and hour of the Pentecostal visitation; so that at the same instant the glory of His presence might be filling the holy of holies, and spreading into this outward earthly sanctuary of the universal temple. It is because of this double immanence, that His very offices in heaven, intercessory and commemorative, are discharged by His Spirit in the Church, heaven's earthly province. Does He intercede with the Father on the throne of His glory? Even so is He present and busy with the two or three gathered in His name for prayer; even so does His Spirit intercede with unspoken groanings in the inmost heart of a suffering disciple. Does he make mention of His sacrifice, pleading on behalf of the guilty the obedience unto death? Even so the Spirit-guided Church, in the most solemn rite of all her services,—even so the Spirit-guided heart, in those hourly appeals that "make mention of His righteousness only." He is gone, but whither? Into the spiritual world? Into the spirits of His elect, then, for these are an integral portion of that world. He has abandoned a visible, to assume an invisible throne. "It is expedient that He go away," for thus He is more blessedly, more divinely our's. The presence to sense has passed into the presence in spirit; but the presence *itself* has never ceased, it has but deepened and closed around us. Reason (we have seen) denies not the possibility, revelation pronounces the certainty, of this mystical abiding,—the source of all spiritual blessings, the fundamental idea (as I believe) of all true Christian theology. Let it be our prayer, that the sense of such a gift may move us to watchfulness, purity, and godly fear; that we may feel ourselves holy things set apart for the uses of heaven, vessels of grace in the temple of our God. Since that temple was built on earth every sin became sacrilege. Who shall dare pollute the body that Christ has honoured by His adoption? Who

shall dare stain the soul that Christ glorifies with His presence? We Christians live in a new world, breathe a new air; other suns are those by which we see, other voices are those we hear. We dwell in Christ and Christ in us; this is *our* world, we ask none else; this is the substance of our hope here, as it is to be the substance of our heaven hereafter. Heed then, my beloved brethren, earnestly heed, your high calling in Christ Jesus; glory in it, for angels cannot match it! Guard it, for it is the envy of demons! Live in it, for it is the source and principle of your immortality! Remember, with trembling joy remember, that Christ, in all the power and majesty of the Godhead, "is in you, if ye be not reprobates;"—"for ye are the temple of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people!" '—*Sermons*, pp. 403—406.

But Mr. Butler is a Churchman, on principles which though not new in the English Church, and familiar as they were some years ago, as lying at the basis of English theology, are now very widely not so much impugned, as assumed to have been given up as untenable.[1]

In the view taken by such a mind as his, of theology, two leading principles appear, confronting and limiting one another. On one side stand the fixedness and authority of certain revealed doctrines, once for all delivered; on the other, the ignorance of man, in all that concerns the other world, and his liability to error even in what concerns this. One of these principles is necessary to make theology, as based on revealed doctrine, possible; the other precludes the expectation of an equal degree of authority and certainty running throughout its system; introduces the idea of degree, both in the importance and the evidence of its dogmas, and is opposed to that notion of a uniformity of conclusiveness, which with many seems essential to its possessing any weight or force, or to its being a guide and support in the religious life.

We do not, of course, mean to say that these principles are not formally recognised by every theology in Christendom, Roman as well as English, Greek or Genevan. They are, of course, the two data on which Rome asks us to acquiesce in her great assumption, an infallible judge to adjust and reconcile them. They would be gainsaid by none, even of those who, whether dogmatist or latitudinarian, would turn them each against its counterpart, and use one principle to the practical annihilation of the other. But it is a distinct and characteristic feature of a theological position—noticed as a fact by its opponent, to be charged with want of logic and substance, an intellectual absurdity and practical dream—quite as much as avowed

[1] See the Preface to Mr. Marriott's Sermons on the Principles of Faith and the Authority.

by its supporters, when both are really and practically held together, and made not to neutralize, but to limit one another.

We have, on the one hand, historical evidence that, concomitantly with the appearance of the Christian Church in the world, certain doctrines appear also as its characteristic teaching. If they cannot be historically traced up to the first years of the Church, neither can we trace the internal history of the Church itself, except in a broad and general way, up to those early years; but they can be historically traced to those who had the same idea as ourselves of historical evidence, and with whom it was a very leading and influential one in directing their belief. The faith of the earlier centuries of the Church always appears as a transmitted and inherited one, and capable of verification by appeal to times gone before, as well as to the documents still remaining of the original inspired teaching. Primary and prominent in this faith, come doctrines concerning the great objects of worship, their relation to one another and to man; along with these, doctrines concerning the changes which the Incarnation had made in man's condition and destiny, in his knowledge of it, in the social order of the world; and on the means by which Christians may hold intercourse with that unseen world, which had been once, for a short space, disclosed, and then withdrawn, as before, behind the veil. These doctrines, the doctrines of the Nicene Creed, the doctrine of a Church founded by Christ and His Apostles, of sin and its remedies, of Sacraments, the channels of supernatural grace, present themselves broadly and palpably, as no other set of doctrines do, on the face of Christian teaching as high as we can trace it. Do not, in the interest of other doctrines, call them vaguely and weakly supported. By that line of argument you may overturn all revealed religion, but you will not do away with the fact, that be their evidence weak or strong, they have such evidence as nothing else in theology has: and that, however you may widen or narrow their definition, they had in those days a meaning as positive and substantial as the belief in Providence, or in the existence of the soul. Historical evidence is, doubtless, a painfully sensitive subject. What appears to produce a striking effect at a distance—seems, when viewed near, to shrink into unmeaning insignificance, like the artifices of painters. Clever handling may make strange work with historical evidence, and has done so often. Still, after much dexterous manipulation—after doubts and criticisms, abatements, exposures, surrenders—history, on the whole, reverts to its broad immemorial features, and its old language. If the Church had any doctrine at all from the first, and if it had any subordination in the importance it attached to various parts of its doctrine, the

world will be slow to change its mind that any nearer approximation to the truth can be come to, than that theology which is vaguely, yet not without meaning, spoken of as the Patristic.

It is probably allowed by most, that, compared with modern Roman theology, and with what, we may say in passing, is as different in its illimitable daring, both of question and statement, from the cautious text books of Roman theology, as it is from English—the Scholastic theology,—the theology of the Fathers is a distinct era and phase of Christian doctrine. Set at the highest the difficulty of precisely ascertaining and expressing its distinctive features, its proportions, its method of reasoning and proof; say that it is vague—indefinable—still it may be real. Some of the most real things in the world are, in one sense, the most vague, the most refractory to the skill of the describer and definer. The test of reality in anything is not merely whether, at any moment, the secret can be extracted of its intellectual idea, or theoretic principle, but whether it makes an impression. If those who have studied the Fathers have brought away the clear and strong conviction that their writings are distinguished by a style and substance of doctrine which is their own—and the general voice of literature assuredly bears witness that they have—we may, doubtless, employ ourselves in examining, more precisely and carefully, its character and internal differences; but it is the mere exasperation of controversy, or the refinement of a philosophy wise only for itself, to treat the fact of such distinct doctrine as a groundless imagination.

And to this era of Christian theology, both in its substance and its method of proof, the English Church specially appeals. Whether skilfully or consistently, as a matter of fact she did so avowedly even at the Reformation; and her leading Divines have done so ever since. Nor can it be said that such an appeal is a shift without ground or seriousness. In principle, it is no other than the professed basis of Roman theology; in fact, it has resulted in a distinctive theological literature, which is as much matter of history as the Roman theology itself.

On the one hand then, the Church witnesses, from the earliest time that we can hear her voice, to certain great doctrines, taught and delivered from above. They vary in the exactness of their verbal limitations and definitions, but not in the positiveness with which the idea and object of them is braced. The reality of sacramental grace is as much and as leniably a first principle in the early theology, as the Incarion; but we do not find the two doctrines logically drawn and expressed with an equal degree of precision. And so

in other cases; the formulæ of doctrines vary in definiteness, even where the doctrines themselves, to an equal degree, pervade, animate, illuminate, the mass of ecclesiastical teaching. But though we thus know what is indeed much for us to know, of our God, our condition, and our destiny, far more is *not* told us—and of this, something we may guess at, something we may speculate about in vain, but most is beyond our faintest conception. And as time goes on, and new events happen, questions must rise in connexion with what is told us, which our original knowledge can but in very various degrees enable us to settle. Some it may solve, throw light on others, leave us without a clue for the rest. We have light in our dwellings; but darkness infinite and impassable is all around us still. Theology begins in certainty, in fixed and settled matters of Divine revelation, passes on through inference, exposition, and adjustment, where she still claims to speak with authority, to the probable and the conjectural, and comes at last to questions where even her divine voice must be mute, or where she must acknowledge the claims of contending truths, and confess her inability to find the secret link which unites them.

Such, at least, is the view of theology which we find in Mr. Butler's writings—a view which realizes both our knowledge and our ignorance, without attempting to disguise the varying nature of the interval which separates them; which gives due and real weight, but not the same weight, to all authentic decisions and forms of doctrine, even of the schools, which have obtained reception and currency in the Church, but which gives weight also to principles and truths, for which theological theory has perhaps as yet not found a place—a view which, when the question is, between admitting two conflicting and opposite realities, and by so doing spoiling and maiming a theory, never shrinks from sacrificing the theory.

His view is brought face to face with its opposite, in his Letters on Development—the view that though the Church can pronounce with authority on many questions, she has not the materials so to pronounce on all, nor with the same definiteness on all even of those within her province; and the view, which looking upon this as unpractical and weak, as introducing a degree of doubtfulness into theology which makes it useless for the safe guidance of believers, and unworthy of Him who promised to His Church 'all truth,' can be satisfied with nothing short of an authority, perpetual, all-embracing, supreme:—the view, on the one hand, which faces the conviction, that on many even deeply important subjects it is no use to wish to know, because we *cannot* know—*cannot*, except on a supposition which we *choose* to make; and the view which looks upon such an acquiescence

in uncertainty, as absolutely incompatible with faith,—with a belief that God has told us *any thing* certainly, and has promised to be to the end of time the Guide and Teacher of His children,—with any real submission to His prophet and messenger. The following remarks will illustrate his own view:—

'Restraint within appointed limits, then, not unchecked development of the kind here contemplated, is the true characteristic both of the Church's *wisdom* and of her *humility*; not the accumulation of new doctrines, but the deep and earnest practical realization of the all-sufficing doctrine she already and from the beginning possesses. She believes that the *more* "living" and influential that doctrine, the more will it transform others to its likeness, the less will it yield itself to their's. The Truth of God stoops to men from on high: though it be among them, it is among them as a superior; it is but to confound earth and heaven to compare its intended course to the wavering miscellaneous fortunes of a political principle or a political party. The true Catholic reveres too deeply the mysteries of divine truth to take them from their own appropriate region, and, casting them into the heated alembic of human feeling, to try how, by this subtle theological chemistry, he may be able to distil the pure essence into new forms of belief and worship. The man violates the first principle of ecclesiastical wisdom and duty, who would thus counsel the Church of Christ to idolize itself as the source and centre of truth; to take its own half-disciplined tendencies for principles of divine knowledge; and, insincerely using the oracles of God as the convenient occasion of new doctrines, not as the warrant of the old, to advance rashly into the very heart of God's own secrets, and whatever its feeble eye could catch, or seem to catch, amid those awful depths, to stamp as portions of eternal truth, authentic revelations, supplementary scriptures. These are not the enterprises for which the Catholic Church was chartered: "Teach them," was His word, "whatsoever I *have* commanded you;" it was never,—"Modify the simplicity of truth to suit accidental circumstances as they rise; or expand hints *designedly* faint; or make all clear where God would have mystery, or recommend doctrines to gross minds, by adopting and consecrating their grossnesses; and thus, out of these few primary elements, develop according to your wisdom a system that may awe, attract, and govern mankind." No provision whatever is made in the original documents of the religion, for such subsequent incorporations; the warnings are careful and reiterated against it. With what scrupulous caution did the model of teachers himself, and on an inspired page, distinguish between what he spake of command from God, and what he offered as a private suggestion! How earnestly did "the wise master-builder," who had "laid the foundation," bid "every man take heed how he should build thereupon;" adding the solemn warning, that "the wisdom of this world was foolishness with God," as if to urge men to distrust the most plausible suggestion, when not marked with the signet of God's declared approbation. Mysteries abound in God's dispensations, both of Nature and of Grace. "Sin after Baptism," on which the present author enlarges, as if it was a problem on which the Gospel can throw no light, without help from the Council of Florence, is surely, at worst, no greater mystery than numberless others that we must contentedly endure; all are ...ually trials of faith, humility, patience; and many might, for aught we tell, require for their satisfactory disclosure, a degree and kind of ...wledge impossible to our present faculties, or a change of faculties un...ed to our present state.'—*Letters*, pp. 94—96.

And we may subjoin, as a contrast, his picture of what the opposite view practically results in :—

'However the theory may be modified by the subsequent additional supposition of infallible guidance, it is quite evident that, considered in itself, its internal spirit and scope (especially as illustrated by its alleged Romish instances) are nothing short of this, that *everything* which *certain* good men in the Church, or men assumed to be such, can, by reasoning or feeling, collect from a revealed truth, is, by the mere fact of its recognition, admissible and authoritative. Now, against this (and I repeat that nothing short of this can cover the instances in question), I venture to affirm the broad principle,—that the very perfection of the Church's discharge of her office of instruction and exposition lies not in unlimited "development," but in cautious *moderation;* in being not "wise beyond;" that the great problem in theological deductions and applications consists in exactly the very thing this speculation overlooks, the *admitting a certain tone of thought, and guarding against its extravagancies.* What this theorist would call timidity and incompleteness is just the perfection *of* practical wisdom. Rare and inestimable as is this gift, it is of all high qualities the easiest to ridicule and depreciate. The Socinian regards the Anglican Catholic as a superstitious bigot; the Romanist regards him as a frigid rationalizer, whose religion is one universal negative. The Puritan enters an English Cathedral (that almost miraculously felicitous realization of the precise degree in which religion may rightly invoke the aid of sense and imagination!) to smile or scowl on the "ill-said mass!" the Italian churchman, to deplore the lingering infidelity that will not go farther, and dissolve in tears before the Madonna's pictured purity. In this, as in so many other respects, English theology recalls the theology of Antiquity. The object of all the first controversies and councils was to fix that middle truth of which rival heresies were the opposite distortions; in Mr. Newman's forcible and happy figure, "The series of ecclesiastical divisions alternate between the one and the other side of the theological dogma especially in question, as if *fashioning it into shape by opposite strokes.*" It is not, then, to such an antiquity of careful conscientious limitation that we must look for the model of unchecked and unqualified "development."

'This consideration becomes the more momentous, when we remember how it may have been—in some respects, certainly *was*—the intention of the Author of the Christian Revelation to *withhold information* upon subjects on which His high wisdom saw it as well or better that we should not possess distinct knowledge. In such a case we can scarcely imagine a more unwarrantable contravention of His will than presumptuously to intrude into such "hidings of His power," and authoritatively to propound in relation to them obligatory articles of belief. Such subjects are, among others—the state of departed souls in general, and all its connected topics; the exact estimate the Supreme God may make of the works of His saints, or of the spiritual condition of special individuals before Him; the beatification of particular deceased Christians (and that with the *certainty* required to make them secure objects of religious devotion!); the precise and (so to speak) metaphysical nature of that ineffable Communion of the Body of Christ, which He Himself describes in those profound sentences in John vi., and which S. Paul peculiarly connects with "the bread which we break;"—and numbers of similar subjects of speculation. That there *are real* limits to all attainable knowledge on such matters in our present state, is internally evident from the very nature of the case, and abundantly confirmed by such solemn warnings as that of S. Paul, Col. ii. 18. But it is one of the practical evils of a claim such as the Church of Rome makes to infallible authority (and no small presumption against its legitimacy), that

she is inevitably driven to this profane and irreverent scrutiny and determination of things mysterious; for when controversies arise, she often cannot in very shame but profess to decide them; and is thus forced to *follow* all the abstruse distinctions and difficulties that any subtle teacher may propose for public disputation. We know indeed how often (especially in more inquiring times) Rome has felt the burden of this inconvenient accompaniment to the claim of theological omniscience, and endeavoured to escape it; for example, in the controversies about Grace and Free Will in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, which she so long strove to evade, partly by adjourning the decision, partly by enforcing silence on the contending factions. . . . .

'While, on the other hand (I cannot help observing, as the subject is before me), it is certainly surprising that her votaries are not struck by the presumption against her *preternatural* wisdom involved in the lameness and feebleness of these decisions. If she declined deciding at all, we could ascribe it to a divine impulse to *reserve*, and see in it perhaps some resemblance to God's own ways of partial disclosure in Revelation; but to decide, and decide poorly, and ambiguously (so as to "more embroil the fray"), and in the technical terms, and (apparently) borrowed inferences of mere human wisdom, without throwing a ray of light upon the real question beyond what all the world possessed before,—this surely reveals little of a power beyond human, little of the voice of the Holy Spirit himself condescending to enlighten men. There is a very important distinction to be preserved here. In things where there *can* be no human test of consciousness or observation, *any* arbiter who assumes infallibility can carry off his pretensions easily; he can map out the invisible world with as confident a security against all opposing claimants, as astronomers have divided among themselves the titles of districts in the lunar globe. Such are the dogmatical affirmations of a Purgatorial region, of a secret physical Transubstantiation, of the beatification of eminent defenders of the Roman claims and belief, of the omnipresent attention of such to their innumerable votaries at the same moment; and the like;—things of which the scene is carefully placed so as to remove them from the reach of direct counter-proof. It is otherwise where (as in the controversy referred to above) the whole question and all its grounds are within the grasp of the ordinary student; and accordingly, we may observe (though it would take too long to establish it in detail), that *exactly in proportion* as questions are of *that* description, is there real and energetic disunion about them, under the imposing external uniformity of the Roman Church.'—*Letters*, pp. 89—94.

There is one among the Sermons which will illustrate what we have said in an important case. The Sermon itself could not be passed over without notice; as well from its subject, as from the very remarkable grasp of mind, and power of clear and comprehensive statement, which it exhibits. Warm and animated, like all Mr. Butler's writings, it is without a trace of the rhetorician: it moves on in a calm sustained current of powerful argument, embracing all that it meets, yet not disturbed.

All who profess to be Churchmen, have to meet the fact, of real goodness and holiness being found outside the pale of the Church. They may meet it in various ways, but they must meet it—the Anglican, holiness among Quakers and Presbyterians—the Roman, holiness among Anglicans. Among ourselves

two ways of meeting it are common; one sacrifices the claims of the Church to the undoubted fact, or turns the fact to the advantage of Latitudinarianism; the other, in theory at least, takes refuge in the presumed delusiveness of the fact.

'When views thus contradictory and thus extreme are put forth; when it is certain they cannot both be strictly true; when both may be made in their degree plausible; and yet facts exist that seem inconsistent with either;—the most valuable service that can be rendered to the public mind is the work of *limitation*—the attempt to show under what qualifications principles true in themselves ought to be accepted, so as to make them consistent with others of equal certainty. This is an humble task apparently; but the whole history of human knowledge has shown that it is far from being an easy one in reality. The most important steps in every part of moral science have consisted in this very adjustment of rival truths; *it is much less difficult to see the force of a great principle than to see its limits.*' —*Sermons*, p. 462.

Such is the way in which the difficulty presents itself. Mr. Butler, accepting both sides of it as indisputable—the divine and exclusive claim of the Church and its Apostolic ministry, and the existence of Christian holiness outside it, goes on to suggest how, and on what principles, they may be reconciled. His object is to show that 'the existence of many of God's richest graces' among those separate from the Church, and the duty of sympathy with them, 'furnish no legitimate 'argument against the exclusive claims of the primitive polity, 'or against the duty on us incumbent of steadfastly upholding 'it, as alone representing the full design of the inspired Apostles 'of Jesus Christ—to evince that *both* these things are scripturally 'consistent; and that their consistency is perfectly parallel with 'the ordinary operations of God in His kingdoms of providence 'and grace.'

There is an objection which occurs *in limine*, even to such an attempt; that it is, in the way in which it is thus stated, *new*. The difficulty was of old certainly not felt as we feel it; the rules of ancient practice do not provide for it, do not even contemplate it. And to allow subsequent experience and altered facts to modify those rules, is felt by many to be going beyond the safe line of Catholic wisdom. The objection, as all must feel, is a pregnant one; but at present we shall merely quote the passage in which Mr. Butler deals with it, as applicable to his project, in a letter written in defence of his Sermon:—

Supposing the holiness to be such as must be deemed to infer the special grace of Christ, I believe that, amid all the embarrassing circumstances of the case, an inward Christian affection to the individual thus owned by our gracious Master, becomes a duty: nor less—though I need not say how guardedly it must be felt or expressed—an approbation of such of his acts or projects of pure benevolence as in no wise involve the spread of his peculiarities: both of which "practical" rules I believe to be perfectly con-

sistent with the conviction of his error, and with that steady refusal of active religious co-operation which either grows directly out of that conviction, or is necessary in order to make that conviction palpable to all around us.

'Another point relates to the legitimacy of *the entire method of discussion* adopted in the sermon. It seems to be urged, that there is such a radical distinction between the mode of investigating truth in physical science and in revealed religion, that whereas the alleged facts of experience are alone to found, and alter, and modify, our theories in the one, they must be permitted little or no influence in the other, beyond that of simple confirmation; that is, that wherever subsequent historical phenomena do not seem to coincide in every the minutest respect with our antecedent interpretation of Revelation, they must at once be surrendered as doubtful, or delusive, or irrelevant. This I understand to be the substance of what your correspondent has stated in the latter part of his letter; and to this opinion, which certainly *would* be fatal to all reasoning of the kind I have employed, I cannot consent. Indeed I do not imagine that in *practice* any reflective theologian ever yet consented to such a limitation. Truth, in whatever department, need never be afraid of facts, which are themselves truth; and which are to be tested by much the same rules, and ascribed much the same kind of value, in every region of human knowledge: it being, of course, understood, that such applications of experience are never to be contemplated as affecting (which it would be preposterous to imagine) the great lines of the Faith; but as usefully *aiding* our imperfect conceptions of the laws of divine agency,—as illustrating by *new* proofs and examples the true nature of the dealings of God with man; and often, doubtless, as *correcting* by an appeal to observation (conducted, I need not say, with all possible caution) men's hasty anticipations of the principles of the divine government. For, assuredly, all portions of the dispensations of God in the history, both of the Church and of the separate religious bodies, that at various times have accompanied her course, are not only reducible to definite laws of providential government, but reducible finally to those very laws (or to laws *consistent* with those very laws) which are in a large and general way propounded in Holy Scripture. And if so, both may be expected to reflect *reciprocal* illumination. The real difference between this kind of reasoning and ordinary physical science is simply, that in this all the *greater* features of the divine laws are happily fixed for us unchangeably by revelation; but this blessed certainty need not make us doubt that a survey of subsequent facts may not only be directed to the business of classifying these facts under our view of those laws, but *also* justifiably tend to placing those laws (themselves in substance unchanged) in *new* aspects, positions, and mutual relations.

'Who can question that Bishop Butler, in tracing the analogies of ordinary experience to revealed laws of divine agency, has not merely *vindicated* these laws, but actually given us, in many instances, additional views, altogether new and unforeseen, of their very *nature;* and this sometimes wholly from the unexpected force of *the parallel adduced from experience.* Indeed, not to speak of speculations like these,—so irresistible is the process itself, that it may be doubted whether, from the very nature of the human mind, there can exist the individual who is not forced to interpret all those expressions of Scripture that lie beyond pure historical detail, more or less by his own measure of *experience;* the very agency of divine grace being usually to bestow that blessed experience by which he can, however slowly, rise to apprehend them.

'I have spoken of this employment of experience, as helping to clear our conceptions of the working of those *general laws of divine providence and*

grace, which are broadly set forth in Scripture, because it is the point which most nearly concerns our immediate question, namely, the mode in which we may best represent to ourselves, and harmonize with other truths, the operations of grace beyond the Apostolic constitution. But the case becomes, perhaps, more evident, when we think of the numberless instances in which the very interpretation of scriptural *texts* has been modified, or even reversed, by actual experience. The promises (for example) to the Jewish Church *might* have meant a gift of unconditional infallibility; subsequent experience has determined the true interpretation by the errors and fall of that hierarchy. The promises to the Christian Church have been, by an immense body within it, thought to import the same; a far simpler and more conclusive answer than any critical examination of texts, is to point to the miserable failures which have historically demonstrated that no such provision was really in the purposes of Divine Providence, or therefore could have been within the scope of the scriptural expressions adduced. The various theories of prophecy similarly confuted; the early expectation of the immediate advent of Christ supposed to be irrefragably deducible from scriptural phraseology; the anticipation of a permanent gift of miracles by vast numbers still inferred from our Lord's expressions; and the like,—are all instances, in which the designs of God, and those words of Scripture in which they were embodied, have had their real import illustrated almost solely by the evidence of experience. Indeed I suppose every man will admit, that the whole course of the world has been in many respects different from what a reader of the New Testament might naturally at first sight have anticipated; and that it is just this superficial difference which makes the profound real harmony between the foreshadowings of revelation, and the subsequent history of man, so far as we can establish it, so peculiarly impressive an evidence of the Divine Providence that equally superintended *both*.

'Pursued, then, within due limits and with proper caution, I cannot but believe that this kind of comparison between the testimony of subsequent experience, and the general laws of divine mercy announced in the Scriptures, is not only legitimate but valuable; not only valuable, but in a great degree *unavoidable* by any reflective student of the world and works of God. And I think the instance before us (the relation of divine grace to the mere acceptance of sacred truth on the one hand, and to the special gifts of the Church on the other), forms a good example of the *kind* of modifying effect upon our views which it may fairly exercise; not disturbing any truth, but helping us to balance and arrange them all; and often, where there are two or three ways of conceiving the same law, forming a sort of *experimentum crucis* to determine between them.'—*Sermons*, pp. 495—498.

Our space will not admit of such an analysis as should do justice to the argument of the Sermon. The following is the writer's own summary, in the letter to which we have already referred:—

'That such bodies (bodies separate from the Church) are likely to lose important benefits, both doctrinal and practical (not to speak of more mysterious gifts), in losing the Apostolic government, I have already observed, in the papers to which your correspondent refers; that they nevertheless possess, and have from the beginning, possessed conspicuous examples of such sanctity as only the Gospel and grace of Christ could produce; the sanctity arising (in the same way as among ourselves) directly from the influence of the truths believed,—I can doubt only when I have learned to

doubt the possibility of *any* inference of piety from practice, or indeed the legitimacy of deducing the nature of any mental state whatever from its external indications.

'To me, and to all those beside me, who do admit the reality of unquestionable holiness, and holiness specifically Christian, existing beyond the range of the apostolic succession of the ministry, it becomes necessary to reflect how far this remarkable fact is provided for in our theological systems. This brings me to the *other* condition of which I have spoken,—the right conception, namely, of the scriptural intimations of holiness as connected *both* with divine knowledge and with the Church life.

'The general principles, then, which I conceive to be applicable to this double fact,—viz. the transmission from Scripture and antiquity of the claims of a certain definite successive Society to be the Church of Christ,—and the observed existence of much of that holiness beyond it, which it is the promise of the Church to possess, her office to exhibit and preserve,—are such as these:—

'1. That there may be *coexistent laws of divine grace*, each of which tends independently and of itself to procure certain spiritual blessings, and ordinarily operates to procure them; and, nevertheless, all of which are obligatory, and produce their highest results only in conjunction. Such are—the sequence of holiness on the cordial belief of the chief parts of divine truth by one omitting no known duty, *and* the life within the appointed Society, with its special results.

'2. That there may be *variations* of divine laws, in merciful accommodation to human infirmity, which yet shall leave those original laws permanently obligatory.

'3. That the Church, or Body of Christ, being a mysterious Society, to us at once visible in its earthly, and invisible in its celestial aspect,—it is easily conceivable that holy men who, through ignorance or any other infelicity of circumstances, live outside the earthly Society, *may yet celestially be registered and accounted as its real members;* unquestionable holiness which supposes union with Christ, being to us a fair presumption in behalf of that incorporation; and the probability, or even the certainty, of that extension of mercy still leaving it obligatory as ever, (or even more obligatory, where known, through the additional bond of gratitude,) to fulfil the whole will of God by belonging to the earthly association."—*Sermons, (Letter,)* pp. 499—501.

But the guarded and careful way in which the question is treated, is worth exemplifying by one or two quotations. Take the following illustration of what he calls the principle of *accommodation*:—

'Another view of this important question, which is quite as simple, quite as strongly supported by the general analogy of divine dealings, and which leads to the same result, is that derived from what may be called the principle of accommodation. By this I mean the principle observable in God's merciful dispensations, of suiting Himself to the infirmities and errors of His creatures, by occasional variations of His stated laws, without any repeal of those laws themselves.

'To begin from the highest ground. It is evident that all mercy is an *accommodation* of this kind; a suspension in special cases of the execution of the laws of rigorous justice, these laws still preserving their supreme authority, and being virtually acknowledged in the very gratitude that hails their apparent supersession. Consider next, that the great perpetual exercise of divine goodness consists in the bestowal of divine "grace;" the name of which, on account of this very eminence, has become in a manner

ambiguous in the New Testament, being applied equally to the mercy that gives and to the boon that is given. Now, the primary and ordinary end of, grace is, doubtless, the support of unfallen beings through the universe, as it is usually supposed to have been, of our own race before the fall; and in its general collation it was made dependent for continuance on the thankful and upright *use* of it by the creature. Yet, while this law of grace is still preserved through the millions that adhere to God in all the regions of His creation; while in strictness it might legitimately be enforced on ourselves; we know that the law *has* been in our case specially widened, and we are thankful for the enlargement, as an act of conspicuous mercy in the sudden accommodation of divine gifts to suit the case of a lost and ruined race. And the special accommodation has now become an enactment of divine goodness, as sure and ordinary as the original law. But we may proceed farther still. Under the accommodation the gift itself has actually become more ample and more precious. The Redemption achieved by Christ seems meant (through the connexion of God and man in His person) to exalt the creature to a far higher *ultimate* position in creation than he would originally have possessed; while the peculiar embarrassments of a fallen being, struggling against inward frailty and outward temptation, give occasion for a larger and more constant measure of assistance from heaven in the *present* state. This, I need not remind you, is the spirit of those reasonings of S. Paul in the fifth and the following chapters of his Epistle to the Romans; where he unfolds how the law of God, and the sin, of which, through the weakness of our flesh, it was the occasion, were themselves, in the vast and profound scheme of Providence, the means —and the necessary means—of evolving a far more wondrous exhibition of mercy; in order that "where sin abounded" grace might "superabound."

'Notwithstanding, then, all this wonderful development of the resources of divine mercy, pre-supposing a fall from original righteousness, and arising solely out of it, no one, I suppose, will deny, either, that even the full and certain knowledge of the whole series of future blessings to spring from his sin, would not have, in the slightest degree, diminished Adam's obligation to obedience, and the criminality of his rebellion; or that, could the alternative be at this moment referred to ourselves, we should be bound, in simple submission to the divine law, to prefer that our race had never transgressed, and calmly to leave the rest to God. With this striking example impressed on your minds, and separating (as you may easily do) the principle involved in it from its details, consider, first,—is it unlikely that God should appoint a special organization of the means of grace in His Church? Secondly,—that when that organization had been more or less impaired, He should condescend to continue His gifts in a manner accommodated to the alteration? Thirdly,—that, in some instances, the graces thus conferred should be even more precious and brilliant in themselves and their results, than were always or often exhibited under the original arrangement? And, nevertheless, fourthly,—that the change out of which His measureless wisdom had framed such evidences of placability and mercy, should itself be a fall from a better state, a violation of declared law, a thing to be mourned, and repented, and remedied?'—*Sermons*, pp. 470—473.

Again, the distinction between what may be thought of individuals and societies:—

'But it is plain that this special favour to individuals in no respect necessarily extends to consecrate or authorize societies. We believe, and we rejoice to believe it of the former, because we see results which we know can only flow from the union of mystical membership with the

Divine Head; we have, I fear, no similar proof to justify us in extending the principle to the latter. We certainly may believe that every single member of a schismatical congregation has been, by God's mercy, made a member of Christ, and in the same secret act (for the ideas are inseparably correlative) registered in heaven a member of the Church which is His body; and yet believe that that congregation is itself, as such, existing in direct opposition to His will, because in opposition to that blessed Society by which He originally purposed to dispense His graces, and because by that opposition delaying His further purpose, through the same Society, to bind in one brotherhood all the families of mankind. Surely there is nothing sophistical or illusory in the distinction. Surely it is conceivable that individuals may, by the grace of God, be enrolled in the number of Christ's elect people; that they may thus form a real portion of that flock on which His eye rests with peculiar affection; that, in His abounding mercy, they may live in the enjoyment of all the varied blessings which His Church was primarily constituted to diffuse,—"sitting together," with its brightest saints, "in heavenly places in Christ Jesus;" and be thus in the eye of God accounted true members of it in being members of Him;—and yet, that the system of polity and visible association to which they externally adhere, may form no real portion of the primitive Church of Christ, may be incompatible with its original idea, and actually perilous to the spirit it was meant to generate and to foster. And this will hold, consistently with many suppositions commonly conceived to nullify it. As, for instance, even though (1) that very system were itself *overruled* to be the earthly instrument of their growth in holiness; or, (2) even though it were (as all provisions for preaching truth must in their degree be) in some respects inherently *adapted* for that instrumentality. It is even supposable (3) that the occasional workings and results of such a system may not be viewed without a certain measure of divine *approbation;* especially if they approximate to the original plan, or tend in any degree to preserve its spirit. Or it is supposable (4) that these societies, when pure and exemplary, may be divinely regarded as *transitions* to a better and brighter state of future Catholic union; or again (5) as temporary forms of association, in which some important principles may be embodied and *preserved* that would otherwise have run the chance of utter extinction in the world,—fastnesses where some high and holy truths have taken refuge for a time, while the City of God was itself given over to pollution, and the abomination of desolation was standing in the holy place. Nay, it is supposable (6) that the whole body of such systems, though human and unauthorized, may be found to form *designed members* in a vast scheme of divine moral government, of which the Church itself is as yet but a part, though the noblest part; or (7) that they may be discovered to have even advanced the spiritual progress of some natures *more* rapidly, *not* than the apostolic principle is capacitated in itself to do, but—than it would actually have succeeded in doing in certain unhappy conjunctures of times and circumstances. Not one of these admissions (some of which seem often confusedly alleged with this view) does in any respect disturb or weaken the distinction I have drawn.

'But further, it must, I think, be ruled—that as all fixed government is in itself, as *such*, a blessing and divine; as decency and order in religious societies are themselves, as such, favoured by heaven; we may not doubt that God approves of all religious constitutions as far preferable to the greater evils they prevent; though He disapprove not the less the desertion of His own Apostolic model. How *far* this blessing may extend; whether —for I am perfectly willing to suggest a possibility which, being but a possibility, can in no degree affect the question of practical *duty*—whether —in cases of long-established order and great personal godliness, it ever

can, or will, amount in the secret estimate of God to an ordinary sanction of the substituted system, it would be extremely hazardous to presume arbitrarily to determine. It certainly seems not inherently impossible, nor from analogy wholly improbable, that it may; and in all such questions I believe it our truest wisdom, as it ought to be our highest happiness, to glorify God by hoping much from His exhaustless goodness. When our Lord was in that ship in the tempest, which all ages have agreed in employing as a type of His Church, S. Mark alone of the Evangelists, as it were incidentally, observes—"and there were also with Him other little ships." Nothing more is said through the narration of these "*little* ships." Yet they, doubtless, enjoyed a share in the blessing of calm obtained by the ship that bore Jesus Christ. I have sometimes thought that they picture vividly the fortunes of those societies that in these later ages have moved in the wake of the ancient Apostolic Church; that are with it forced to endure the storms of a world impartially hostile to every form of religious effort; and that are not without participating in the blessings of the holy presence abiding in that Church, as long as in sincerity of heart they endeavour to keep up with the Master in His course. Believe it, the warmest hopes and sympathies are here consistent with the most unswerving sense of duty; my purpose this day is attained if I have in any degree helped you to see how to combine them. Your duty to them and to yourselves once inflexibly fixed, I would even encourage every hope as to possible variations of the original scheme of divine government, which may tend to console your regret for honest separation, or to enkindle your sympathy with vital godliness wherever the sovereign grace of heaven may cause it to quicken. The law of God I dare to fix; His mercies I dare not limit: the commandment is "exceeding broad;" the grasp of love is broader still. He who before now tolerated and sanctified suggestions in His polity, may in His own unrevealed counsels have vouchsafed to do so here; be it our hope that He has, our prayer that He will, our resolution never to presume that He must.'—*Sermons*, pp. 479—483.

We are tempted to give one more passage, because it contains what appears to us a most important principle, to be kept in view at the present moment, and one which meets a secret though most decisive assumption, which has disturbed the practical course of many:—

'You must not consider it strange that in deciding the important case of holy believers in Christ outside the pale of the Apostolic Society, we are left to the *inference*—though, I think, a most certain inference—which, in assuming their connexion with Christ, concludes their virtual insertion into that Church which by the same mystical conjunction alone holds its real tenure of existence, and to which are "added daily such as are saved." At a period antecedent, if not to all separation, at least to all separation of which any godly man could be found the author or the advocate, it was not probable that the inspired writers should have deliberately stated and resolved such a problem. This is but another form of a principle which I have already more than once insinuated, that God's revelation is not to be made answerable for difficulties never contemplated in the simplicity of His original plan, and produced only by our own subsequent perversity. Scripture holds a bright lamp at the head of a straight and narrow path, which shines clearly down the whole; if we rush aside into the thickets, we must expect only broken reflections and scattered gleams. The Apostles proceed as all instructors must, upon the supposition that the precepts they deliver and the examples they set shall be respected as of permanent

authority; they cannot be required to provide for all the possible perplexities of a disunion which is itself denounced as sin, any more than for the miserable results of any *other* guilty abandonment of their admonitions. That every devoted Christian should be a member of the special society they had organized, that every member of that society should be a devoted Christian, were two conceptions which blended in their contemplation of its office and vocation in the world; holiness of heart and willing submission to the Apostolate (be it the Apostolate of Paul the founder, or of Timothy or Onesimus the successors) were naturally imagined inseparable; and though they nowhere affirm that these characteristics of a Christian cannot by any possibility be severed, it would be too much to expect that they should have calmly discussed it as probable, and calmly undertaken to console the offenders. Even when (to refer to one oft-abused example) our Lord entertained the case of one who followed not with Him and His Apostles, it was but to check uncharitable conclusions about *individuals* by reference to the positive gifts of the man, and the positive value of the work he was performing (in conformity to the principles I have endeavoured this day to lay down); by no means to suspend, or alter, or modify, in consideration of any such individual instance of His grace, the peculiar design of the Church and Mission He was constituting. I say, then, the language of the New Testament being framed for that perfect ideal of the Church, in which the two conceptions of membership—that drawn from adhesion to Apostolic government, and that drawn from cordial belief in the Gospel—exactly coincide, it is plainly possible that that volume should contain no *distinct* provision for the peculiar difficulties that subsequently arose from those human perturbations of the original scheme by which the designed coincidence was lost. Indeed it is at once evident that any argument founded upon the allegation of this omission applies indefinitely to a multitude of questions not more precisely resolved; that to all the answer is equally applicable, that the sacred writers must stop *somewhere*, if their writings were to be fitted for general distribution; and that, in the instance before us, having, as they planted their churches, set the example of the transmission of the Apostolate, their language was naturally framed on the supposition of its perpetuation; that, therefore, habitually identifying the aggregate of those whose hearts were "purified by faith" with the aggregate of those who joyfully accepted the apostolic pastorship, they found no occasion for contemplating any such unhappy possibility as the separation of these characteristics of the earthly body of Christ. And hence, it would seem, we need expect in Holy Writ the *express* discussion of this contingency, however interesting it may have become to us, no more than we should anticipate in a book of practical physiology a special determination of the speculative problem, whether a human spirit separated from its bodily organization can still claim the title of a man. Like *this* question, the other must be decided, less from any distinct adjudication of the case in the authorities, than from a patient consideration of the *relative importance* of the qualification deficient and the qualification possessed. And when the matter is brought to this issue;—revolving the specific character of the entire dispensation and doctrine of Jesus Christ; His peculiar regard to the inward state of men; His perpetual appeal to tempers, motives, dispositions; His distinct avowals of the spiritual nature of the kingdom He came to erect—a kingdom in the heart and will; and similar topics, which, I need not say, form the substance and the characteristic teaching of the whole four Gospels;—considering yet further, the brief but significant notices which are given us of the nature and object of the Church; the manner in which, while fixed in its earthly development, like the growth of all other organic bodies, to one

definite and ever-recurring type, it is everywhere intimated that the quickening power of the organism, the true eternal ground of its very being, consists in a certain inconceivable union with Him who is the heavenly principle of regenerate life; and that this union, or this indwelling, alone constitutes its dignity, its object, and its value; creating, of course, in all who really share it, under whatever circumstances, the very blessedness the Church, through its teaching and its sacramental functions, is meant to witness and administer; inasmuch, as though the Spirit be the life of the body, the body must never be deemed competent to confine a Spirit infinitely vaster and mightier than itself,—a Spirit *in* which it lives no less truly than that Spirit in *it*;—duly estimating these things, I say it seems impossible to avoid the conviction, that the internal state is that for which the external subordinately exists; that its presence or its absence must in the divine estimate mainly denominate the *individual*; and that when He, "of whose fulness we have all received, and grace for grace," is pleased to bestow, through whatever supplementary means, His sanctifying influences, it must be—and equally in all cases can only be—because He has adopted the happy recipient of them into union with Himself, and therefore into the mystical association of His elect people, and therefore virtually, though to us invisibly, into that association which is designed as its earthly form and visible manifestation.'—*Sermons*, pp. 483—488.

The view which we have noticed of English theology, is the basis of Mr. Butler's Letters[1] on Development, criticising Mr. Newman's Essay. Into the controversy itself we are not going to enter. In its original and temporary form, it has singularly become out of date, considering who it was who raised it, and for what cause. In the principles which it involves, as to the very first grounds of religious belief and duty, it is too serious to go into within the space that remains to us; and we are at present concerned with it only in connexion with Mr. Butler.

Of these Letters, hasty and occasional in their shape, and not without considerable imperfections and mistakes in detail, we must repeat our regret that they are all that remains, on the great questions which they touch, of a mind qualified in so rare a degree to deal with them. They are questions with us, not of the school, but of the market-place—of wide and public interest; yet questions hard enough for any philosophy, and on which men's fate hangs. They are not questions to be dealt with on any but deep and real grounds; yet they have been taken out of the ancient formalities of theological controversy, and put into a shape adapted to the freer and more comprehensive, if less precise, style of argument of the day. They cannot be dealt with satisfactorily but by one who earnestly realizes the truth he speaks of. Yet earnestness and goodness alone, though sufficient for themselves, are not sufficient to make clear and plain to reason, difficulties extensive and complicated enough to task the highest gifts of mind.

[1] See especially Letters V. and VI.

In their way of treating the subject, these Letters very much follow the lead of the book which they criticise. Both are unsystematic and discursive, not confining themselves to the received 'beats' of controversialists, not aiming either at popularizing their scientific argumentation; but bringing to bear on their oft-discussed questions, principles and modes of illustration, which have scarcely yet been methodized, or found their acknowledged place and connexion, in the ordinary expositions of theological argument. And it is in the powerful grasp and statement of latent yet decisive principles, and the illustration of them from history and experience, not in any remarkable display of controversial fence, that the interest of both works consists.

We have said something about Mr. Butler personally, as his character seemed to us to be exhibited in his Sermons. We must say, in passing, that the man comes out very distinctly in these Letters. There is a curious mixture of almost boyish simplicity, eagerness, and freedom from anxiety and alarm, with a man's clearness and maturity of thought, and sense of the deep importance of the issue. It is, further, no merit, of course, to have appreciated, as he did, all that is striking in Mr. Newman's mind and writings. But to most men who are serious in controverting an opponent, it seems to cost an effort to escape disguising to themselves his real force and claims. In Mr. Butler there is no forced reverence or fashionable candour; but there is simple, real, unaffected respect towards one who had earned so large a title to respect: and it is not the less real, because combined with a keen sense, both of the weak points of his argument, and of the extreme danger both of his theory and his purpose. He is both provoked and amused at times; but a cheerful and ungrudging recognition of Mr. Newman's strength and high qualities, even when protesting against their employment, is as striking a feature in the book as the resolute spirit in which he refuses to give way before them.

There are two main divisions of the subject, as investigated in these Letters. After bringing out with force the incompatibility of Mr. Newman's proposed Philosophy of Belief with the authentic standards and received doctrines of the Roman theology, and the consequences to the old theory of the admissions on which the new one is founded, the inquiry proceeds, 1. to test the Development theory, viewed in itself, as exclusively applicable to the Roman theology, and satisfactorily accounting for it; and 2. to examine the collateral and subsidiary hypothesis of a concomitant infallible authority, to direct and give certainty to the process of development—the necessity, probability, and

evidence of an Infallible Judge of doctrine. The two branches of the inquiry, though connected in the theory which is in question, are of course entirely distinct; and while the former one belongs purely to a philosophical account of Christianity, of great importance it may be, but as yet of limited acceptance, the latter deals with what has for the last three centuries been the great lever of Roman controversy.

These Letters, able as they are, must probably look forward to the fate which ordinarily befalls temporary and unmethodical papers, unless saved by such rare genius as that of the 'Provinciales.' Yet there is much in them that we are loth to see disappear in the passing current of literature: we say this not so much for the keenness and power which is displayed in them, in disputing the grounds and safety of a theory, which could be but a provisional and tentative one, and which may before this have been consigned to forgetfulness by its exponent; as for the deep and striking thoughts which are from time to time elicited in them on the system and methods of Divine Providence, in the communication of truth, and the direction and government of the Church; and with one or two extracts of this nature we shall conclude.

The great question, which we hear of in all quarters, and on every side—closely connected with, but not confined to, the Roman controversy—is, Where, in religious belief, shall we find *certainty?* or within what limits is it to be looked for, or required? And when questions of serious importance arise, points not of mere speculative, but of practical interest, and to all appearance affecting what is most precious to man, are we to expect on all, the same ultimate freedom from the possibility of doubt? It is an instinctive answer with many, it is a very common one at any rate, often in words, still oftener in thought, or in implication—On all, or on none.

It is not the answer which, as it seems to us, the Bible would have suggested; it is not the answer which Bishop Butler would have allowed us to give—the great object of whose work was to accustom men to realize, practically and consistently, the inequality of evidence; to reconcile minds to going through life without certain knowledge, or equal proof, on matters of equal interest—to reconcile them to it as an inevitable fact in their condition, and to lead them not to undervalue evidence which they have, because of that which they have not.[1] But it has

[1] 'It must be at once manifest, that everything that Bishop Butler has said in reply to the popular infidel objections against Christianity, on account of *supposed deficiency in the evidence of its truth*, is accurately applicable to the similar Romanist objections to every scheme of Christianity but their own, on account of alleged absence of *certainty as to its meaning and interpretation*.'—*Letters*, pp. 375, 376.

the imposing character of being a summary, and what many will call a practical, answer. It divides, they will say, the really thinking and the really earnest world; and with one or other of these two great divisions an honest and intelligent man should resolve to take his side, as all, whether honest or not, will ultimately, and at no distant time, have to do.

We will quote two passages, apologising for their length, which may suggest some important thoughts on the way of meeting this subject. They both bear on it, though the first exhibits the writer's way of considering the grounds of religious belief in general; the second, his mode of viewing Ecclesiastical History, as it concerns belief.

'And, if the systematic expositions of antiquity give us, as they surely do, this substantial sameness, we may justly see in their endless circumstantial peculiarities the proof of their genuineness,—in their very aberrations a mark of the independence of their testimony on the great truths in which they agree.

'If this be at all a fair account of what we might anticipate, and may observe, in those writings in which the first uninspired teachers of Christianity undertook to dispense their awful trust to mankind,—undertook humbly but resolutely (for it was their duty, and it is our's), to connect by the links of human reason, and arrange in didactic order, and unfold in their logical consequences, those mighty elements of truth which inspiration had delivered, as it ever has done, briefly and in the mass,—I would venture again to suggest, how it confirms the observation already made upon the inadmissibility of those *broad and universal maxims* so constantly hazarded in the controversial use of their testimony. Such maxims are utterly inapplicable to the sort of complex evidence with which divines, whether Anglican or, if they would honestly confess it, Roman, have really to deal in establishing doctrines. The evidence of Antiquity, like the evidence of Scripture itself, is *not* accurately the same in amount for all those doctrines which, nevertheless, we are bound with equal and unhesitating cordiality to receive. Let me dwell for a moment on this, a perpetual source of unnecessary perplexity.

'I would say, that while, no doubt (as a simple matter of fact), the common doctrinal tradition of antiquity is found to tally with the received interpretation of Scripture in all essential matters, and the soundest scriptural criticism in its turn confirms that venerable tradition; that while (to adopt the philosophical phraseology of our times), that old inherited *theory* of doctrine is found to embrace all the *phenomena* of Scripture texts, and the latter to fall in with, and marshal themselves readily under that old theory,—yet, from the very nature of the evidence, no single universal rule can be strictly enforced to define the *precise amount* of testimony to be fairly required in every instance for the proof of this, from the extant remains of antiquity. Whatever we can plainly see to be true and important, no doubt, *was* always held, but the *quantity of proof now actually adducible* to establish this, if always sufficient, may yet differ considerably in different cases. We can as little fix under a single inflexible formula the necessary amount of uninspired confirmation as of original inspired proof, for any theological proposition. . . . . .

'If Scripture furnish sufficient proof, it is idle to complain that it does not furnish more; if antiquity incline the balance of probability to the belief that the doctrine in question was the doctrine received, it is equally

idle to demand farther evidence from that source, or feebly continue to dwell upon difficulties which, once fairly overbalanced, should be suffered to disturb the calculation no more. The prudent inquirer knows, that the precise amount of evidence required for doctrine has been nowhere revealed, and can only be determined inductively, as a conclusion, in each instance, *from* the inquiry, not as a preliminary *to* it; he will try every case by its individual merits, remembering that the true and only question is—*for this specific doctrine* (whatever it may be), is there evidence enough to make a reasonable man accept it as a real portion of the truth of God?

'For (I repeat) it is to be observed—and I think very important to be observed,—that, even among the most momentous doctrines, we have no antecedent reason whatsoever to presume that all would be sustainable by exactly the same amount of proof; that some one *may* really be more evident than some other; and yet, that (on this supposition) no right-minded man who remembers the conditions of all human belief and duty, would think of permitting himself practically to doubt either, or attempt to suggest such a course to others, by invidiously exhibiting the supposed lack of absolute, or inferiority of relative proof. Both are certain enough to ground the duty of belief and action, and even of equally energetic action, and this once clear, it becomes the direct duty of one who must either act or not—with whom *inaction is itself a real choice*—to discountenance any tendency to dwell upon the positive or comparative uncertainty of either.

'I can easily understand that such a representation as this may appear cold and unsatisfactory when contrasted with the pompous claims of instant and absolute certainty in religion, which are so triumphantly advanced by the advocates of Romanism, as the exclusive privilege of their communion. The apparent plausibility of these exclusive claims seems usually traceable to a fallacy of no great depth; an ambiguity of the word "faith," and a dexterous, sometimes perhaps an unconscious, alternate substitution, according to occasion, of the two very distinguishable ideas which are conveyed by it. This important word, and all the synonymous and connected terms,—Belief, Conviction, Certainty, and the like,—are theologically employed in two different senses,—for a purely *intellectual* conviction, and for an *habitual practical* assent. The nature of the former of these mental states is to admit (and, doubtless, in many instances pardonably) many degrees of conviction—as of evidence—below the highest; of the latter, to admit habitually no hesitation or indecision at all; and this apparent inconsistency is not only paralleled by the most ordinary facts of every day's experience, but strictly justifiable upon the soundest principles of logic and philosophy. And both these concurrent forms of belief are *universal* phenomena, applicable to all practical matters dependent on testimony, and so to *all* modifications, whether true or false, of revealed religion. Thus (having first excluded those special *spiritual* influences, which, in this case, to assume for any one party, would be to assume the question at issue),—as regards the *former* notion of faith, all systems of belief must consent to claim by the same general title, however different the real merits of their claim; none can pretend to rise beyond the simple ground of historical, or other, evidence of strong probability, and the species of belief it produces; if, to apply the principle to the matter immediately in hand, the Romanist is dull or daring enough to attempt evading this, he may be asked to account for the mere *fact* of infidelity in any province of his Church; to explain how, if by virtue of his position he possesses *a kind* of intellectual proof of the Christian Religion that admits of no possibility of doubt, it has actually come to pass that it *has* been and *is* doubted by thousands of deists within his communion; to reflect, in which of the Christian Churches, for example

arose the great and popular school of unbelief which poisoned all the literature of the eighteenth century? In the *latter* sense, again, all systems of belief, as before, stand on the same basis; for all, whether right or wrong, equally claim *unqualified* influence, unhesitating practical "faith," as the proper consequence of the assent, to whatever degree informed or convinced, if it but be, on the whole, the assent of the understanding. So that, in that purely *intellectual* sense of belief, in which it weighs and accepts what it takes to be high testimonial proof, and in that *practical* sense in which it imports habitual influential assurance, it is not easy to see how *any* one division of Christianity can claim to occupy a different basis from any other. The comparative *justice* of their respective claims, is, indeed, another and a very different question; but the only point that now concerns us is this, and it seems sufficiently manifest,—that all alike, the pettiest subdivision of American Independency, no more, and no less, than the Church of the Vatican, appeal, if they profess to reason at all, to the merely moral certainty of historical proof for the understandings, while they demand unhesitating practical affiance from the hearts, of their adherents.

'Now it will be intelligible enough, that if a skilful controversialist can contrive so to perplex this distinction as, whenever it is his object to expose *uncertainty*, to insist largely upon the intellectual difficulties of the "faith" he rejects, and, whenever it suits his purpose, to magnify the *security* of "faith," to dwell on the fulness of that practical assurance of which I have spoken; if he can manage by this artifice to throw into the shade at once the real deficiencies of his own grounds of intellectual certainty (deficiencies at the least as unquestionable as his antagonist's) and the real practical assurance of his antagonist's faith (at the least as vigorous and unhesitating as his own), he may thus, by a sort of logical sleight-of-hand, succeed in exhibiting to the dazzled eyes of his admiring disciples an *uniform* impression of some sublime and unalterable stability of faith which it is the exclusive privilege of his own communion to afford. Simple as is this sophism, the substance of voluminous treatises of school divines on this endless topic, seems to resolve into nothing better. It is hence, too, that, as another modification of the same fallacy, when Romanists argue the uncertainty of the common process of determining religious truth by evidence, they conceive of *inquiring* men, forgetting that to *such* men their own rule (which must circuitously travel to the same point in the end) could not bring one whit more real satisfaction; and when, on the other hand, they declaim on the ease and excellence of their own, they conceive of *uninquiring* men, forgetting that to such men, whose belief is contingent on the circumstances of their position, all rules are alike.'—*Letters*, pp. 257—266.

Our next extract is in answer to the challenge that Rome only, or else infidelity, has the key to solve the 'manifold difficulties' of Church History:—

'I must not detain my readers by minutely citing or analysing the remainder of this section on the "Developing Authority," which consists of little more than diversified expressions of the value of infallible guidance, and the pleasure of possessing it;—that, for example, the "common sense of mankind" feels that "the very idea of Revelation implies a present infallible informant," which, if it mean a living individual or company incapable of error, is false; if it mean anything else, is not to the purpose; whichever it mean, adduces what is no ultimate standard of religious ;—that "the claim" is peculiarly "*welcome* at a time like the present;" ' " by the Church of England a hollow uniformity is preferred to an ile chair;" as if the "preferences" of the Church of England, or any Church, can be of the least use in helping us to determine the pur-

poses of God; or as if any wise person would allow himself to speculate in "preferences" on such a subject; or as if the Church of England, if it preferred at all, would *not*, in all likelihood, prefer infallibility, were it to be had:—and, finally, that the hypothesis of infallibility is *as* "winning" an hypothesis as "Chance, or the Oriental philosophy, or the working of Antichrist;" a plea which I have the courage to leave unanswered, to operate in its full force upon the reader.

'This, however, the assertion just dismissed will suggest; and it is an observation perpetually applicable in Roman controversy. The chief force of the proposed hypothesis lies in contrasting it with an opposite *extreme* as gratuitous as itself. Is there, indeed, to the student of the history of Christianity, no medium between Roman infallibility and "Chance" or "Antichrist?" Does this Author imagine that that providential superintendence which the most superficial reader of *profane* history admits to have guided and controlled the minutest facts in the story of nations, is not held to have controlled with infinitely more solicitude, and overruled to its own mysterious ends, every turn in the fortunes of Christianity? No doubt, through each successive year of the Church's annals, there is a most true and profound sense in which "whatever was was right;" right, in its relation to the universal system and ultimate ends of divine wisdom; right, as, finally and on the whole, productive of a greater amount of good than any other arrangement of events; right, as, in many cases, productive of even much immediate good, and as remedying evil, if sometimes by evil, yet by the only remedy the conjuncture admitted (even as poisons are among the profounder resources of medicine); and yet not therefore right in and for itself, not naturally and necessarily right, above all, not *permanently obligatory*. It is a most groundless notion,—which the whole scope of this book tends to nothing else but, by innumerable feats and fetches of eloquent sophistry, to insinuate,—that the history of the Church and its beliefs must lose all interest, and its teachers from age to age all sympathy, if we cease to suppose its progress a perpetual miracle; that we have no option between regarding it as accursed of God and regarding it as absolutely incapable of error. Is it not possible for men to read the story of the *universal* Church as an Anglican (for example) reads the story of *his own?* Experience sufficiently manifests that it is not necessary a Church decision should be absolutely inspired, or believed to be so, in order to be of great service in limiting the sphere of speculation, and in influencing the subsequent tone and language of theological instruction. There are many topics at all times,—how many at this hour!—on which, while the general belief is sound, men of original minds are tempted to indulge in unguarded speculation, until the subject has been so fixed and defined by authority, and the peril of unlicensed conjecture exposed, and the course of straying argument met and turned back, that, either through conviction, or modesty, or even mere dread of general disapprobation, such writers learn to avoid the question, regard it,—and justly,—as foreclosed, and direct their intellectual activity into some different and more profitable channel. Instances of this may, no doubt, be observed here and there on the outskirts of even the doctrine of the Trinity, (as in passages of Tertullian and others,) previous to the conciliar discussion and settlement; nothing short of miracle could have kept men of warm fancy, comparatively inexperienced in the danger of the indulgence, from sometimes mingling the private speculation with the public tradition; and a public reconsideration and settlement would be the natural remedy for the natural failing. But all this pacific and corrective influence of doctrinal legislation needs no absolute infallibility, and, assuredly, was never once in those days thought to require or infer it. It is no more than has taken place, in a greater or less degree, in *every*

religious communion in which men have acted in the way of common counsel; allowing, of course, for the great superiority of importance attaching to assemblies conceived to represent the whole Christian interest of their time. I insist upon this, because,—as I have before intimated,—the clear and steady apprehension of this single distinction at once dissipates all the eloquent subtleties of our present theorist. Absolute infallibility, I repeat, is nowhere demanded either by the actual *history* of the Christian Church, or by its possible *ideal*. Divine superintendence, and all the solicitude of the closest special providence, is its true, precious, and sufficing gift; as keys to ecclesiastical history, the former, *contradicted at every turn, really accounts for nothing;* the latter, mysterious often, but ever consoling,—welcomes every fact, disguises none, gives interest to all: —as practical principles,—the one is the refuge of despairing scepticism, which dreads the smallest doubt, because it knows the rapidity of the ontagion; the other,—the calm confidence of healthy faith,—which asks no more of God than such amount of reasonable evidence for the things of the *future* world, as men are found willing to risk their lives on in the things of *this*.'—*Letters*, pp. 381—390.

The demand for and belief in perfection, both of certainty and of historical reality, is doubtless, whether reasonable or not, a most effective and stringent motive, both to do and to suffer. It is the strength of the Roman system, which, as the vaunt goes, alone dares to claim it. We will observe also, that it is the strength of all those unbelieving systems, which would revolutionize society. But it has this disadvantage—to our minds a very serious one—that it leads men to do in the most eminent degree, what every system *tempts* them to do more or less,—to be false with themselves in dealing with difficulties of fact. Every man who owns a principle at all has the temptation—he who owns *this* principle is under a spell, and must yield to it. Facts of history, broad and narrow, general and particular, facts of experience, facts of character, facts of right and wrong, are not dismissed as inexplicable, but explained away. Nothing is too evident, to be confounded with what is most doubtful. Nothing is too dark and base, to be refused association with what is most noble. The world is divided—the world of thought and the world of life—divided into what is perfect, and what is refuse; the shades and degrees which meet us at every turn in our experience, are there unknown, or at least, and perhaps by an effort, ignored. We said that this was a great disadvantage,—for it is a great disadvantage to be untrue, even for great objects and high purposes, to the laws and constitution of things, under which we have been placed for our trial. If God has not meant things to be perfect here, even in the Church, we are doing a strange work in trying to take them out to be so. Surely, the world does not witness any doctrine of perfection; and if this idea is not warranted our experience of the world, as little is it countenanced by

Scripture—as little is it countenanced by the sentiment and history of the early Church.

No, the voices of all our great informants are agreed. Nature and experience, Church history, Church tradition, the Bible, leave the same impression on us, and witness to the same law. Man is not left without real guidance, because it is not complete. He has knowledge on what concerns him, in duty and belief, knowledge well-grounded and substantial, yet not from the sources, in the degree, or in the shape which he might, perhaps, have beforehand asked for it. Truth is not guarded in the world as he would have thought it best to guard it; it is insulted and disfigured, in a way which, to the imagination, seems sacrilege; and yet it lives on, sharing, though divine, in the fortunes of a world 'which is a ruin.' 'Tendencies' and 'crises,' the inconsistencies of systems, and the corruptions of morality, have before now announced the failure of belief, in the impossibility of satisfying convictions—the perishing of the Church, in the confusion of its defenders; but these once so formidable presages, which shook the hearts and minds of thousands, drop into insignificance in that vast course of history, which has *not* fulfilled them. The Church has maintained her ground, not by being perfect, but by being in earnest. The necessities of our time may be crying for their cure—the image of perfection to solace—the certainty of knowledge to uphold. Now, as before now, a harmonious system, an unquestioned authority may seem the very remedy to soothe and nerve us—the idea is most desirable, most potent. But if it is not true, what signifies its being desirable? if it is not true, how long will its potency outlive the enthusiasm of its first votaries? If scepticism sneers at hesitating doctors, is it for the first time? and has it always yielded to resolute ones? Is it in the nature of things that extreme dogmatism should be the antidote to unbelief? Evils indeed we have, enough and to spare; but 'it is certain 'that there can be remedies for even great evils, more dangerous 'and sinful, than the evils they are brought to remedy.' And such a remedy surely would be that one—one whose reaction would not be long delayed—which systematically obliged us to sacrifice our sense of what was true, whether in fact or in doctrine, to surmised necessities, and justified us in this self-imposed blindness.

ART. VII.—1. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Newfoundland by the* BISHOP, *at his Second Visitation, on the Feast of S. Matthew*, 1847. St. John's, &c.

2. *Church in the Colonies. Nos.* 10, 15, 19, 21, 25. *A Journal of the Bishop of Newfoundland's Visitation of the Missions of the Western and Southern Coast—On the Northern Coast—A Visit to Labrador.—Journal of the Bishop's Voyage of Visitation and Discovery on the South and West Coasts of Newfoundland, and on the Labrador, in the Church Ship, in the year* 1848.—*Journal of the Bishop's Voyage, &c. to Labrador, in the year* 1849. London: S. P. G.; & S. P. C. K. Depositories, 1846—1849.

3. *S. P. G. Quarterly Papers, &c. &c.*

THE stiff, unpliable, unaccommodating character of the English mind, is both our pride and shame, according to the character which we assume, or the end we have in view, when we affect either to deplore or to boast of it. In either case, the swagger or the regret are often alike affected or conventional. It is by no means true that we do not accommodate ourselves to our circumstances; few people have the happy art of acknowledging so readily the requirements of an altered state of society as ourselves. A great colonizing people must do this: they who seek a new sun, and stars not their own, can take neither all their habits of mind, nor of body, with them. What has, in fact, prevented our French neighbours from being great colonists, is their utter helplessness in new scenes. When all Europe had a fair start for America, it surely argues something for English capability of self-adaptation, that, with the exception of the great Iberian colonies, the Anglo-Saxon race alone has maintained itself from the Labrador to Trinidad; the tropics and the pole seem to set no boundaries to our powers of acclimatization.

And yet this power of accommodation may exist in combination with another development of character—that of preserving, and expanding, and even exaggerating national or party peculiarities. Old England's self-reliance may rapidly bloom into New England's conceit; and Australian boorishness is only the legitimate result of the British farmer's frankness. What, however, we would have all students of moral ethnology, as oon as there is such a science, observe, is, that colonies and olonization do not always tend to a vicious extreme; that they lso have a further function in the great social economy of nations,

that of preserving (often in distorted, and occasionally in grotesque, forms) the old traditions, the ancient faith, the unalloyed morals of the mother country. If even many an old Roman custom and tradition survives in Spain—if France of the ancient *régime* is only to be found in its transatlantic Acadia and Hochelaga—the true and normal type of England may yet exist in its colonies, long after it has been effaced by the levelling process, which, in things of mind as well as of matter, we are now welcoming. One result of the spread of confraternity principles—the principles of our cheap excursion trips to Paris and Cologne, and of our 1851 Exhibition—our Peace-conventions and our Electric telegraphs—is not so much—

> 'That the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle-flags are furl'd,
> In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world;'

but that man and the world, peoples and languages, will all sink into the neutral tint of a dull, unexcited and unexciting commonplace and monotony. It will not be pleasant when all national distinctions are to be plastered over with the white-wash and cement of a hollow mediocrity and conventionalism: we rather prefer the sharp edge and deeply cut light and shade of individual and national character. The universal sky is none the better for being of one unpretending drab: and we scarcely welcome the fog and mist, which secures uniformity, it is true, but only by annihilating colour and distance and form. Even if we cannot secure a stereotyped edition of politics, or of morals, we are, though with that loss, to be thankful that the world has yet been spared a centralization of manners.

And these considerations suggest themselves, not perhaps unnaturally, when we come to look at our present subject, which takes up two elements, that of colonial character—and yet more of religion. Religion is of course one and indivisible; substantially and essentially the same, and uniform, or rather unigenous: but we have observed a danger in exaggerating the supposed necessity of a cast-iron phase of religion, as though in none of its developments it could be genuine unless it were patented and registered according to a fixed formula, and conformed to unswerving canons. If the mediæval type of profession and practice is, and with justice, found of other than universal application—if the eremitic or the claustral life is not to be preached as the one way of salvation—it were well for us to consider, that the eighteenth or even the nineteenth century shapes of English religion may be very real in themselves, while susceptible of re-adaptation according to the varying exigencies of society, or politics, or even climate; so that religious life do at the same time preserve the broader, more massive essentials of national character, on the one hand,—to secure which is one

function of a colony;—and so that, on the other, it displays sufficient of plastic energy to suit and adapt itself to changed scenery and requirements,—which is another,—it adequately fulfils its purpose. And when and where Colonial Church-of-Englandism—to use an ugly phrase—does this, it is a subject not unworthy of something more than a passing thought.

The brief religious history of Newfoundland is shortly told: discovered on the festival from which its capital takes its name, S. John Baptist's day, 1497, by the Venetian, (or Englishman,) Cabot, Newfoundland was not colonized till 1583 by Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Raleigh's brother-in-law. Successive immigrations, of which the chief was that of Lord Baltimore, then Sir George Calvert—this was of Roman Catholics—soon raised the colony to some fiscal importance: but the desultory and unsystematic character of our ecclesiastical system left Newfoundland without even a resident clergyman till 1703, when the newly-founded Society for the Propagation of the Gospel appointed a Mr. Jackson to the solitary Mission. The lamp was just kept burning, solely by the exertions of this Society, until our own days witnessed the gradually growing sense of our responsibilities, both towards our colonies and to the Missionary character of the Church. While it was not until 1786 that the Roman Catholics, always the majority of the population in Newfoundland, received a Vicar Apostolic, it was still later, in 1839, that the Episcopate was extended to S. John's. Previously to this time, Newfoundland was in the spiritual charge of an Archdeacon, appointed by the See of Nova Scotia; and it does not appear that it ever received the pontifical offices until 1827, when the Bishop of Nova Scotia first visited the island, and consecrated the churches and graveyards.

In 1823, a voluntary English society was established, not, we believe, without pious objects, but after the ordinary low, unecclesiastical method of such societies—under the title of the Church of England School Society, for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland. This Society, which certainly did some good, employed such instruments as it could compass—men and women—catechists and schoolmasters—dissenters and churchmen—of any and no capacity, or Church principles. The Society might or might not have done better: but a formidable precedent for the most objectionable part of its system is to be found in the fact of the Lutheran Missionaries of the older Church societies in our Indian possessions.

In 1839, the first English Bishop for Newfoundland was appointed, Dr. Aubrey Spencer, the chief, indeed the only important, event of whose short Episcopate, was the almost instantaneous ordination, all but *per saltum*, of many of the school-

masters, in the employment of the Society just mentioned. This measure at once elevated the clerical body to a respectable force—in numbers. In 1843, Bishop Spencer was translated to Jamaica, and the Rev. Edward Feild, late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, was consecrated second Bishop of Newfoundland, on Sunday, April 28, 1844. It is with this Episcopate that we are at present concerned; and what we would try to show is, that it exhibits a definite character—a form and body of substantial, active living exertion—that it displays a solid energy, and presents an intelligible phase and cast of the Christian life and ministry—not, we will say, thank God, without its parallels in the English Colonial Church, but still—of a sufficiently vigorous growth to be surveyed as a whole. But before we try to survey the work, we must first realize its scenery and external circumstances.

Cœlum crebris imbribus ac nebulis fœdum: asperitas frigorum adest. For though Newfoundland is on the same parallel of latitude as Mid-France, it will be remembered, that the vast ice-continents, forests, and lakes of North America carry the glacial line much lower than in Europe. Not only is Newfoundland subject to a very long and severe winter—a winter which freezes the sea, and permits icebergs to obstruct the very harbour of S. John's—but it is a peculiarly desolate and barren place. Sir Charles Lyell notices this feature in passing its iron coast. On the eastern side, at least, it is destitute of timber, and except round the capital, of cultivation.

> 'Adde loci faciem, nec fronde nec arbore læti,
> Et quod iners hyemi continuatur hyems.
> . . . . . Campi cultore carentes
> Vastaque, quæ nemo vindicet, arva jacent.'

In some places there is scarcely earth enough to cover the dead. A few scattered fishing settlements break the barren uniformity of the rugged coast line, but the roads of communication between them are only the waves. In the interior, considerable forests, extensive lakes, and impassable swamps, rendered more difficult by the crowded masses of the inferior trailing plants, the berry-bearing tribes of a semi-Arctic region, forbid all traffic across the island. The whole of the interior of Newfoundland, a country of about the size of Ireland, has never been explored: and as though to complete the picture of desolation, the fog-blast, which perpetually broods over the great Atlantic bank, and whose proximity sensibly diminishes the temperature at some hundred miles' distance, very frequently envelopes the whole dreary coast of this untoward climate with a thick, palpable, cold cloud of driving mist. A few of the common kitchen vegetables are grown rapidly in the brief summer; but the ordinary food of even the better classes is

only salt fish and mess-pork, and their luxury frozen beef; and not seldom, from the difficulty of communicating with the capital, people even with means are reduced to a state of absolute want.

Now, for such a place it is not naturally easy to find people who are content with wages, which are paid only in the heavenly treasury, to exchange the decent comforts of home: not naturally easy, we say, to find even a Bishop, Priest, and Deacons. And so when such are found, we do not count of it as any very great and heroic thing, though even this it might be deemed, were we inclined to talk largely, as some do: but we call attention to this Mission, because it shows our own Church, according to its own native English character, practically at work; it shows men, simple men, setting their shoulders to the wheel diligently, and with a brave manly earnestness: it flows from a stout, steady, practical religion, called out by no spasm of sentimentalism, but is the natural growth of a body of truth and devotion: it is to be quoted with no unworthy comparison, as something different in kind from the showiness of a new order, or the hysteric convulsions of a Revival, or the blaze of a new schism.

Premising that one of the earliest offerings made to the Bishop was—not a chariot and pair, which has, we regret to say, been seen with an Episcopal burthen in the streets of even our own Transatlantic cities—not a centre-piece, such as was very injudiciously given the other day to an antipodean Bishop—but an unpoetical schooner, with the unchristian name of the Hawk, we may proceed to illustrate the general tone and spirit of the Newfoundland Mission, by extracts from Bishop Feild's last Journal of Visitation and Discovery to the Labrador. And if our selections seem unsystematic and disorderly, they will not the less aptly figure out the plans and labours of one who, like all truly great men, is most in order and most systematic, without mapping out his work in parallel columns and on ruled paper. Indeed, this is quite a characteristic of the little books from which we quote: their utter simplicity, the vigour with which they speak of truly great and noble deeds, just as a matter of course. Duty seems rather to flow on like a stream, than to be sought by unnatural efforts. We are not called upon to look at a great system moving like an animated machine: we are hardly aware that any specific action recorded in these Visitation Journals is in itself of unearthly dimensions or colossal proportions, but we cannot help being struck by the power which they show—the great inner depths of love and faith, at work somehow and somewhere, the store of daily offices of common duty which they open up, though often only by momentary glimpses.

'We started [this was the Labrador voyage of 1849] with a fair wind. All my companions, except Moreton, were soon very sick. The wind

came from the north-east, with rain, and was very cold. Several large icebergs were near us and the shore, and the prospect altogether was far from cheering.

'But, better to begin in gloom, and end, if it please God, in comfort and peace. "They that sow in tears," &c.

'I made up the berths for my friends, they and my servant being too sick to work, and otherwise but little prepared for such an occupation.'—*Church in the Colonies*, No. 25, p. 3.

'I employed myself in arranging my cabin, no light duty.'—*Ibid.*

'This evening we were drifted by the strong tide within two miles of these islands with a strong fog . . . the tide set us so strongly towards the shore, that it was necessary to have our boat with four hands ahead, endeavouring to tow . . . it was a very anxious time, for the captain and his three best seamen were in the boat, and only the mate and cook on board. . . . We learned that we were among islands and shoals. The men were at work twenty-four hours: at six o'clock I had evening service: . . . it was a very trying day, for never was the Church ship nearer being on the rocks.'—*Ibid.* p. 11, &c.

'I went to the school and delighted myself with the children.'

'In the evening we went to the Burnt Islands, about a mile and a half, to celebrate evening service. We were met and welcomed by one Giles Hiscock, who with very short notice collected a congregation of about forty adults, besides twelve or thirteen children. Before the service I visited several of the families, and found that the Englishmen were generally from Dorsetshire, and the Newfoundlanders from Fortune Bay. The whole settlement has sprung up within ten years, and now there are nearly one hundred "livers" or settled inhabitants. They represented through G. Hiscock their great need and desire of a schoolmaster for their children, and a Clergyman for themselves, and seemed to think the two might be combined. I felt much for them, and so expressed myself, but durst make no promise but that Mr. Appleby should visit them twice a-year, a degree of relief and comfort very inadequate. I rowed both in going and returning, and enjoyed the exercise greatly. It is equally pleasant and beneficial, though I may not add dignified. This was the first day of real "missionary" service in the visitation, and the pleasure which the people seemed to derive from it was very encouraging, and I partook of their satisfaction and of their disappointment, in that there is little hope of the regular return of these services and means of grace.'—*Ibid.* p. 27.

'Eastman brought us a present of fish and spruce beer, and humbly requested that his mistress, of whom he seems very proud, might come on board. To this I gladly assented, and he brought her and the wife of his neighbour (Matthews) on board, and their delight was extreme. I showed them my portable font and vessels for the Holy Communion, &c., and they seemed to have the same effect as the exhibition of King Solomon's treasures had upon the Queen of the south. He was very anxious that his wife should understand that all these things belonged to the Church and Church Service, and added, "what vanity it would be to turn from such a Church." I gave him a large Prayer Book, and Synge's excellent tract in answer to all excuses and pretences for not coming to the Holy Communion, as he expressed the usual dread of partaking unworthily, and for fear of doing so thought it best not to partake at all. He was much gratified at the sight of my large Bible and Prayer Book. He has a very tolerable acquaintance with the Scriptures and Prayer Book, and though "he lives in this wilderness he does not forget the old ways;" "but what," he said earnestly, "should I have done, if I had not attended to these things before I left England?"'—*Ibid.* p. 29.

'*Sunday, July 22d.*—Mr. Quin, the merchant, was kind enough to lend and furnish a store for our service; and, bating the dreadful smell of fish and oil, nothing of the sort could be more comely and convenient. A canopy was suspended at the east end, intended, I believe, to be over my head: however, the altar was put under it. In front of the altar hung my piece of bunting, with the sacred monogram, and in front of a small table, used as a reading-desk, hung my bunting, with the mitre. Three new counterpanes were put under our feet, and a kind of chancel, or sacrarium, formed by linen or calico sheets, hung from the roof to the ground.'—*Ibid.* p. 32.

'I examined the poor old man as to his life, and heard him repeat the Lord's Prayer. He kissed my hand, and the hands of the other Clergymen, at our departure. This is, I believe, the second time only in nearly seventy years that he has seen a Clergyman, and in all probability this is the last time he will ever behold one. What will his "Nunc dimittis" be? I left him with feelings of sorrow and shame that I could do so little for his comfort or instruction.'—*Ibid.* p. 48.

'The household altogether was the most wretched and unsatisfactory possible; the inhabitants being sunk into a state of the lowest ignorance and brutality, yet surely far more deserving of pity than of condemnation, at least from us. They reported themselves as having nearly starved in the spring; and their appearance betokened it. . . . But there was no blessing from above; none of their good things were sanctified by the word of God and prayer. Even the dogs seemed more licentious and impudent than in other places, being under no kind of control. I gave the people, with a sad heart, such exhortations and instructions as I thought necessary and suitable, though how little, alas, adequate or sufficient!'—*Ibid.* p. 50.

'I crossed over in my boat to the cove . . . we took leave of the crew: I rowed with my three young friends.'—*Ibid.* p. 51.

'In one of these temporary cabins the evening service of the Church was duly and devoutly celebrated: and great was my surprise and greater my delight to hear the poor ragged fisherman who knelt by my side at the foot of his bed join audibly and earnestly . . . On putting a Prayer Book into his hands . . . he really seemed to devour the words.'—*Ibid.* p. 53.

'I do not know how to be thankful enough for this and the many other mercies of this eventful week. The weather has been uninterruptedly fine; and our very hindrances and discomfitures seemed to have been ordered to promote and complete my desired ends. I should have had only reason to regret if I could have departed one hour sooner. O! that men would therefore praise the Lord for His goodness.'—*Ibid.* p. 54.

'This has been a holy day . . . two services on shore and two at sea on the same Sunday seldom fall to the lot of a Bishop or any Clergyman in these days, and I desire to be duly and truly thankful for such a privilege.' —*Ibid.* p. 57.

'We went on shore at nine o'clock, with the usual furniture, and the small font, &c. While my friends were preparing the room, I talked to the men outside, and an old gentleman, who reported himself the "chief of the place," said to me seriously, "Please your majesty, I have a petition to request, if you will be so well pleased as to grant it. Will you be pleased to give me a grant to have the prayers of the Church read in my house every Sunday?"

'I told him how far I could and would gladly comply with his request.

'Then he said, "I have another petition to request; Will you give me a grant to have stocks put up to punish the unmannerly boys?" He then spoke of the grief and trouble which the misconduct of his own children had caused him. He appeared in earnest, and I felt for him.'—*Ibid.* pp. 58, 59.

'*Sunday, August* 12.—My friend, as usual, went on shore about half an

hour before me, to prepare the room for divine service. The place assigned for the purpose was the upper loft of a store, very commodious and convenient. We found boards nicely arranged for seats; and a vestry had been set off in a corner of the room with flags, which answered its intended purpose exceedingly well. The only objectionable feature or circumstance was the approach to the room on the outside, by a ladder; but Mr. Le Selleur had provided a new one, which was abundantly sufficient for persons accustomed to climb the sides of ships and vessels, as were the pastors and all the flock on this occasion.'—*Ibid.* p. 64.

'Poor Gifford [the first missionary to Labrador] was sent on shore with his supplementary carpet bag, about seven o'clock, now at length to taste the realities of missionary life and service; which I expect he will find very different from the "prelusive flourishes" on board the Church ship, with his spiritual father and brethren, and men like-minded, to help and encourage him. I feel deeply that it is hard, not to say unjust, to him, and I might add to his flock, to place him, young and without experience, in such a difficult post, without help or countenance; but I humbly trust the fault is not mine, that this is no matter of choice, but of necessity; and I still further hope and trust that God, "who looketh at the heart," sees that in my friend and brother which He will vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, and crown with good success to the edification of the flock and His own glory.' —*Ibid.* p. 72.

'When I returned on board, I had some letters and other matters to write before I could lay me down to sleep. I was far from well all day, but the pleasure I received and appeared to give by my visit kept me up. God be praised for the blessings of this day! they were sufficient recompense not merely for a journey extended from Battle Harbour to this place, but for an entire and separate voyage from Newfoundland. So deems a Bishop refreshed in spirit.'—*Ibid.* pp. 80, 81.

'A captain of an American vessel applied to me for one of the Clergymen to marry him, informing me at the same time that he intended to be married again at Boston, as both he and his intended are Roman Catholics. She is the daughter of one Morar, from Carbonear. I refused to allow a Clergyman to be made a stop-gap, or put on a level with the fisherman who would have been employed if we had not been here.'—*Ibid.* p. 84.

'*Sunday, August* 26.—We found it necessary, in order to accommodate the congregation, to remove all the boxes from the cabin, and to bring down the hen-coops and one of the thwarts from the boat for seats. The washing-stand might have been removed also, if we had thought of it, and room obtained for another seat. The lectern was placed at the end of the table, near the door to the cooking-room, and a seat constructed for myself on one side, and Mr. Jones on the other side, of the lectern. These were covered with blue curtains. We robed in my cabin, and had some difficulty in making our way through the congregation to our places. Mr. Jones counted sixty-three persons, and nearly all were well grown up. As nearly all were Methodists, I thought it a good opportunity of teaching something about the constitution and requirements of a Church, and preached a discourse on apostolic doctrine and fellowship, from Acts ii. 41, 42. In the afternoon the congregation was not quite so large; rather over fifty, I believe. In the evening I went on shore with Mr. Moreton, and read and prayed with a sick woman, the wife of Moses Clarke, jun., from Carbonear, and therefore probably a Methodist."—*Ibid.* pp. 87, 88.

'Mr. Vatcher, the Wesleyan teacher, and ——, (the reputed man of murderous purpose,) were at both services. Who knows that I may not have been detained here for the benefit of one or other of these, through the appointed services of the Church! Certain it is I was not here of my own

choice, and I endeavoured to turn the occasion to profit, for the edification of the people and the glory of God, through Jesus Christ. Amen.'—*Ibid.* pp. 88, 89.

'Mr. Crosse [a Missionary] resides at Starve Harbour, which has vindicated its right to that title in his case, for, whether through his own mismanagement, or the neglect of the people where he lodges, he has been nearly starved each winter. The snow used to be on the floor of his sleeping-room an inch thick, and the wind, coming through or between the boards of his sitting-room, was strong enough to blow out a candle. The latter evil is remedied by paper and strips of canvas over the seams: the other in some degree by putting up a sail. He tried a change of quarters last winter, but was obliged to return, not having mended his condition.'—*Ibid.* p. 105.

'*Sunday, September* 30.—Went to the Sunday-school with Messrs. Jones at ten o'clock. I preached and administered the Lord's Supper to thirty-one communicants. Confirmation in the afternoon. Twenty-one confirmed. We spent the evening chiefly *in hymnis et canticis.*'—*Ibid.* p. 124.

'I gladly resumed my berth on my chest of drawers, which I had deserted the two last nights only, during more than three months.'—*Ibid.* p. 125.

'*Tuesday, October* 16.—A breeze sprang up about six o'clock this morning, and by seven o'clock we were off the Narrows, and the pilot on board. On reaching the Battery, I descried Mr. and Mrs. Grey on the rocks, looking out for us, and at us. Before we had made our last tack, Mr. Bridge was on board; and soon after, Mr. Johnson, with Mr. and Mrs. Grey. The whole party joined with us in prayer and thanksgiving, and then partook of our ship's breakfast, which was in good keeping, having neither soft bread, nor milk, nor fresh butter,—nothing but tea and sugar, pork, biscuit, and salt butter; but I trow none complained or thought of the viands—we were satisfied for the nonce with each other's company and discourse. Soon after nine o'clock, we went on shore straight to St. Thomas's Church, where, with my companions, I returned humble and hearty thanks for our safe return. My greetings to the children of the schools were conveyed in the way of a holiday—and, altogether, it seemed a day of rejoicing and praise. Thus ends my fourth Missionary trip, in the Church ship, of sixteen weeks, save two days. Praise be to God.'—*Ibid.* pp. 133, 134.

Now to speak summarily of this Visitation. Three churches and seven grave-yards were consecrated, 796 candidates confirmed at twenty-two settlements, and services were performed at fifty-two settlements during a voyage of sixteen weeks, and nearly sixteen hundred miles, and at an expense, entirely defrayed by the Bishop, of nearly 400*l.*: exactly one-third of his whole income.

Innumerable other extracts from the previous Visitation Voyage of 1848 might have been selected; but we quit this part of the subject with a single thought. How truly does the Church ship figure out the great voyage and visitation of the ship of the Church! Through the angry waves of this troublesome world, through the fog and mist of prejudice and sin, the sacred bark speeds on her sacred mission—now welcomed by the rejoicing few, now scorned by the careless many. Yet she leaves her witness on many a dreary rock, in many a melancholy cove—here the word of life, there the word of human

exhortation—now a sacrament, and now a stern rebuke—in one place she builds a church, in another she can but mourn over those dead in trespasses and sin. And her crew are men of simplicity and faith—the master is a man of prayers and tears and self-denial; he kneels with the humblest, prays with the sinner, visits the sick, consoles the aged, crushes the impenitent. Zealous for the honour of the sanctuary, he is more zealous for perishing souls. In hunger and weariness, in long journeys over the ice and through the forest, he has but a single eye to his great calling. Surely all this is in the apostolic spirit and in the apostolic way, 'in journeyings often, in perils 'of waters . . . in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea . . . 'in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often . . . besides 'those things which are without, that which cometh upon me 'daily, the care of all the Churches.'

And could we be permitted a yet closer insight into this religious life, we might find it in letters dated from 'a lea shore, 'in a situation somewhat strange and perilous, while at anchor 'among rocks, on which we had fallen in a fog twenty-five miles 'out of our course. If the wind had come up in the night, we 'should have had little hope of escaping, but God was gracious 'unto us, and "there was a great calm." We were perfectly igno- 'rant of our place, and could see nothing but two towering rocks 'within one hundred yards. It was a searching time. Two 'clergymen and two students with me. We partook of the Holy 'Sacrament at midnight. The next morning we sent off our 'only boat and only compass in direction of land, through the 'fog.' Or in that affecting anecdote, recorded in a poem in one of Masters' little publications 'on Hearing the Bishop of New- foundland singing his Office at Night.' Or, in other records we might find it in contemplating the same Bishop's *palace*, which, at this moment, consists of a cottage containing two sitting-rooms, twelve feet square, and two bed-rooms to match, with a kitchen, and two apartments for a man, and a female to make the beds; —or in his larder, which consists of an open cask of biscuit standing for all comers in his dining-room: from which palace, twice a-day, its owner walks into S. John's for the daily prayers.

But enough. We have already trespassed upon incidents too sacred for common inspection: and though we feel that we have somewhat overstepped the bounds of duty in these details, we trust that our motive may plead some extenuation. Can it be believed that this Bishop and this Mission are made the very frequent object of rancour and systematic obloquy in certain religious quarters? Can it be believed, that a so-called Church newspaper devotes itself to a constant misrepresentatio and abuse of this holy work? Can it be believed that a Chri

tian clergyman, in an Exeter Hall speech, and more recently in a printed form, holds up this very diocese as one to interfere in whose benighted state additional means are imperatively required, and this through the instrumentality of a Church Society, the Newfoundland School Society, of which the heads of the English Church still consent to act as patrons?

'The present religious state of our colonies is one which ought to call forth some fresh efforts of Protestant zeal. The Church of Rome is making fearful strides among them, while the Romanizing tendency in our Church at home is there reproduced in a far more dangerous form, because there is not that check from the admixture of evangelical influence that there is at home. Whatever efforts are made to maintain our Protestant purity in this country ought to be carried on with redoubled energy abroad. The Gospel Propagation Society, from its very constitution, is not capable of exercising this influence. The Colonial Church and Newfoundland School Societies are limited in their resources and feebly supported. Why should not these two societies, whose object is identical, be united, and thus a basis formed for a vigorous and combined effort on the part of the evangelical members of the Church, for sending out pious clergymen and laymen throughout the vast dependencies of the British crown? The Tractarian influence is in many places absolute, and a spiritual tyranny exercised over the people. Thus in Newfoundland, some of the clergy have recently gone so far as to refuse to weeping parents the administration of the sacrament of baptism to their children until they had enrolled themselves members of the Church Union.'[1] — *Mr. D. Wilson's Appeal, &c.* pp. 38, 39.

Here are two points for consideration:—First, It is proposed that the Colonial Church Society and the Newfoundland School Society be united, because their object is identical; and that this combined Society be enabled to send out 'pious Clergymen' throughout the Colonies. Second, That Newfoundland is in especial need of this assistance, because its spiritual government is grossly abused; which last statement is supported by a 'startling fact,' the documents relating to which are referred to.

1. With what end, and under what auspices the Newfoundland School Society was established, we have already detailed; how far it acknowledged the Church system may readily be understood by the fact that, until the year 1846, the Society never recognised the Bishop at all, as such. But at a Special General Meeting on 30th July, 1846, 'by modifications in the funda-
'mental laws, there was placed in the hands of the Colonial
'Bishops the power of a veto on the appointment or con-
'tinuance of the Society's superintendents and teachers, in
'their respective dioceses; for the rule was laid down, that no
'person should be appointed or continued superintendent, who

[1] 'The documents relating to this startling fact may be seen at the office of the foundland School Society, 14, Chatham Place, Blackfriars. The subscription ired was a quintal of fish, of the value of fifteen shillings.'

'should have been formally disapproved of by the Bishop; and 'that the schoolmasters and catechists should have the Bishop's 'licence.' (We are extracting from a paper published by the Society itself, 'An Account, &c., together with a correspon- 'dence between the Bishop of Newfoundland and the Secre- 'tary, &c.')

With what intentional good faith this important and very praiseworthy change was designed to work, we may perhaps gather from the following correspondence:—

'*Letter of the Bishop of Newfoundland to the Secretary of the Society.*

'*St. John's, Nov. 7th*, 1848.

'SIR,—After much anxious reflection and deliberation I have come to the resolution of tendering to the Committee of the Church of England School Society my resignation of the office or dignity of Vice-President, to which they were pleased to appoint me in the year 1846. It is due to the Committee that I should give some reasons for this step, which I sincerely hope may be satisfactory, or, at least, cause no offence. I feel truly grateful for the good which has been done, and is still doing in this colony, through the Society's instrumentality, and I gladly and gratefully declare my conviction that the members of the Committee have very benevolent motives and a pious purpose. And it is, therefore, I need hardly say, a real grief to me that I cannot usefully co-operate with them.

'My reasons for the conclusion to which I have most unwillingly come are chiefly these:—

'(1.) I sincerely believe that my name and supposed co-operation are a hindrance rather than a furtherance to the plans of the Society, I am well aware that I am suspected (I know not upon what grounds, and I am sure my revilers do not,) of holding some ultra opinions, and I have been honoured, more than once, by attacks in a religious (?) newspaper, which has, I believe, a wide circulation. On these grounds I expected, and so signified to the gentlemen who waited on me in 1846, that by becoming a Vice-President I should rather defeat than forward our common aim and desire, the prosperity of the Society. I am still of the same opinion, and with a wish now, as then, to promote the prosperity of the Society, I desire the removal of a name which, I fear, is to many friends of the Society a cause of mistrust and dislike.

'The late Secretary (Mr. Cooke) will, I think, bear testimony that when I was in England I did labour, not without some success, to obtain supporters and subscribers to the Society. I believe that of all the Bishops whom I addressed only the Bishops of Worcester and Norwich declined to subscribe. I offered to assist in any way, except by attendance at public meetings, where I am quite out of my element, and of no use. In the midst of much pressing and anxious business I went several times to the office of the Society, and by letters, not only to the Bishops but to many other persons, and by personal applications, I endeavoured to increase the efficiency of the Society. I had some success, as I said, but still my opinion was and is that my name did more hurt than my advocacy could repair.

'(2.) I do not feel satisfied with my position in respect to the privilege given to the Bishop, or responsibility laid upon him, of licensing the Society's Teachers. I was expressly and explicitly assured by the gentlemen who waited on me two years ago, that no Schoolmaster would be retained in the Society's service in my diocese whom I should refuse to license. One of the Society's Schoolmasters, occupying a most important

post, is a professed and steady Methodist. Soon after my return from England Mr. Bridge, the Superintendent, applied to the Committee with reference to this Teacher, whether he should be continued, and the reply was that the Committee determined he should be continued. The Committee could not but know that it was impossible for me to grant my licence to such a person, and particularly when the rules of the Society require that the Masters and Mistresses shall be members of the Church of England. I felt, therefore, that the power or privilege was one which I could not exercise. I do not like to say more on this, to me, most painful subject.

'(3.) I object very strongly indeed to the method which the Society has *lately* adopted, of trying the faith and ascertaining the supposed state of the heart and life of the persons applying for situations. Surely in being placed in connexion with the Society as Vice-President, and ostensibly invested with considerable powers and privileges, I ought, at the same time, to have been made acquainted with this novel mode of arriving at a Churchman's faith and a Christian's state of heart and life. Here is confession made compulsory, not to a spiritual friend and counsellor, and under the veil of religious privacy, but to a Committee, many of whom are laymen. I forbear to criticise the questions themselves; but, if any person can suppose that a man's faith and manner of life can and may be disclosed by his own testimony, in answer to such questions, and with a view to his own promotion, he must have the simplicity of a dove. Think of any, or, rather, think of all the Bishops applying such tests to probe the faith and life of candidates for orders. Surely the testimonials and professions required of a candidate for Deacon's Orders ought to satisfy the Committee with respect to their Schoolmasters. Here is one of the most dangerous and delicate parts of the Roman Catholic system put in operation by a Committee of a School Society. If deceit and guile do not grow out of it, I read the history of the Church in vain.

'On these grounds I propose to the Society to remove my name from the list of Vice-Presidents. I do so with great pain, but with sincere wishes for the renewed and increased prosperity of the Society.

'I think it due to myself and the Society to declare, that I have not advised or influenced Mr. Bridge in any way in his late communications. I have positively refused to hear what he has now written, and I do not know whether he is or is not a servant of the Society at this time.

'Again assuring the Committee of the regret I feel that I cannot co-operate with them under the present regulations with satisfaction to myself or benefit to the Society, and thanking them for the little trouble they have given me,

'I remain, Sir,

'Your very obedient and faithful Servant,

'EDWARD NEWFOUNDLAND.

'P.S. Of course if my name is removed from the list of Vice-Presidents it will be removed from that of Members also.' — *Society's Occasional Paper*, pp. 3, 4.

To this letter, Mr. Deck, the Secretary, returned a long answer, announcing the Society's intention to retain the Methodist teacher, and saying, that while the Society had always examined the teachers sent from home—

'It was on account of deep anxiety, raised by the false accusations of the "Record," which many of the Society's best friends entertained, that the mmittee resolved to send out the questions for candidates, in order that might with truth assert that every precaution was taken by thems in the selection of their teachers.'

After this, the Committee place on record their determination 'not to yield up their power, and relinquish their method 'of examining, so far as it is practicable, into the character and 'doctrinal views of all candidates proposed to them.' And by way of showing that they are in earnest, the Society on 12th June, 1849, abrogated the constitution of 1846, and returned to the 'old laws,' viz.:—

'1. The Society shall be designated "The Church of England School Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland and the Colonies."

'2. The Masters and Mistresses of the Society's Schools shall be members of the United Church of England and Ireland, their appointment, removal, and respective salaries resting with the Committee.

'3. The religious instruction shall be in the Holy Scriptures, and, except in cases where the parents or guardians of the children formally object, in the formularies of the Church of England; and no books shall be used in the Society's Schools except with the previous knowledge and approval of the Committee.

'4. The Superintendents and Masters shall be Laymen, and shall so continue during their connexion with the Society.

'5. The Schools of the Society shall be open at all times to the visits of the Diocesan, and the Parochial or Missionary Clergy in their respective districts.'—*Society's Occasional Paper*, p. 8.

How this Society works—how it is intended to cripple the Bishop's exertions in every settlement—how its avowed object is to place a mission, not under the Bishop's control, in every place where he has a licensed *Missionary*—and how Mr. Daniel Wilson lets out that it is proposed in connexion with it, to send out 'pious Clergymen' also, our readers will have observed. With respect to the actual want of Church education in the colony, we refer to a letter in the 'Colonial Church Chronicle' for April 1850.

2. The alleged refusal of the Clergy 'to baptize children until 'their parents had enrolled themselves as members of the 'Church Union.'

In the text Mr. Wilson speaks of '*some* of the clergy,' in the note of the 'startling fact.' The change from the stately plural to the meek singular is instructive: we ask Mr. Wilson distinctly whether, in his vocabulary, 'some' means many, two or three even, or one? But, passing this, the spiritual tyranny of the Clergy consists in forcing the people 'to enroll themselves as members of the Church Union.' *Church Union* has a distinct and assigned meaning to English ears, especially to those who are *au courant* with the theological proceedings of the day, and to whom Mr. Wilson writes; it immediately suggests Lancaster Place, it recalls Mr. Denison's circulars, it has a strong mark of S. Martin's Hall, it takes us at once to the Bristol Channel, it revives the notion of voluntary associations in defence of Church principles, and synodal action of the Church—Mr. Gorham and

the Government scheme of Education. This is the only notion compatible with the term *Church Union.* This is what Mr. Wilson meant to suggest: he really does try to make people believe that unless the poor Newfoundland fishermen joined the Union, this sort of association—became 'members of the Church Union'—at the expense of fifteen shillings, they could not get their children baptized.

Now, we beg to assure Mr. Wilson—no, he already knows very well—that there is no such association in Newfoundland—that there is no 'Church Union' at all—that he has invented the thing and name too—and that he purposely selected the obnoxious phrase 'Church Union,' only to suggest a false and untrue idea to his readers.

But, is there anything, any institution in Newfoundland which the Bishop or Clergy require the people to belong to? however, for his own purposes, Mr. Wilson chooses invidiously to give it a bad name.

One of the very first acts of the Bishop may be learned from the following Circular Letter:—

'CIRCULAR LETTER *from the* BISHOP *of* NEWFOUNDLAND *to his Clergy on the necessity of a systematic collection for the support of the Church from all its members within the Colony.*

'*St. John's, October 28th,* 1845.

'REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure of forwarding to you a Report of the proceedings at the anniversary meeting of the Church Society, held in St. John's, on Wednesday, October the 15th, together with the Speech or Address of his Excellency the Governor. I cannot but view those proceedings, coupled with His Excellency's most instructive and forcible remarks, as both an admonition and encouragement to attempt, at once, what I have long regarded as imperatively necessary, some systematic and general collection, to be continued and extended, year by year, for the support of the Church in this Colony, from all her members.

'The necessity, I am persuaded, is apparent to, and acknowledged by, all right-minded members of our Communion, both lay and Clergy; and is most truly and touchingly, though by no means fully and adequately, expressed in His Excellency's Speech. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on which the Church in this Colony has hitherto depended for support, is no longer able to extend and increase its bounty to us as our increasing wants demand; and it is considered, moreover, to be equally the duty and interest of the Church, in any Christian country, settled and civilized, to support their own establishment; with only such extraneous aid as any new and temporary emergency may seem to justify and require. The duty is as plain and imperative (where possible) as any duty of Reason or Religion can be: for (not to multiply authorities) "even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." (1 Cor. ix. 14.) And "Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things." (Gal. vi. 6.) To which exhortation the Apostle immediately adds, to show our interest and profit, as well as duty, "Be not deceived—God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." (Gal. vi. 7.) And many, we know, are the like exhortations and promises of God's holy and unchangeable word.

'It only remains, therefore, to consider the possibility of supporting the Church in this Colony by the contributions of her own members.

'That the means are sufficient cannot be doubted, when we remember how large a portion of the merchandise and other wealth of the country is in the hands of Churchmen. Neither is there any just reason to doubt their will and liberality. All that is wanted—or what is chiefly wanted—is a proper and effective machinery. For this the Church looks to her Clergy: they must declare, they must carry it into operation. Just as in England the Clergy declare and maintain their claim to the tithes, and collect or receive them once a year: so in this country the Missionaries must perform a similar duty—a duty not to or for themselves only, but to their people, nay, I will add, to their God and Saviour also.

'The chief object, then, of this Circular Letter is to submit to you a plan, which after much deliberation, has been allowed and approved by the Committee of the Church Society, and which I desire you to put in operation in your mission (with such modifications as your experience may suggest) during the following year; but in such time and manner that, by the next fall, I may receive from your mission a contribution, through you, to the funds of the Church Society, at the rate of 5*s.* a-year, or one penny a week, per head, from each and every Church member, old and young. Whilst some instances will probably occur where nothing can be demanded, it is confidently hoped that from others much larger sums will be realized and returned, according to the ability wherewith God has blessed them and their yearly gains. But whatever your collection or collections may be, all must be returned to me, or the Treasurer of the Church Society.

'In the disposal of the funds so created it is proposed, in the first place, to return to each Clergyman the whole amount of the former annual contributions to his support, and to supply also reductions which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel may find it necessary or think expedient to make. It is hoped that within three years that Society may be relieved to the extent of half each Clergyman's salary, including the Bishop's; and yet the amount so deducted be more than made up to all and each from our collections, so that each and every mission will be directly concerned and interested.

'In the next place, or conjointly with this adjustment of the present Clergymen's income, it is intended to send new missionaries to several districts destitute of the ministrations of the Church and her means of Grace, especially on the Western and Southern coasts.

'It must be remembered that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has already, in some instances, reduced the Priest's salary to 150*l.*, and it seems just, that the income of those receiving the smaller amount should be made equal to that of their brethren in the same ministry.

'The only worldly advantage or preferment to be conceded to one or any above others must henceforward arise from fees, residence, and glebe. These will be left undisturbed in the hands of each Missionary, only expecting of him that the Parsonage-house be kept in repair, with the fences of his garden and glebe. He will be allowed also, as heretofore, to demand and receive the customary fees. All other collections for, or payment to the Clergyman, must, at the close of this year, altogether cease.

'The fund will be further applicable towards the erection of new Churches and Parsonage-houses, and any extensive repairs or alterations, made necessary by accident or unavoidable decay.

'No part of the collection will arise from pew rents or assessments—all must be received directly from heads of families or individuals, who of course will be entitled, for their payments, severally and collectively, to the ministrations of the Clergyman and Church. The only further pay-

ment required, or necessary in this behalf, from the congregation will be for the ordinary repairs (including of course painting) of their churches, with other small incidental expenses, as the salary of Clerk or Sexton, the fires, lights, bread and wine for the Holy Sacrament, &c., which in England are provided for by Church-rates; and may in this country easily be met by quarterly collections in the churches, or by general assessment.'—*Church in the Colonies*, No. 10, pp. 29—33.

So that this Church Society, not Church Union, is no new thing; it existed in the time of the present Bishop's predecessor, its compulsory payments are of five years' standing, its regulations are well known and acted upon in the Diocese: it is founded upon the plainest Scriptural principles, that he 'who feedeth a flock should eat of the milk of the flock,'—not of the milk of other sheep, not of English money and of English charity, but of the milk of his own flock,—and that 'he that is taught in the word should minister unto him that teacheth in all good things.'

Now, the Bishop is instructed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to require the members of our Church to contribute according to their means to the support of their Clergy: he is instructed by higher authority than that of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,—by Holy Scripture, by the warrant of the Church in all ages, by the example of the Church at home, by the practice of all religious bodies, nay, by the law of nature itself. Religion must be paid for by those who use it. Here in England—has this never been heard of in Islington?—Church Rates are demanded by law even from Dissenters. Baptisms are most certainly required to be paid for in a tariff of fees suspended, if nowhere else, yet in the vestry of Islington Church. The Methodists—this, surely, is an example suited to Mr. Wilson's comprehension—exclude from all Church privileges those who do not pay their weekly contributions; the Roman Catholic priests enforce their dues by the persuasive rhetoric of a cart-whip even in this very Newfoundland; and suburban Vicars do the same by the more galling process of a distress warrant.

So much, then, for the 'Church Union,' and the compulsory enrolment into it, and the subscription required, 'a quintal of fish of the value of fifteen shillings,' the said subscription being now for the head of a family 10*s.* currency per annum = 8*s.*7*d.* sterling of English money, *or* a quintal of fish which is not worth 15*s.* The Newfoundlanders, like the Old Englanders, must have the matter placed before them as a matter of business: they must be plainly told, If you want the Church and its ministers, and services, you must pay for them, and if you will not pay for them, you must not expect them. On the other hand, the Clergy are instructed to give freely and gratuitously their own services and the offices of the Church to all those who cannot

afford to pay for them, while, at the same time, they are left at liberty to refuse those services to such as, being perfectly able to pay, refuse to contribute what is right and reasonable to the support of the Church. This contribution is not, as Mr. Wilson chooses to call it, a 'subscription to the Church Union,' but only the ordinary Church dues, the solitary recognition which a man, the head of a family, is called upon, where it is known that he can afford it, to make for his Christianity. For these Church dues, he and his family in return receive all the Church offices—offices which are at the same time most freely and cheerfully given without fee or reward, to those who can and do pay nothing.

We now proceed to 'the startling fact,' the 'weeping parents,' and 'the refusal of Baptism.' We have not seen the documents relating to this 'startling fact,' which are exhibited at 14, Chatham Place, because the Secretary was absent when we demanded a sight of them: but we will assume the case to be identical with one, the particulars of which we are acquainted with.

At Harbour Beauffet lives a planter, as such people are called, —that is, a general dealer and fisherman,—named C——. This person has resided there for some time, and in what general estimation, in the way of temper, he has been held, is tolerably well known, especially to the Newfoundland School Society's former master and superintendent, who for some years held the Mission at Harbour Beauffet. Against this Clergyman, a most respectable and active man, C—— brought several complaints and charges which he entirely failed to substantiate. In 1847, Mr. White succeeded to the Mission, and against him also C—— set himself in various ways. Without going into instances of C——'s litigious quarrelsome temper, it is enough to say, that he is a person who has contrived to quarrel with all those with whom he has been brought into connexion. As respects Mr. White, C—— has all along opposed the payment of the Church dues, attempting to fix the payment at 6*s.* currency, instead of 10*s.*, the Bishop's sum. He refused to allow his son and son-in-law, both married men, but under his control, to pay more than 6*s.* as their Church dues. About the same time, children were born to both these young men, and *in their absence,* C—— applied to Mr. White to baptize these infants. Mr. White said, they had not paid their Church dues: Mr. C—— intimated they could not afford to pay 10*s.* and tendered 6*s.* for each. This Mr. White refused to receive. Upon the return of the young men, the son-in-law applied to Mr. White, denied that he had given C—— any authority to act on his behalf, and promised to pay the 10*s.*, and his child was

accordingly forthwith baptized. The son was not allowed to do this, C—— taking the matter into his own hands, and still tendering the 6*s*. A complaint is then made by C—— to the Bishop, of Mr. White's refusal to baptize the child: which in point of fact never took place, Mr. White not refusing Baptism, but only claiming the promise of the Church dues. To this complaint it was replied in substance, that if the son-in-law was so poor as to be able to pay no dues, the Missionary in charge had received orders to give to him and to his family all the services of the Church, as freely as to those who paid the prescribed offerings: but that the question of *lowering* the prescribed dues, in obedience to individual opposition and dictation, could not be entertained; that the matter was obviously one of principle, not of detail, and that the difference between 10*s*. and 6*s*. was not the real dispute, but it was, whether an individual might gain his point in counteracting and opposing the Bishop's plan for the local support of the Clergy. C——'s further conduct we are not called upon to specify; except to state that this miserably poor man, who would not permit his son to pay the difference between 10*s*. and 6*s*. currency—actually brought himself, his son, his son's wife and the child, to S. John's, a distance of 230 miles, at probably twenty times the expense of the disputed 4*s*., to get the child baptized. His whole conduct certainly illustrates that deep touch of tragic pathos in Mr. Wilson's statement, about the 'weeping parents.'

It is as well to add, that simultaneously with C——'s complaint to the Bishop, an address was forwarded, signed by nearly all the heads of families in the settlement, by the churchwardens of that and the past year, and by C——'s son-in-law himself, declaring their gratitude to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and announcing their duty and determination to assist the Missionary cause by paying their own Church dues. We have felt it to be a duty to the Newfoundland Mission to vindicate it from a scandal, which has been whispered about, and commented upon. Without attempting to vindicate such a man as the Bishop of Newfoundland, who is as far above our praise as he is removed from the censures of Mr. Wilson, or Mr. Close, or the *Record* newspaper, the chief sharers in this combination—we had almost said plot—against his usefulness, we do say that one of the most manly English characteristic features about his Episcopate is the course which in this particular instance he has adopted. The whole
tions and constitution of the Colonial Church need a most
ching review. The Colonies have been kept upon a mother's
quite long enough. Until the Colonists have learned to
without the leading strings of 79, Pall Mall, they will

never feel real respect for the Church, or for themselves as Churchmen. The present state of things is dishonest and unhealthy. No real affection and respect will, or can, be felt towards the Clergy, while they remain mere pensioners of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Apostles have insisted upon their right to receive, and of the people's duty to pay, gifts of their temporal substance in exchange for the spiritual ministry. We at home, in many cases far poorer than Newfoundland planters, or Halifax shopkeepers, or Canadian farmers, are not bound to undertake burthens, for which the recipients are not even grateful. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sees this: — the Colonial Bishops see this:—and the Colonial Clergy and people must be made to feel it: which at present they do not. The Colonial Clergy, in some cases, find it much more pleasant to draw their salaries from the patience of Pall Mall, than to force upon their unwilling and ill-taught people, whose it is to pay and whose to receive. And as to the people, it is but the most familiar chapter in man's history, that as long as we can get others to pay for us, we are never over-anxious to pay for ourselves. And so it comes to pass that on all sides dishonesty and selfishness abound. The plea of this very man C——, whose case we have commented upon, was that he should not pay the 10*s*. Church dues, for the Missionary was paid by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and therefore that he—prosperous tradesman withal—had a *right* to his services.

To recur to the thought with which we started. Here, certainly, is a very favourable specimen of what English mind and energy can compass—here is a proof that our scholars and gentlemen, for such are to be found in Newfoundland, can adapt themselves to new and trying circumstances, and can fit themselves by a natural adaptation to all that is asked of them. While they maintain national character, they bring it out in a new and very real telling way. And so we think that the Newfoundland Mission—and from many such Colonial Churches we have selected this, chiefly to meet Mr. Wilson's charges against its head—shows itself a true work, because it is a growth, because the Bishop and Clergy and people, in spite of course of many recusants, fall into hard work spontaneously, and, as a matter-of-fact, in a systematic, orderly, natural way display a vast power and body of the Church's inner life, and strength. Here is a display of self-denial, and of the hard laborious life of the soldiers of the Cross, which cannot be gainsaid. Here is an earnestness and depth of spiritual life, the more significant as it only starts up occasionally in strong living jets of flame,

just when the soil is stirred, but which plainly prove the flame of holy zeal at work within. Here are Bishop and Clergy wearily plodding over icy *no*-roads, scrambling through forest and tangled briers breast high, rowing boats, sailing through fog and sleet, spending nights and days amidst the rocks, stooping to the commonest domestic offices for each other, dwelling in hovels not weather-tight, (and this in a country of seven months' ice and snow,) braving hunger and thirst, lack of raiment and lack of friends, alone in the waste howling wilderness, with only the contemplation of the Cross to instrengthen them, and all, as though it were a matter-of-course, common, every-day thing, just simply their work, and nothing else. We care not to confess that, if all this is not the saintly temper, and this the Apostolic life, such never existed in the Christian world, or in any age, or branch, of the Church. And it is to mar this fair work, and to introduce confusion where all might be peace and duty,—it is to pluck up the Cross just planted on Labrador itself, the latest and sharpest triumph of the English Church,—that we are summoned to a new Evangelical League, under Islington auspices, and at the call of the Vicar of Islington and the Vicar of Cheltenham.

NOTICES.

THE Bishop of S. Andrew's, undeterred by the outery which has been raised against the Scotch Prayer-book, has authorized 'Hymns and Anthems for the holy Service of the Church,' (Lendrum,) within his Diocese. It makes the first approach we have yet seen in our Communion to a *Proprium Sanctorum* for the Lesser Saints. Thus, not only have all the black letter days, in the prefixed Calendar, a reference given to the Common of Martyrs, Bishops, Virgins, Holy Women, or Confessors, but S. Columba, S. Palladius, and S. Ninian, have hymns of their own. (In S. Ninian's hymn we perceive that 'dear' is a misprint for 'drear.') There are about one hundred and thirty hymns in all, the majority imitations rather than translations of those in the Roman and Paris Breviary. We also notice some from other quarters: as the *Alleluia, dulce carmen.* On the whole, the translations are very good. We meet here and there with some vulgarisms, as 'Come, let's adore the gracious hand;' and some hymns that certainly were better away, as that beginning, 'Let others take their course;' and a good many contortions, as 'Thou dost us here in mercy spare.' But this does not detract from the general merit. We wish, as we had occasion to say before, that the Latin metre had been retained in the translations; and that our poets would remember that half the original beauty is lost, unless the original melody can be employed. But here, the exquisitely graceful and triumphant *Ad regias Agni dapes* cannot be used for, 'At the Lamb's high feast we sing;' and so in many other instances. The order of the book is—the Hebdomadal Hymns: two Matins and one Evening, for the ordinary week-days: —then the Proper of Time, the Common of Saints, and the Proper of Saints; the whole followed by Prose Anthems, arranged also according to time. We have criticised one or two little flaws in the poetry of the book; but the high sacramental character of its theology is worthy of those wonderful hymns which it endeavours to familiarize to the Scotch Churchmen. We must not forget to add, that the profits of the book, after the united Dioceses are supplied gratis, go to S. Ninian's Cathedral at Perth: a work, indeed, commanding our most earnest good wishes.

'Hymnale secundum usum insignis ac præclaræ Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis. 'Accedunt Hymni quidam secundum usus matris Ecclesiæ Eboracensis et 'insignis Ecclesiæ Herford.' This is a Littlemore reprint, and creditable both to the editor and publisher. A Sarum hymnal is exceedingly convenient for the English student, not so much from any rarity or peculiarity in the hymns themselves,—for out of about one hundred and fifty hymns which the present volume contains, very few are not given, in a slightly altered form, in the Roman Breviary,—but because it of course preserves the original reading, uncorrupted by the emendations of the *literati* of Urban VIII. *Accessit Latinitas, recessit pietas,* was the cry at the time. But this is not all. The chains of metre, which the Church had deliberately cast away, were again forced upon her, and the free bold thoughts of mediæval poets cramped into pseudo-Latinity. It was this adulterated edition of the Roman Hymns which Mr. Newman, some years ago, reprinted. To these he added almost all those of the Sarum and York Breviaries, which differ from the Roman. Of Sarum Hymns, not common to the Roman use, the gem is

Lætabundus: which Salisbury was peculiar in using as a *hymn*, rather than what it is, a *sequence*. *Collaudemus Magdalenæ* also possesses great beauty; it is one of the few which seem of English origin. Why parts of those of Ven. Bede's did not find their way into our Breviaries, especially that of York, it is hard to say; some of his, especially that of the Holy Innocents, are truly exquisite. With respect to the editor's part, we rather doubt the propriety of retaining absolute errors, because they had crept into the English Breviaries. Thus, in the great hymn of S. Thomas, we have *In supremæ noctis cœnâ*, instead of *In supremæ nocte cœnæ;* in that of Prudentius, *Cultor Dei memento*, we have *Christus hic est, liquesce*, instead of *Hic Christus est, liquesce;* in the *Urbs beata Hierusalem*, we read, *Præparata* ET *sponsata Copuletur Domino*, instead of *ut*. In the glorious *Vexilla Regis*, the unintelligible second verse, *Confixa clavis*, &c., is in all Sarum Breviaries retained. But we doubt, nevertheless, if it were in common English use, because in the very curious song on the death of Piers Gaveston, beginning, 'Vexilla Regis prodeunt, Fulget cometa comitum; Comes dico Lancastriæ, Qui domuit indomitum,' it is omitted. With regard to the theology of the hymns, we cannot help quoting the very neat conclusion of the preface:—'Quod idem observatum sit in invocationibus cæterisque hujusmodi, de quibus ut cuique visum fuerit judicandum est, vel etiam, si placuerit, nulla omnino sententia ferenda. Pie certe interpretanda sunt quæ tantæ pietatis imaginem præ se ferunt.'

'A Letter to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway. By a Scotch Presbyter. Edinburgh.' (Grant.) The author of this letter, which is very well written, is one of the few who, without any tendencies to Rome, is yet not afraid to look our difficulties in the face. He points out the fallacy of those comparisons which have been drawn between the straits to which the Church has been reduced in former times, *e. g.*, by the Robbers' Meeting at Ephesus, and the Councils of Rimini and Seleucia, and our own position. The Scottish Presbyter gives some modern comparisons more completely to the point, and not quite so favourable to ourselves. 'In the question of mixed marriages, the Archbishop of Posen defied the King of Prussia, and was committed to prison for refusing to obey the Royal Mandate. On the same question the Archbishop of Cologne asserted his spiritual authority, in defiance of the King's decree, and died in the prison to which he was sent for his refusal. In the Gallican Church, M. de Bonald has not unfrequently resisted the unjust encroachments of the State, and, in the Education Scheme, has successfully opposed the Republican Government of France; and more recently, in Sardinia, the Archbishop of Turin refused to give the last offices of religion to a Minister of State under ecclesiastical censure, and, I believe, has been imprisoned for the act.'

The edition of the Scotch Prayer-book, authorised by the Bishop of S. Andrew's, which we noticed with so much thankfulness in our last number, has given rise to an important controversy in Scotland. We regret to learn that a majority of both Bishops and Clergy have pronounced against it; but under circumstances which give little weight to their judgment. The Bishops judged it for the first time without having had time to examine the book further than by a cursory glance as they sat in Synod; and the result was a sentence against the publisher, such as is

unknown in modern times, and we believe questionable at common law. The Diocesan Synods seem to have acted with equal haste; though we must do all parties the justice to say that,—so far as we have heard,—they condemned nothing in the book beyond the title page, which certainly contains an oversight difficult to defend. The last act of the Episcopal Synod—the Bishop of Brechin, if report speak true, protesting—has been to determine on issuing a strong Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and people, a milder communication to the Archbishop of Canterbury, (who has about as much to do with the matter as the Metropolitan of Moscow,) and a gentlemanly letter to the Bishop of S. Andrew's himself. Here we have that old Collegiate spirit, which is for ignoring *diocesan* Episcopacy, and exalting the Synod into a sort of aristocratical Papacy. We rejoice to hear that the Venerable Bishop of S. Andrew's addressed a temperate and judicious memorial to his Episcopal brethren, declining to allow the matter to be taken up by way of appeal,—the only method in which it could properly come before them,—and admonishing them, that they would best consult their own credit and the peace of the Church by recalling their former hasty resolution. The real author of the disunion is the Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond. He, according to his own showing, obtained a copy from the publisher before publication, and sent it with all haste to the Bishop of Glasgow, who, it will be remembered, had till very recently been a priest in a southern English county, and was, therefore, necessarily without experience in the Scotch Church. The Bishop espoused the Warden's side. Mr. Wordsworth then, not content with attacking the Prayer Book in his own Diocesan Synod, commenced a series of letters to the *Guardian*. The tone, manner, and argument of these productions, a real respect for Mr. Wordsworth's former services alone prevents us from characterising as they deserve. The history of the Prayer Book, which Mr. Wordsworth has sadly misrepresented, is briefly this. One of the Clergy of the Diocese of S. Andrew's, feeling the difficulty of following an use in which his people could not so fully join, suggested to the Bishop the propriety of authorising an edition of the Scotch Prayer Book, with rubrics containing the acknowledged use of the Scotch Church. The venerable Prelate, after some demur, agreed to do so if petitioned by a majority of the Diocese. On occasion of an ordination, such a petition was actually adopted by all the Clergy then present, who formed exactly a majority of those licensed in the diocese. And it was then expressly stated that the Book, when published, was not to be forced on the individual use of any clergyman. It was distinctly understood that those who had used the Scotch Office before, would use it still; only with practices now no longer traditional, but rubrical. The Bishop then went over the book with the priest who had first proposed the edition,—gave him a rough draft of the additions which he thought necessary,—and ordered him to return a fair copy of these for his further inspection. This was done in the following May. The Bishop, in July, returned the copy with some additional corrections, and his *imprimatur*, requiring, at the same time, that such of the proofs should be sent to him as contained any of his corrections. And not till all this labour had been expended on revision did the book appear. We are thus minute, because Mr. Wordsworth, to mask his attack on the Bishop, has untruly represented the book as the composition of others; and has thought it right to suggest that fail-

ing years and faculties alone induced the Prelate to give his *imprimatur*. The points in the Prayer Book chiefly objected to by Mr. Wordsworth and his companions are these:—1. The expression in the title page, *according to the use of the Church of Scotland;* that being, they say, the legal title of the Establishment. We shall certainly not answer such an argument; and Mr. Wordsworth, himself, has ere now employed the same language which he here reproaches with a want of good faith. 2. The permission to employ the Summary of the Law instead of the Ten Commandments. This is given in what is *the* norm of the Scotch Prayer Book, the form exhibited by Bishop Horsley in the House of Lords, and which received the *imprimatur* of the then Primus Skinner. It was adopted by the American Church at the suggestion of the Scotch consecraters of Bishop Seabury. 3. The form of Confirmation: 'I sign thee with the Sign of the Cross; and I lay mine hands upon thee, in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Defend, O LORD, &c.' Now here we take very much higher ground. The English form of Confirmation has never been allowed (as the English Liturgy has been) by the Scotch Church; and if any Bishop employ it, *this* is the real usurpation and presumption. It is the same stretch of authority which it would be in an English Prelate to employ the Scotch form. 4. The Reservation of the Consecrated Gifts. On this Mr. C. Wordsworth expends the chief part of his declamation, alleging that the English Articles, accepted for a particular purpose by the Scotch Church, forbid it. Now here we find him guilty of a misrepresentation of both the Scotch and English Churches. Of the Scotch Church, in imagining that the same Bishops who practised reservation, received the English Articles, while they believed them to forbid it; and of the English Church in alleging that her Articles so forbid it. If they did condemn the practice, they would condemn the all but universal use of the Catholic Church; and Mr. Wordsworth's assertion, therefore, we regard as an injustice to ourselves. The *words* of the English Article are perfectly true: 'The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not, by CHRIST'S ordinance, reserved.' The meaning was, perhaps, to protest against—if any such there were conceived to be—a superstitious Reservation: or more probably, a declaration in favour of the lawfulness of sick-room consecration. Another argument much relied on by Mr. Wordsworth and his followers, is the rubric at the end of the English Communion Office, that the consecrated elements shall not be carried out of the church. But, they argue, if the Scotch Church allows that office, it is clear that she can command nothing contrary to its rubrics. But this argument shows a large misapprehension of facts. The rubrics at the end of the English office have never been accepted by the Scotch Church; she does not expect even such of her Clergy as use that office to comply with them; nay, rather, she tacitly disapproves them. For, in her 20th Canon, she says, 'Every Clergyman shall pay attention to the spirit and design of the rubrics *prefixed* to the office.' What is this but to say that she does *not* ish them to pay attention to the spirit and design of the rubrics affixed to ? The Scotch Prayer Book, as edited and recommended by the Bishop of Andrews, is nothing else than the normal Scotch Prayer Book of Bishop kinner, with the addition of rubrics expressing, in words, practices itherto handed down by tradition only. The single point of difference is

this: that the permission to substitute the Collect for Grace in the place of one of the Collects for the Sovereign, was not (owing to the suspicion with which the loyalty of the Scotch Church was then regarded) in Bishop Horsley's book; though the substitution was, at that time, really practised. And we are the more anxious to reiterate on our readers the fact that Bishop Skinner's Prayer Book is the service of the Scotch Church, because, it seems, our notice in the last number was so far misunderstood, as to be thought to assert that Laud's was the normal book. We were there speaking of tradition handed down since his time, not of the office. We repeat, therefore, that the Bishop of S. Andrew's has invented nothing, introduced nothing new, altered nothing. He simply bears witness, as it were, to the use of his Church: and but for this witness, it is now manifest, the Scotch Church would soon have been deprived of any distinguishing rite of excellence. Of the document put forth in the name of Mr. Wordsworth and some of his supporters, in which, covertly indeed, and under a respectful form, but still with sufficient plainness, the conduct of the Bishop of S. Andrew's is characterised as illegal, uncanonical, inconsistent, faithless, and uncharitable, we shall only say, that it is the most arrogant composition which has for some time come under our notice. —We are bound to notice one curious argument of Mr. Wordsworth's. He is not, he says, acting with an Anglican spirit, when he seeks to obliterate national Scotch usages. His opponents are; because they are supported by the unanimous voice of the English Church Press. We may instance the *Guardian*, the *English Churchman*, the *Ecclesiologist*, the *Ecclesiastic*, and ourselves. Had all these periodicals been in his favour, would Mr. Wordsworth then have confessed himself acting with an Anglican spirit?

We have on previous occasions pointed out some of the defects of Mr. J. H. Parker's 'Glossary of Architecture,' but we are bound to say that every reprint far increases its value. Before us is now lying the fifth edition of this work, the actual and practical use of which we rate very highly. It is much enlarged both in written and pictorial particulars: so much so that the volume of illustrations is now in two parts. In its present form it is also enriched with Professor Willis's valuable discoveries in mediæval technology. The successive editions of the Glossary form a remarkable historical *précis* of the advancement of ecclesiology from its first hesitating tentative rudiments to the condition of an exact science: and though we find in the contributors to the Glossary a preference of the archæological to the religious element, yet we may be very thankful for the exact technical knowledge which these handsome volumes generally display.

'A Report of Papers read at the joint meeting of the Architectural Societies of Northampton and Lincoln' (Sharp: Stamford,) is instructive and interesting. The papers are by Mr. Ayliffe Poole, Sir Charles Anderson, and Mr. F. P. Lowe: the latter on the architectural, or rather ecclesiological, *crux* of 'low-side windows,' as Mr. Lowe incorrectly words it for 'low side-windows.' This is a question on which every body seems to take license to talk nonsense: we pass over the 'vulne-window' theory, as well as Mr. Cole's mistranslation of Peckham's Constitution—(Mr. Cole actually thinks that 'pulsentur campanæ in uno latere' means one side of the Church; instead of which, it obviously is one side of the bell)—but Mr. Lowe sup-

poses these windows to be merely holes for ventilation. We think it quite sufficiently fatal to this theory to believe that our ancestors—though no disciples of Drs. Reid or Arnott—had sufficient practical sense to know that ventilation near the floor, the ordinary position of these windows, would only produce rheumatism in the knees, and would not carry off any foul air.

Mr. Henry Ierson has printed 'Two Lectures: on the Decay of Traditional Faith: and on the Re-establishment of Faith by Philosophy' (Chapman). They were delivered at the so-called Finsbury Chapel, belonging to Mr. Fox. Mr. Ierson is an infidel; a liberal infidel, who patronizes Christianity and thinks it a very tolerable folly in its way, but inefficient and insufficient for the age. The word *infidel* is an ugly one: but we are writing to Christians, and there is no choice of terms for us. And though we have been told of a certain dangerous skill in 'inventing ingenious retorts,' it arises only from the courtesy of their respective publishers, and from no premeditated juxtaposition of our own, that Mr. Newman's recent 'Lectures at the Oratory,' (Burns,) and Mr. Ierson's Lectures at Finsbury, meet on the same table and in the same quarter of the year. But their coincidence in time is not the most significant and remarkable common nature which they possess. Mr. Ierson's theory—it is the prevalent one of the new infidel school—is the ordinary formula: we condense it only to save the trouble of tedious quotation. Our Lord was a mere preacher of natural religion, somewhat in advance of his age; contrary to his intention, his followers imposed upon this simple germ a mass of traditions—systems—dogmas: Christianity attracted to itself Pauline, Judaizing, Roman, Pagan elements by successive accretions, until it became what it is; but entirely by a slow and gradual growth. Mr. Newman admits that 'what Anglicans call the Roman corruptions, were but instances of that very same doctrinal law which was to be found in the history of the early Church; and that in the sense in which the dogmatic truth of the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin may be said in the lapse of centuries to have grown upon the consciousness of individuals, in that same sense did in the first age the mystery of the Blessed Trinity also gradually shine out and manifest itself more and more completely before their minds.' (P. 321.) Here is an account of the origin of the existing dogmatic Christianity, emanating from opposite quarters, yet substantially identical; but it is not the Anglican estimate of the complete and final deposit of doctrine—not the old Roman Catholic, not the Patristic, account of the matter. Still Finsbury Chapel and the Oratory accept it: ultramontanism and pure Deism are on this historical point at one. We only state the plain fact.

The 'Churchman's Pulpit' (Garner) is a collection of original Sermons recently preached in several Churches, chiefly at the east end of London. Among the writers most known are Mr. Irons, Mr. Denison, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Bennett. Mr. H. Bedford has contributed some very striking sermons. As the publisher speaks of his losses occasioned by this work, we are glad to say a good word for it. A sentence struck us in running over these pages. 'God is pleased to deem the wants of the young lions and arce-fledged ravens, that lack and suffer hunger, not unworthy of his tice: he pities the much cattle of Nineveh: he tempers the blast to the orn lamb.' (P. 84.) We should scarcely have expected to find this hackyed scrap of Sterne's sentimentalism reproduced either as, or in connexion

with, Holy Scripture. The preacher is Mr. Jackson, now Bishop Designate of Lyttelton, in New Zealand.

Mr. George G. Scott has published a 'Plea for the faithful Restoration of Ancient Churches.' (J. H. Parker.) Whatever is written by an eminent architect deserves to command attention; and in Mr. Scott's general tone and spirit we heartily concur. We do want *faithful* restoration: but many among us, because many restorations have been *unfaithful*, condemn all restoration. Some from a superstitious reverence to the sentiment and beauty of a ruin, towards which feeling Mr. Ruskin inclines: this error arises from an undue cultivation of the æsthetic element. And some from a deference to mere antiquarianism, which would treat Christian Churches as cold historical and chronological specimens of style and art: here the mistake is an extravagant admiration for architectural science; and it is one from which we cannot deem Mr. Pettit quite free. We do not charge Mr. Scott with these extremes: but we reclaim against any Canons on Restoration being drawn with a precision too severe. A case for illustration occurs to us. It is proposed to restore the Church of Little Maplestead: one of the four famous Round Churches. (By the bye, we believe there is an undescribed fifth in Ludlow Castle.) Against the design for this proposed restoration it is urged by an able archæologist that the restoration is unfaithful, because the artist, Mr. Carpenter, adds a triforium and clerestory, with spire. It is not said that these are designed in an unsuitable style: only that being additions to the existing structure they are inadmissible: they offend against 'faithful restoration.' This is surely an affectation of purism, rather than purity. Upon this false principle Bristol Cathedral must continue naveless: Cologne ought to have been content with its fragmentary fane: Redcliffe must never expect a spire: Westminster should have still remained shorn of its modern towers. We are quite at one with Mr. Scott in the line which he adopts as to the providential course which the later Anglican Church took in preserving both the examples and traditions of pointed architecture. It is not too much to anticipate that had Romanism continued its free course in England, ancient art in this country would have been a mere matter of conjectural history. Far from the fact being as Mr. Pugin *once* stated it, that every architectural monstrosity is due to the Reformation, we consider that unchecked Romanism, as for four centuries we have seen it actually working in ecclesiological Rome, and as recently developed in the Oratory, would have been absolutely destructive of every trace of true Christian art.

'Langley School,' by the author of 'Kings of England' (Mozley)— a reprint of papers from the Magazine for the Young—is exactly suited to children. Now that the rage for children's books has declined, we get really good specimens: and this is among the best.

The *thirty-eighth* edition of 'The Christian Year' (J. H. Parker) suggests thoughts much wider than can be comprised in the single thankful line in which we announce its publication. The present reprint is as small, mean, and therefore we hope as cheap, as the cheapest Methodist Hymn-Book— this is the true sign of worth.

Our function is rather with the literary aspect of science than with pure science itself. With this view we have examined Dr. Johnston's 'Intro-

duction to Conchology' (Van Voorst), and we can safely pronounce it to be an exceedingly entertaining as well as instructive work. It is not that Dr. Johnston exalts the inferior creatures about whom he writes above their appointed rank in creation, but he forcibly brings out the disregarded duty of looking at all animal life as sentient, almost intelligent, being. It is pleasant, if no more, for the commonest non-scientific reader to be let into the daily habits, the domestic life, of creatures apparently so confined and debased as the mollusks. The present work is among the handsomest of Mr. Van Voorst's always handsome volumes on Natural History. But, as the nursery moral says, To be good is better than to be handsome: and we do not recollect one of Van Voorst's publications which is not safe: no small, though a rare, recommendation for a physicist's library. Is it not a blunder at p. 39, to say 'that the shells of the *Chama gigas* actually serve to this day the purpose of *baptismal fonts* in the church of S. Sulpice at Paris?' They are of course Benaturas: we have noticed a similar use of these noble shells in the Cathedral of Cadiz.

'The Revelation of Jesus Christ: explained agreeably to the Analogy of Holy Scripture and the Interpretation of its Symbols.' By a Clergyman. (Masters.) We have received this book, a very large one, very late in the quarter. It is quite certain that the respectable Publisher is not aware of it, —though we cannot deny that some responsibility in so grave a matter will not unreasonably be laid upon one in his position,—but the writer is an Irvingite, and the general tone of the book is to further the progress of that sect, for sect it is. This is not the first time we have detected what we cannot but stigmatise as gross unfairness in writers of this persuasion; an unfairness, perhaps, inherent in their wild theory, and so not unfair to them, but still viciously ensnaring and misleading to others. They seek employment from Church publishers, and as Churchmen and Churchwomen, and get their books, poems, essays, circulated among Churchmen, and in one or two cases under the guarantee of Mr. Masters' name. And no sooner do we say a word on the subject, than we have a cloud of reclamatory, and always anonymous, letters, saying how unfair it is to call this body Irvingites;—how they repudiate the name—what excellent people they are—how they love the Church, &c., which may be all very true; and strictly, they may not be '*Irving*ites.' But, if this body will tell us what word we can use which is to express *our* meaning, viz. of a communion which teaches us that one half of the external ministry of the Church failed in days immediately succeeding those of the Apostles, and that this ministry, in its four-fold manifestation, has very recently been revived among certain individuals who alone possess grace to acknowledge it; *i.e.* that till the days of Edward Irving, or just afterwards, the Holy Spirit never fully inhabited or ruled the Church; when, we say, the persons who hold and teach all this, will tell us how in words to distinguish them from ourselves, we will frankly use their appellative, so long as it is fair, and a real logical *differentia*. But, as matters stand, we cannot understand the common morality of those who hold Irvingism, either writing as Churchmen, or, still worse, holding Church
ferment. Of course, we do not expect Bishops to take the matter up;
the evil is great. The unsuspecting *Morning Post*, a week ago, pub-
ied a letter from a Mr. Hooper, a beneficed clergyman, which was rank

Irvingism throughout. All this evil of publishing false doctrine, in Church quarters and in Church names, arises from the absence of a theological censor, appointed by authority, and the non-existence of this official arises from what we all know too well. Under existing circumstances, however, the Publisher is our *Censor Theologicus;* in the present case, his name is equivalent to the technical *Nihil obstat:* and therefore we say some blame, connected with this work, attaches somewhere.

We feel ourselves under considerable obligations to Dr. Russell, of Maynooth, for translating, and to Mr. Burns for publishing, the famous 'Systema Theologicum' of Leibnitz. Every tyro in ecclesiastical history remembers the various schemes for comprehension between the Roman Church and the Protestant bodies, which have made the names of Cassander, Wicelius, and Calixtus, matters of history, but which took their most auspicious and promising form in the prolonged and often renewed negotiations, in which Molanus and Leibnitz on the one hand, and Spinola, and even Bossuet, and perhaps Innocent XI. on the other, pronounced that the differences between the Reformed and the Roman Church were not irreconcileable. How far either party was sincere in their hopes—the remarkable progress which at one time the scheme of union had acquired—the political obstacles, arising a good deal from our 'glorious revolution,' which finally proved fatal—are detailed in Dr. Russell's admirable introduction. That Leibnitz considered his views as the natural complement to 'the theology of Laud and Forbes,' (p. cxxviii.) shows his acquaintance with the high school of English theology. The present work is a decided acquisition to the literary history of the Church. And how refreshing, as well as how significant, to contrast the manly language of Bossuet about the Roman Church, with Mr. F. Faber's lectures at the Oratory. It is a melancholy chapter in the history of the human mind, to descend from the 'eagle of Meaux,' to 'the representative saint of modern times;' for whom 'dogs detached themselves from their masters and followed him; and little 'birds fluttered round his face and sang in his ear, and who dressed himself 'out in fine clothes for the mere purpose of being made game of.'—(*Spirit &c. of S. Philip Neri*, p. 69.) However, Dr. Russell's publication seems to show that Maynooth and King William Street entertain a very different estimate of their own Church.

Mr. Daniel Wilson, of Islington, has printed an 'Appeal to the Evangelical Members of the Church of England,' (Jackson,) recommending all sorts of combinations and persecutions, against certain parties whom Mr. Wilson thinks that he dislikes under the name of Tractarians, but of whose writings and teaching, as well as of many other things, it is only charitable to Mr. Wilson to believe that he is entirely ignorant.—Mr. Wilson's 'Appeal' has been replied to in a 'Letter to the Rev. D. Wilson, &c. by Mr. Scott,' (Mozley,) which has reached a second edition.

Of Devotional Manuals, we wish to specify two of great practical value:—1. 'A Pocket Manual of Prayers, (Masters,) chiefly for the Hours;' which is beyond both our criticism and praise. This is devoted to actual prayer, while 2. 'Daily Steps towards Heaven,' (J. H. Parker,) is applied rather to the exercise of Meditation. It accompanies the whole Christian year, and is formally divided. These two books will be found important in systematizing and condensing religious duties into actual facts.

We are glad to receive 'Jones' Tracts on the Church,' (J. H. Parker,) reproduced in a cheap form. We do not know whether it has been noticed how keen a sense of humour is displayed in the writings of the 'sometime Rector of Nayland.'

Among the more important pamphlets on the subject of the day, we desire to specify:—1. 'Some Reasons against the Revival of Convocation,' (Pickering,) by Mr. Sanderson Robins. Few have expressed more pointedly than ourselves their sense of the evils attendant upon the restoration of Convocation: but our apprehension of such must be contingent upon the amount of difficulties the other way. We have certainly come to that pass that we must postpone the fear of probable results to the actual experience of imminent evil. We cannot accompany Mr. Robins in his points: *ex. gr.* that we have the *lex loquens* of the written law because we have Bishops. This is a hyper-papal view of episcopal infallibility. Nor is there any parity in the cases, because the General Assembly of Scotland, or Conference among the Wesleyans, has hastened the schisms in those bodies, that this is normal as against a Provincial Council of the Church. Surely there is a guarantee in the one case, which is absent from schismatical assemblies: and to say that Councils are only to be gathered 'when contentions have in a manner ceased' is to ignore the whole history of the Church.—2. Mr. Perceval Ward's 'Letter to Mr. Gladstone' (Masters), who proposes a reconstruction of the Court of Arches.—3. Mr. George Denison's warm 'Appeal to the Clergy and Laity' (Rivington). With Mr. Denison's great principles we most cordially concur: he has announced them too with such bravery and single-heartedness, that we will not say in what we differ from some of his practical suggestions: reserving to ourselves the right of very explicitly condemning any New Tests, whether in the shape of Declarations, or otherwise, to be imposed either on the responsibility of any Church Union, or by any other English authority, as a condition of doing our work in the Church.—4. 'Church Matters in 1850' Nos. 1, 2, (J. H. Parker) by Mr. Keble, contain such important and stirring matter, urged by the authority of one of the most peace-loving of men, that they may well animate us to new duties and exertions.

Will the warm-hearted writer of a 'Voice from the North' pardon us if we say that we cannot concur with the judiciousness of publishing his No. 3 on the 'Internal Disorganization of the Church' (Masters). Most of what he tells us is fearfully too true: but is this the time to say it?

Mr. Newman's 'Lectures at the Oratory,' (Burns,) though they might have made the reputation of an ordinary controversialist, remind us, in many ways, that Mr. Newman has been greater than a controversialist. The defensive part of them shows, quite as much as defences of mixed systems usually do, signs of embarrassment and difficulty; and Mr. Newman forgets both himself and his readers, when he invites them to think 'how secure Pius 'would have been upon his throne, could he have allowed himself to fire on 'his people.' But of course their main purpose is aggressive. He has undertaken the delicate task of discrediting, not so much the English hurch, as the school in it, of which he was once the leader. Such a task, ven if a duty, must ever be an invidious one, to one who has been to his iends what Mr. Newman was. Its real character cannot be disguised by

words of affection and sympathy, of which it is not at all necessary to question the sincerity. His way of dealing with it is bold, dexterous, and —if all other rights are swallowed up by those of such a leader—generous.

The book of the quarter we unhesitatingly pronounce to be Mrs. Jameson's 'Legends of the Monastic Orders,' (Longman.) It forms the second series of 'Sacred and Legendary Art,' which we welcomed on its first appearance. In every thing Mrs. Jameson excels: in vast hagiological literature, in profound taste and criticism of art, especially of Christian art, in reverent estimation of her subject, in the poetical spirit, and in an admirable taste in the selection of her illustrations, both from books and pictures. While there is a freedom in her etching-needle which men might envy, there is a delicacy in her appreciation of the softer touches of the written or traditional legends, which a woman alone could feel. In the religious treatment of her subject, this volume shows a marked improvement on its predecessor: and we have little to object to in Mrs. Jameson's general appreciation of that great fact in the world's history, mediæval legend. All persons of religion and sense have come to take a deeper view of the vast body of Hagiology than that of a cumbrous system of imposture or self-deception. It was a way, perhaps *the* only way, of impressing great spiritual and moral truths, on a rude yet most susceptible intelligence. Even we have debarred ourselves from great opportunities of touching the finest sensibilities by our stiff, common-sense and perhaps common-place forms of religion. And though it may be, and is, quite certain that the boundary between fact and parable was often, by the old legend-writers, left in a hazy dim distance, yet it does not follow that there was any malicious design to deceive. Never were the social charities of life so vividly taught, never were the coarse distinctions of society so effectually levelled, never were the high graces and unearthly struggle of the Christian character so appropriately set forth, as by the Lives—or even the Legends—of the Saints. We are not saying that Mrs. Jameson does not occasionally lean, more than we should do, to Sir James Stephen, or Mr. Kingsley: but she is never sarcastic, scarcely ever condescending, in her notices. We shall be pardoned for extracting one passage, the quaint legendary style of which seems beautifully adapted to its subject—we do not take it for a translation—'Now in the same convent at Fiesole, where 'Antonino made his profession, there dwelt a young friar about the same 'age as himself, whose name was Fra Giovanni, and who was yet more 'favoured by Heaven; for to him, in addition to the virtues of humility, 'charity, and piety, was vouchsafed the gift of surpassing genius. He was 'a painter: early in life he had dedicated himself and his beautiful art to 'the service of God and of His most blessed saints; and, that he might be 'worthy of his high and holy vocation, he sought to make himself unspotted 'from the world, for he was accustomed to say that "those who work for 'Christ must dwell in Christ." Ever before he commenced a picture 'which was to be consecrated to the honour of God, he prepared himself 'with fervent prayer and meditation, and then he began, in humble trust 'that it would be put into his mind what he ought to delineate; and he 'would never change nor deviate from the first idea, for, as he said, "*That* 'was the Will of God;" (*così fusse la volontà di Dio;*) [Vasari] and this he said, 'not in presumption, but in faith and simplicity of heart. So he passed his

'life in imaging those visions of beatitude which descended on his fancy, 'sent indeed by no fabled muse, but even by that Spirit "that doth prefer 'before all temples the upright heart and pure;" and, surely, never before 'nor since was earthly material worked up into soul, nor earthly forms 'refined into spirit, as under the hand of this most pious and excellent 'painter. He became sublime by the force of his own goodness and 'humility. It was as if paradise had opened upon him, a paradise of rest 'and joy, of purity and love, where no trouble, no guile, no change could 'enter: and if, as it has been said, his celestial creations seem to want 'power, not the less do we feel that they need it not,—that before those 'ethereal beings power itself would be powerless: such are his angels, 'resistless in their soft serenity; such his virgins, pure from all earthly 'stain; such his redeemed spirits, gliding into paradise; such his sainted 'martyrs and confessors, absorbed in devout rapture. Well has he been 'named IL BEATO and ANGELICO, whose life was "participate with angels" 'even in this world!'—Pp. 416, 417.

Far be it from us to criticise the Bishop of Exeter's 'Letter to the Churchwardens of Brampford Speke,' (Murray,) but we may say this:—If the present conclusion of the Gorham case hardly satisfies our anticipations, is it not that such conclusion rather reveals our actual disabilities than displays any backwardness on the Bishop's part? It is easy enough to say what we should have done in the Bishop's place: but none can realize that place except he who occupies it.

A 'Pastoral Letter' from the Bishop of Glasgow, (Ogle,) has called out an important 'Letter to the Bishop of Glasgow,' (Masters,) by Sir Archibald Edmonstone. We are thankful to laymen for bringing before us the *political* aspect of our case:—some of our readers will understand why we enforce this word in its highest sense.

Mr. Mayow's 'Second Letter to Mr. Maskell,' (Pickering,) though it contains matter which recent painful facts had antedated, yet is not to be laid aside as of only personal value. While we admit the great importance of all that Mr. Mayow has to say, we may observe that his own interpretation of 'not holding Communion, &c.,' is simply unreal—not to Mr. Mayow, but—to us, because apparently quite impracticable.

Mr. Blackadder—we believe that we read the name correctly—privately asks us to announce a New Edition of the New Testament shortly to be published, which, from the specimen we have seen, seems to combine a harmony, as well as a chronological and local summary, on each page. It is divided into sections after Burton. The most questionable feature of the undertaking is an Analysis of the argument printed marginally. Upon this we can scarcely pronounce: though from the page which we have received we may say that 'foreign languages' is a very inadequate translation of the γλώσσαι of 1 Cor. xiv.

Dr. Pusey has published a most important Letter to Mr. Upton Richards, (J. H. Parker,) on the thesis, 'The Church of England leaves her children free to whom to open their griefs.' Among all Dr. Pusey's publications, there is none which in fulness and learning exceeds this valuable work.

'Sermons,' by Mr. Tomlins, of Uttoxeter, (Masters,) are sound and practical.

Two of Mr. Parker's handsome architectural publications have reached us:—'Views and Elevations of Minster Lovell Church, Oxfordshire, by Mr. Prichard,' exceedingly well sketched. While we object, as we have before said, to model Churches, this particular Church, though very picturesque in itself, is by no means suited to the Colonies.—Mr. Caveler's monograph of 'Warmington Church' is of a higher range. The building deserves such a publication: though we should not pronounce it to be, as they say, a 'typical' Church. The triplets in the south side of the nave are neither usual nor graceful; and the wooden roof, in imitation of stone groining, is a positive defect, whatever ancient authority it may have.

Mr. Jermyn Pratt has done great service by publishing a 'Record of the College of Christ Church in Brecon.' (Masters.) Brecon is known—to at least all the readers of the Clergyman's Almanack—as a Collegiate Chapter, with a Dean (the Bishop of S. David's) and fifteen Canons, among whom are three Archdeacons: its income Mr. Pratt estimates (pp. 10, 11,) at about 10,000*l.* per annum. The Dean and Chapter have allowed the Church to fall down, having first declined to give anything towards its repair: they have of course entirely suspended Divine Service: they keep no residence: they have permitted the school ever since 1845 to become extinct: the clerk or sexton has received no salary since 1834, and 'the cemetery of the College is now let as pasture by the Bishop of St. David's for 16*l.* per annum, and moreover a circus for horsemanship, almost every year, is allowed to be erected in the centre of this hallowed spot.' (P. 24.) We are quite at one with Mr. Pratt in stigmatizing all this as 'one of the grossest cases of Church spoliation ever heard of:' so gross that we confess to some measure of incredulity about it.

We cannot be quite certain that the Durham Architectural Society has taken the most judicious course towards recommending its excellent objects and principles by putting forth a paper by one of its secretaries 'On the principles of Church Building' (Andrews: Durham.) The writer lays down some novel canons: that a Church should not be surrounded by houses in regular forms: and that First Pointed requires colour more imperatively than Second Pointed: and he tells us 'that in Devonshire he once saw a very pretty custom. The infant children which had died in the parish were buried round the yew tree, *seeming to imply* that firm belief that baptized children, dying without actual sin, are certainly, by God's word, inheritors of eternal life.' (P. 16.) ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ ἐν πολὺ διέχουσι θεωρεῖν εὐστόχον· but certainly this *eustochia* is the very bathos of symbolism. It is this kind of extravagance which deters rational people from what is after all a very reasonable matter.

The Archdeacon of Llandaff, Mr. Williams, has addressed a very earnest and touching 'Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff on the peculiar condition and wants of the Diocese.' (J. W. Parker.) It lays open the whole miserable state of the Church in that portion of the Principality, and suggests a general appeal. Such a case, backed by a Bishop and Clergy proving themselves to be in earnest, if it shall gain no answer, will be a solitary case in our annals.

We are pleased to find that Mr. Robert Montgomery in his more recent works is adopting and enforcing Church principles. In a volume which we

have received, 'God and Man,' (Longman,) there is much to like: thoughts often put in an eloquent, always in a striking, way; yet not without some eclecticism. Errors in taste Mr. Montgomery will perhaps never quite discard: but in the present instance he seems on his guard against them. We do not much admire the inartificial disjointed form of this book: we have no right to be asked to accept the *adversaria* of any living writer.

Of Tracts, beyond our general *resumé*, we are bound again to call attention to Mr. J. H. Parker's 'Series of Tracts for the Christian Seasons,' of which the interest and usefulness is kept up in a very striking way. On the whole, it is our best collection.

Of general Tracts, we have to place on record:—'Remarks on Infant Baptism,' (Rivington,) by Mr. Edge:—'The Temples of the Holy Ghost,' (Masters,) by Mr. Walford:—'Essay towards Union,' (Rivington,) also by Mr. Edge, a careful attempt to reconcile difficulties and divisions on the doctrine of grace:—'The way through the Desert,' (Masters,) a nice allegory, by Mr. R. Milman:—'Willie's Grave,' (Cleaver,) a touching child's book:—'Tales of Kirkbeck,' from the same author and publisher, a second series which greatly recalls its predecessor:—Mr. Chanter's 'Exposition of the Catechism,' (Masters,) which we spoke well of on its first appearance:—Mr. Phipps' full and valuable 'Catechism on the Holy Scriptures,' (Masters.)—Dr. Beavan's well-intentioned 'Catechism on the Articles:'—Mr. Davies' 'Catechetical Exercise on the Confirmation Service,' (Simpkin,) somewhat too full on the subjective side of the office:—'The Catholicity of the Church's Love,' (Masters,) four affectionate Letters by an English priest.

And of Sermons:—'Five Sermons on the principles of Faith and Church Authority,' by Mr. Charles Marriott, (Littlemore: Masson,) too important and careful to be slightly acknowledged:—'The One Fold of Christ,' (King,) by Mr. Douglass, of Brighton:—'A Plain Discourse on the one Faith,' (Masters,) by Mr. Grueber; very full and impressive:—'Abuse of Oaths,' (Skeffington,) by Mr. Beames: this is on irreverent blasphemy, and a good Sermon, though not what the title would strictly lead us to anticipate:—Mr. Davies' (a remarkably good preacher) 'Sermon before the Tithe Redemption Trust,' (Masters:)—Mr. Henry Hughes' 'Proofs of the Presence of the Holy Spirit with the Anglican Church,' (Rivington,) containing a sound conclusion on very insufficient premises; *ex. gr.* the writer suggests it as a proof of our being sound, that 'false teachers have gone out of us,' alluding to recent unhappy defections:—Mr. Fortescue on the 'Tudor Supremacy,' (Masters,) a Visitation Sermon:—Mr. Gurney's 'Sermon on the Death of Sir R. Peel,' (Skeffington:)—Mr. Cooke's very admirable Sermon on 'Sacraments channels of Grace from our Lord's Humanity,' (J. H. Parker:) 'The Woman of Samaria,' (Masters,) by Mr. Gray Lawson:—'The Oneness of the Dispensations,' (Rivington,) by Mr. George Townsend:—'The Dead yet Speaking,' a Sermon on Sir R. Peel's death, (Rivington,) by Mr. James Anderson:—and last, because not received, though by no means least in importance, Mr. Bowdler's Sermon, preached at Bishop Fulford's Consecration, 'The Power conferred by Christ on His Church,' (Pickering.)

INDEX TO VOL. XX.

(NEW SERIES.)

ARTICLES AND SUBJECTS.

A.

D'Azeglio [*Ettore Fieramosca, &c.*], 60—109. In what the novel of character fails, 60, 61. Exemplified, 62. Characteristics of Italian fiction, 63, 64. D'Azeglio, 65, 66. Ettore Fieramosca, 67—107. Character of the story, 108, 109.

B.

Breviary, the [*The Roman Breviary*], 285—331. What the Breviary is, 285. Value of local Breviaries, 286. Quignon's, *ibid.* Principle of French Reforms, 287. Contents of the Breviary, 288—290. The Canonical Hours, 291.

Butler, Archer [*The Remains of*], 441—487. Theology technical and irregular, 441, 442. Character of English theology, 443. Mr. Butler, his life, &c. 444—453. His sermons, 454—463. His theological principles, 464—478. His answer to Mr. Newman, 479—487.

C.

Carwithen [*History of the English Church, &c.*], 1—22. Qualifications of an historian, 1—6. Church history, 7—14. Engl sh Church historians, 15, 16. Carwithen's History, 17. Examined, 17—22.

H.

Hyperides *versus* Demosthenes [*Fragments of, &c. Edited by C. Babington*], 269—284. Lost Classics, 269, 270. Period between Xenophon and Demosthenes, 271. Value of orations as a source of history, 272. Discovery of the MS. 273. Politics of Demosthenes, his life and character, 274—284.

L.

Laing [*Observations on Europe, by*], 110—154. The author's character as a traveller, 110. The land question an European one, 111. The public service, 112. Subdivision of land, 114—119. Surplus population, 120, 121. State of the working classes, 122. The middle classes at home and abroad, 123—127. Interference of Government, 128, 129. The *Landwehr*, 130, 132. Functionaries in, 133. Universities, 134—140. German character, 141. Munich, 142, 143. Art, 144. Music, 145. Manners, 146. The Frankfort Parliament, 147. The Church, 151—154.

M.

Marriage, the Divine Law of [*Sermons, &c. on Marriage with Wife's Sister, &c.*], 155—184. Archdn. Hare's pertinacity, 155, and egotism, 156. His estimate of the moral law, 157. Contrasted with Mr. Carrington, *ibid.* Supposed abrogation of the law, 158. Consent of the Church, 159. Mr. Carrington, 160. Various considerations on the proposed interference with the Divine law of marriage, 161—183. Mr. Forster's Sermon, 183, 184.

Monro E. [*Parochial Work*, by], 203—233. Depressing, yet sustaining, character of such a work, 203. Its deep and earnest character, 204. State of English society, 205. The agricultural poor, their religion, 206, 207. Ignorance, 208, 209. Perhaps apparent, 210. The parochial system, 211. Confession, 211—213. Direction, 214, 215. Personal intercourse, 216—220. Daily Service, 221—224. Preaching, 225. Sacraments, &c. 226—233.

N.

Newfoundland Mission [*Bishop of Newfoundland's Charge*], &c. 488—508. The English character adapts itself to change, yet preserves national peculiarities, 488, 489. Religious history of Newfoundland, 490. Face of the country, 491. Its Mission, 492. Illustrated by the Bishop's Journals. 493—497. Attacks on the Mission, 498. Newfoundland School Society, 499—501. Alleged refusal of clergy to baptize, 502—506. Value of this Mission, 507, 508.

Nineveh and Persepolis [*Vaux's Historical Sketch, Fletcher's Travels*]. 398—440. The British Museum, 398, 399. Remains of Nineveh, 400. Vaux's Historical Sketch, 401—415. Early travellers, 416. Marco Polo, 417. Rich and Porter, 418—420. M. Botta, 421, 422. Mr. Layard, 423. Influence of

these discoveries on Scripture, 424—429. Persepolis, *ibid.* The cuneiform inscriptions, 430. Mr. Fletcher, 432. Extracts from his work, 432—440.

P.

Peel, Sir Robert [*His Life and Opinions, &c.*], 374—397. His death, 374, 375. His history personal and political, 376—389. Peel as a speaker, 390. His views of the Peerage, 391, 392. His connexion with the Church question, 393—396. General view of his character, 396, 397.

Prophecy of the latter days [*Recent works on Prophecy by Maitland, Harrison, Wordsworth*], 23—59. Difficulty and interest of the subject, 23—26. Apostolic interpretation, 27. The Millennium, 27—33. The literal interpretation, 34—40. The image in Daniel, &c. 41—44. The year-day system, 45—47. Rome and Babylon, 48—51. Wordsworth on the Apocalypse, 52—54. General reflections, 55—59.

S.

Supremacy Question, the [*Pamphlets by Allies and Maskell*], 185—202. Facts of the Case, 185. The Papal Supremacy modern, 186, 187. Its extravagant claims, 188, 189. What is claimed by the English Sovereign, 190, 191. Theory of Papal Supremacy, 192, 193. Case of the English Church, 194. Alleged want of Dogmatic Teaching, 195. What was the case under the Papal Supremacy? 196—200. Mr. Maskell himself assailable, 201, 202.

Synods [*Debates on Mr. Gladstone's Motion, and Bishop of London's Bill*], 234—259. Struggle between the Church and Government, 234. Mr. Gladstone's Motion, 235—237. On the Bishop of London's Bill, 238, 239. Value of the Parliamentary Movement, 240, 241. Need of a Representative Church Assembly, 241—243. Objections to revival of a Church Synod, 244—249. Importance and pressing character of the need of Synods, 250—259.

W.

Wordsworth [*The Prelude, an Autobiographical Poem, by*], 332—373. Connexion of Wordsworth's Poetry with his Life, 332, 333. History of his Mind, 334. 'The Prelude,' 335. The Poet's Autobiography, 336. His love of Scenery, 337. Illustrations of his spirit, 338—344. His education, 345. General character of the Poem, its beauties and defects, 344—373.

SHORTER NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

JULY.—Grinfield's Apology for the Septuagint —Grinfield's Letter to Wiseman—Catechetical Lessons — Ansted's Geology — Forbes' Physician's Holiday—Freeman on Window Tracery—Robins' Church Schoolmaster—Mure on Language, &c. of Ancient Greece—Hughes on Government Scheme of Education—Goodsir's Arctic Voyage—Marsland's Regeneration —Adrian IV.—Sickness: its Trials, &c.— Bishop Torry's Scotch Prayer Book—'What has hindered the Anglican Movement?'— Morality of Tractarianism—Williams' Letter to Provost of Eton—Bishop of Exeter's Letter—Sermons, Pamphlets, &c. by Dr. Mill, Dr. Wordsworth, Archdeacon Harrison, Mr. K. Arnold, Mr. Watson, Mr. Irons, Mr. Cavendish, Dr. Croly—Pusey on the Supremacy—Church Guilds—Dodgson's Advice, &c.—Carlyle on Baptism—Foulkes' Challenge, &c.—Pamphlets, &c. by Mr. Gladstone, Lord Lindsay, Archdn. Clerke, Mr. F. Laurence, Mr. Craik, Mr. Gresley, Mr. Coope, Mr. Malet—Catechism on Baptism—Passmore on Bishop Butler—Tracts by Messrs. Edmonds, Walford, Wilson — Archdeacon Wilberforce's Charge—Mr. Butler's Reply to Newman—Bishop of London's Speech—Newman's Phases of Faith—Sermons by Archdeacon Wilberforce, Mr. Sewell, Mr. Miller, Dr. Besley, Messrs. Vaughan, Hughes, Anderdon, Jackson, Bedford, Jefferson, Singleton, &c.

OCTOBER.—Hymns for Diocese of S. Andrew's —Sarum Hymnal—Letter to Bishop of Glasgow — S. Andrew's Prayer-book — Parker's Glossary of Architecture—Lincoln and Northampton Architectural Societies' Reports — Ierson's Lectures — Churchman's Pulpit — G. G. Scott on Church Restoration—Langley School — The Christian Year — Johnston's Conchology—On the Book of the Revelation —Russell's Translation of Leibnitz—Wilson's Appeal and Scott's Letter—Manual of Prayers —Daily Steps towards Heaven—Jones on the Church — Robins on Convocation —Ward's Letter to Gladstone — Denison's Appeal — Keble's Church Matters in 1850—Voice from the North—Newman's Lectures at the Oratory—Mrs. Jameson's Legends of the Monastic Orders—Bishop of Exeter's Letter—Bishop of Glasgow's Letter—Sir A. Edmonstone's Letter—Mr. Mayow's Letter—New Edition of the New Testament—Pusey's Letter—Tomlin's Sermons — Prichard's Minster Lovell Church, and Caveler's Warmington Church —Pratt on Christ Church, Brecon—Durham Architectural Society—Archdeacon Williams' Letter to Bishop of Llandaff—Montgomery's God and Man — Tracts for the Christian Seasons—Edge on Infant Baptism—Walford's Temples of the Holy Ghost—Essay towards Union—Way through the Desert—Willie's Grave—Tales of Kirkbeck—Chanter on the Catechism — Phipps' Catechism — Beaven's Catechism—Davies' Catechism—Sermons by C. Marriott, Douglass, Grueber, Beames, Davies, Hughes, Fortescue, Gurney, Cooke, Lawson, Townsend, Anderson, Bowdler, &c.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

No. LXX.] [Vol. XX.

Cath Clark
...V. OF MICHIGAN.
SEP 24 1913

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

A

Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER,

M DCCC LI.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY J. AND C. MOZLEY,
6, PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND D. APPLETON & CO. 200, BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

PRICE SIX SHILLINGS.

Christian Remembrancer.

OCTOBER, 1850.

This day, price 1*s.* (Second Edition.)

A LETTER TO THE REV. DANIEL WILSON, M.A. Vicar of Islington, occasioned by his recent "Appeal to the Evangelical Members of the Church of England." By William Scott, M.A. Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Hoxton.

London: J. & C. Mozley, 6, Paternoster Row; J. H. Parker, 377, Strand; J. Masters, Aldersgate-street.

TO THE CLERGY, PRINCIPALS OF SCHOOLS AND PAROCHIAL AND LENDING LIBRARIES.

NEW Editions of the following Volumes of the ENGLISHMAN'S LIBRARY can be had handsomely bound in cloth, and very much improved;

A COMPENDIOUS ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY from the earliest period to the present time. By Rev. William Palmer, M.A. Worcester College, Oxon. Price 4*s.* 6*d.*

THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH. By E. Churton, M.A. with Notes and numerous cuts. Price 4*s.* 6*d.*

THE FIVE EMPIRES, an Outline of Ancient History. By R. J. Wilberforce, M.A. Archdeacon of the East Riding, with Maps and numerous cuts. Price 4*s.* 6*d.*

TALES OF THE VILLAGE. By F. E. Paget, M.A. Rector of Elford. Vol. 1, 3*s.* Vols. 2 and 3, 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

SCRIPTURE HISTORY. Old Testament in familiar Lectures. By the Hon. and Rev. H. E. J. Howard, D D. Dean of Lichfield. Embellished with numerous Plates. Price 4*s.*

SCRIPTURE HISTORY. New Testament, in familiar Lectures. By the Hon. and Rev. H. E. J. Howard, D.D. Dean of Lichfield. Embellished with numerous Plates. Price 3*s.*

THE LORD'S PRAYER, a Manual of Knowledge. By Rev. Robert Anderson, Perpetual Curate, Brighton. Price 2*s.*

A HELP TO KNOWLEDGE. By Rev. T. Chamberlain. 2*s.*

LIVES OF EMINENT ENGLISH LAYMEN. By Rev. W. H. Teale. 4*s.* 6*d.*

AUSTRALIA; its History and present Condition. By Rev. W. Pridden, M.A. 5*s.*

SELECTED LETTERS. Edited by Rev. T. Chamberlain. 4*s.*

THE MARTYR OF CARTHAGE. By Rev. E. Wilson. 4*s.* 6*d.*

A HISTORY OF THE IRISH CHURCH. By Rev. W. G. Todd. 4*s.* 6*d.*

RUTILIUS; or, Stories of the Third Age. By Archdeacon Wilberforce. 4*s.*

THE ART OF CONTENTMENT. Edited by Rev. W. Pridden. 3*s.*

CHRISTIAN MORALS. By Rev. W. Sewell. 5*s.*

SHERLOCK ON PUBLIC WORSHIP. Edited by Rev. H. Melvill. 3*s.*

London: John Hughes, 12, Ave-Maria-Lane; J. Masters, 78, New Bond-street; and J. & C. Mozley, Derby.

The New Series of Royal Female Biographies.

IN THE PRESS.

LIVES of THE QUEENS of SCOTLAND, and ENGLISH PRINCESSES connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain. By AGNES STRICKLAND, author of "Lives of the Queens of England."

"The treasures of antiquity laid up
In old historic rolls I opened."—BEAUMONT.

Of the Queens of Scotland, how little is known; and yet how important were the parts they played in their day! The early—and in many instances violent—deaths of the Scottish Kings caused almost every reign to commence with a long minority, during which the struggle for power lay between the affection or ambition of a Mother, a stranger in the land, striving for the guardianship of her Son with the political power which it involved, and a turbulent Nobility, always in search of their own aggrandizement, and contemptuous alike of foreign and female domination. Events of such importance, involving passions of such lasting interest to human nature, must render these lives not less interesting than those contained in the companion work of this new school of Historical Biography originated by the Author of the *Lives of the Queens of England*.

This Series will be comprised in Six Volumes post 8vo, uniform in size with the *Lives of the Queens of England*, embellished with Portraits and Engraved Title-pages.

VOL. I. will be published early in OCTOBER, containing the Lives of MARGARET TUDOR, Queen of James IV.; MAGDALENE OF FRANCE, first Queen of James V.; MARY OF LORRAINE, second Queen of James V. and Mother of Queen Mary.

Price 10*s.* 6*d.*, handsomely bound in cloth. Volume II. will be published early in 1851.

William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh & London.

In 8vo. 12*s.* cloth, by Post 1*s.* extra.

LECTURES on CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES FELT by ANGLICANS in SUBMITTING to the CATHOLIC CHURCH. By the REV. J. H. NEWMAN, D.D. Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri.

I. On the relation of the National Church to the Nation.
II. The Movement of 1833 uncongenial to the National Church.
III. Life in the Movement of 1833 not from the National Church.
IV. The Providential Direction of the Movement of 1833 not towards the National Church.
V. The Providential Direction of the Movement of 1833 not towards a Party in the National Church.
VI. The Providential Direction of the Movement of 1833 not towards a Branch Church.
VII. The Providential Direction of the Movement of 1833 not towards a Sect.
VIII. Political State of Catholic Countries no Prejudice to the Sanctity of the Church.
IX. The Religious Character of Catholic Countries no Prejudice to the Sanctity of the Church.
X. Differences among Catholics no Prejudice to the Unity of the Church.
XI. Heretical and Schismatical Bodies no Prejudice to the Catholicity of the Church.
XII. Christian History no Prejudice to the Apostolicity of the Church.

The Lectures may be had separately. Price 1*s.* each.

London:—Burns & Lambert, 17, Portman Street, and 63, Paternoster Row.

46, Piccadilly, Oct. 1850.

W. J. CLEAVER'S NEW BOOKS.

Edited by the Rev. W. BENNETT.

SECOND SERIES OF TALES OF KIRKBECK.

In 1 Vol. Royal 16mo, 7*s.* 6*d.* cloth, by Post 8*s.* with 6 Illustrations by Sears.

BALDWIN'S SCAR, and other Tales. By the Author of "Lives of the Fathers of the Church," "Aunt Atta," &c. &c. &c.

"We may call them peculiarly sanctified views of Christian duties and moral conduct in relation to this life and the life to come. There are human lessons of sound instruction in these somewhat melancholy tales."—*Literary Gazette.*

"We give our readers an extract from the Preface, assuring them that they will not repent when they have read the volume through."—*Court Journal.*

In 2 Vols. cloth, price 12*s.*, each Vol. sold separately, price 6*s.*

LIVES of certain FATHERS of the CHURCH.

Also,

NEW WORK by the Author of "Tales of Kirkbeck," 1 Vol. Royal 16mo. gilt cloth binding, price 4*s.*; by Post, 4*s.* 6*d.*

AUNT ATTA: a Tale for Little Nephews and Nieces. Embellished with a beautiful Engraving by Sears, and handsomely printed on thick yellow wove paper.

"This book will be received with satisfaction in the nurseries and school-rooms of the rising generations."—*Court Journal.*

"An excellent little book, full of pleasant thoughts, kindly feelings, attractive incidents, and good advice."—*Britannia.*

BENNETT'S LETTERS.

Just published, in 2 Vols. small 8vo. price 15*s.* cloth, or separately, 7*s.* 6*d.* each,

LETTERS to MY CHILDREN on CHURCH and MORAL SUBJECTS.

Vol. I. CHURCH SUBJECTS, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Vol. II. MORAL SUBJECTS, price 7*s.* 6*d.* By the Rev. W. BENNETT, M.A.

"The books before us have an intelligible meaning, and contain the opinions and advice of a thoughtful parent, addressing his children upon some of the most important and solemn circumstances connected with their welfare in time and in eternity."—*Times.*

Foolscap 8vo. handsomely bound in cloth, price 1*s.*

A LETTER on FREQUENT COMMUNION. By FÉNÉLON, Archbishop of Cambrai, 1718. Edited, with a Preface, by the Rev. W. J. E. BENNETT.

FOR SCHOOLS AND THE YOUNG.

The LIFE of ST. PAUL, the Apostle of the Gentiles; designed chiefly for the use of Young Persons. By the Rev. G. E. BIBER, LL.D. In 1 Vol. fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*; by Post, 5*s.*

"Dr. Biber has, we think, been unusually successful in his recent 'Life of St. Paul.' Not only does it contain the narrative of the Acts, but it weaves up most of the substance of the Epistles, and, incidentally of course, the history of all the Apostolic Churches."—*Christian Remembrancer.*

In Royal 32mo. price 2*s.* 6*d.* embossed cloth, and 5*s.* morocco, with Illustrations to each division of the Book, and in all the old Styles of Binding,

THE HOLY OBLATION: A Manual of Doctrine, Instructions, and Devotions (being a Complete Guide) relative to the Blessed Eucharist. By an ANGLO-CATHOLIC PRIEST.

"A high-toned and reverential book of devotion, and, unless we are mistaken, will suit a large, and we believe increasing, class of minds."—*Christian Remembrancer.*

CLEAVER'S COMPANION for CHURCHMEN; A Calendar containing the Lessons, with the Vigils, Fasts, and Festivals, &c., as they are appointed to be read or observed by the Church of England in her Book of Common Prayer, daily throughout the year 1851. Price 3*d.* gilt edges, by post 4*d.*

London: W. J. Cleaver, 46, Piccadilly.

CHEAP EDITION of the CHRISTIAN YEAR. A cheaper Edition (the Thirty-eighth) of this Work is now ready, and may be had of all Booksellers. Price, in cloth, 1*s.* 6*d.*, or neatly bound, with gilt edges, 2*s.*

A considerable allowance will be made to Clergymen *taking a dozen or more copies for distribution.*

Oxford: John Henry Parker, and 377, Strand, London,

A Catalogue of whose recent Publications will be found at the end of this Part of the Christian Remembrancer.

Demy 8vo. price 14*s.*

THE REVELATION of JESUS CHRIST explained agreeably to Holy Scripture and the Interpretation of its Symbols. By a Clergyman.

LYRA SANCTORUM: Lays for the Minor Festivals. 5*s.* Fcp. 8vo.

SAMUEL: a Story for Choristers. With an Engraving. 1*s.* Cloth 1*s.* 6*d.*

WAY THROUGH THE DESERT; or, The Caravan. By Rev. R. Milman. 1*s.* Cloth 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE EUCHARISTIC MONTH. Edited by the Ven. Archdeacon Manning. 1*s.*

London: Masters, Aldersgate Street and New Bond Street.

In 18mo. price 4*d.*

AN ESSAY TOWARDS UNION; being a few Words on ELECTION AND FINAL PERSEVERANCE, in relation to the Present Controversy. Addressed to the "Evangelical" Laity. By W. J. Edge, M.A. Incumbent of Harishill, Warwickshire.

Rivingtons, St. Paul's Churchyard and Waterloo-place.

Of whom may be had, by the same Author,

PLAIN REMARKS ON INFANT BAPTISM, CONFIRMATION, and the THREE ORDERS of the CHRISTIAN MINISTRY, with Answers to Objections to the Burial Service. 4th Edition. Price 3*d.*

Shortly will be published,

A VOLUME of SERMONS and POETRY, by the Rev. George J. Cornish, M.A. Late Vicar of Kenwyn and Kea, Prebendary of Exeter, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Exeter.

London: John & Charles Mozley; Truro: J. R. Netherton.

DIOCESE OF ST. ANDREW'S, DUNKELD, AND DUNBLANE.

HYMNS AND ANTHEMS FOR USE IN THE HOLY SERVICES OF THE CHURCH, within the United Diocese of St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, and Dunblane. By Episcopal Authority. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

*** The profits of this Edition (the Churches within the Diocese of St. Andrew's, &c. being supplied gratuitously,) are given towards the Building and Endowing of the Cathedral of St. Ninian's, Perth.

Lendrum and Co., Edinburgh; J. Masters, London.

In 18mo. price 2*d.*

A CATECHISM of FIRST TRUTHS of CHRISTIANITY, introductory to the Church Catechism. By the Rev. HENRY STRETTON, M.A. Perpetual Curate of Hixon, Diocese of Lichfield.

Rivingtons, St. Paul's Churchyard and Waterloo-place.

TRANSLATION OF LEIBNITZ'S REMARKABLE WORK.

Just Published,

A SYSTEM of THEOLOGY. By GODFREY WILLIAM Baron von LEIBNITZ. Translated from the Autograph MS., with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, by CHARLES WILLIAM RUSSELL, D.D. Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. 1 vol. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* cloth.

London:—Burns & Lambert, 17, Portman Street, and 63, Paternoster Row.

Just Published,

I.

THE PARADISE of the SOUL. Complete Edition. Translated from the Latin of HORSTIUS.

This invaluable collection of Devotions is now for the first time published in English in a complete form, making an elegant pocket volume of 712 pages, double columns. Price 5*s.* cloth; or with six beautiful Engravings, 6*s.*; calf, flexible back, 8*s.* 6*d.*; morocco, 9*s.* 6*d.* The Work may also be had in 2 vols. limp binding, for the pocket, calf, 10*s.* 6*d.*; morocco, 12*s.* 6*d.*

II.

PSALTERIUM DAVIDIS. 32mo. very neat edition, 1*s.* 6*d.* The same done up with Latin New Testament and "Imitatio Christi," in various bindings.

III.

THE GOLDEN MANUAL; a Complete Guide to Catholic Devotion, Public and Private. Compiled from Approved Sources. Cloth, 5*s.*; calf, red edges, 7*s.* 6*d.*; morocco, 8*s.* 6*d.*

IV.

LYRA CATHOLICA. A Translation of all the Breviary and Missal Hymns. By the Rev. E. CASWELL. 4*s.* 6*d.*; neat calf, 6*s.* 6*d.*; morocco, 7*s.* 6*d.*

In the Press,

I.

A MANUAL of PRACTICAL PIETY, from the LETTERS and MEDITATIONS of SAINT FRANCIS DE SALES.

II.

THE IMITATION of CHRIST. A new and careful Translation from the original Latin, handsomely printed with Borders and Vignettes.

London:—Burns & Lambert, 17, Portman Street, and 63, Paternoster Row. Of whom may be had, gratis, a Catalogue of Theological and Devotional Works.

Just Published, 8vo. 5*s.*; by Post, 5*s.* 6*d.*

THE SEE OF ST. PETER, the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity. By THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES, M.A. Author of "The Church of England cleared from the charge of Schism."

"Numerate Sacerdotes vel ab ipsa sede Petri,
Et in ordine illo patrum quis cui successit videte;
Ipsa est Petra, quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ."
S. AUGUST. *cont. Part. Donati.*

London:—Burns & Lambert, 17, Portman Street, and 63, Paternoster Row.

Just Published, 8vo. sewed, price 1*s.*

WHAT IS THE TRUE POLICY OF THE CHURCH? A Sermon preached at the Andover Visitation, August 7, 1850, by the Hon. and Rev. SAMUEL BEST, Rector of Abbott's Ann.

Also, now ready, by the same Author, 18mo. sewed, price 6*d.*

THOUGHTS ON PRUDENCE; or, the MEANS of IMPROVING the CONDITION of a FAMILY OFFERED in SAVINGS BANKS and FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

London: James Darling, Little Queen Street. Winchester: Jacob and Johnson. Andover: Mercer.

NEW BOOKS.

AN EXPOSITION of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, HISTORICAL and DOCTRINAL. By EDWARD HAROLD BROWNE, M.A. Prebendary of Exeter and Vicar of Kenwyn, formerly Vice-Principal of Lampeter. To be completed in Two Volumes. Vol. I. 10*s.* 6*d.*

In One Thick Volume.

DISCOURSE on the STUDIES of the UNIVERSITY of CAMBRIDGE. By ADAM SEDGWICK, M.A. F.R.S. Woodwardian Professor, and Fellow of Trinity College. The Fifth Edition, crown 8vo. 12*s.*

*** The present Edition is enlarged by the addition of a Preliminary Dissertation and Supplement; and consists, altogether, of 770 pages.

A COMMENTARY on the EPISTLE of PAUL the APOSTLE to the ROMANS. With a New Translation, and Explanatory Notes. By WILLIAM WITHERS EWBANK, M.A., Incumbent of St. George's Church, Everton. To be completed in Two Volumes, post 8vo. Vol. I. 5*s.* 6*d.*

No. VII. 6*d.* of the

CANTERBURY PAPERS. CONTENTS: Mr. Godley's First Despatch.—Private Journal of Mr. Godley, communicated by Mr. Adderley, M.P.—Despatch from the Committee to Mr. Godley.—Minute on the Administration of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund.

London: John W. Parker, West Strand.

NEW COLLECTION OF CHURCH HYMNS.

In 18mo. Price 2*s.* or 20*s.* per dozen.

CHURCH HYMNS; or, HYMNS for the SUNDAYS, FESTIVALS and OTHER SEASONS of the ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR, as observed in the Church of England. Compiled, with an Introduction, by HENRY STRETTON, M.A. Perpetual Curate of Hixon, Diocese of Lichfield.

"Decidedly the best Church Hymn Book we have ever met with."—*Oxford Herald.*

"It contains a well-selected list of tunes."—*Parish Choir.*

"Of the versification of the Church Hymns, and the taste displayed in their selection, we must speak in terms of the highest commendation."—*Ecclesiastic.*

Rivingtons, St, Paul's Churchyard and Waterloo-place.

PUBLISHED BY JOHN AND CHARLES MOZLEY, DERBY, AND 6, PATERNOSTER ROW.

Demy 18mo. price 2*s.* 6*d.* cloth.

LANGLEY SCHOOL. Reprinted from the "Magazine for the Young."

Demy 18mo. price 1*s.* 6*d.* or 25 for 1*l.* 16*s.*

A SELECTION of PSALMS and HYMNS for use in Churches. By the Rev. H. K. CORNISH, Vicar of Bakewell.

Demy 18mo. price 4*d.*

EASY LESSONS FOR THE FESTIVALS AND FASTS. By the Author of "Easy Lessons for Sunday Schools."

Demy 8vo. cloth, 9*s.*

SHORT SERMONS, FOR FAMILY READING. By the Rev. S. RICKARDS, A.M. Rector of Stowlangtoft, and Late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.

By the same Author.

Second Edition, fcp. 8vo. cloth 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE CHRISTIAN HOUSEHOLDER; or, GUIDE TO FAMILY PRAYER. With the addition of OCCASIONAL PRAYERS.

12mo. cloth, 1*s.*

PRAYERS FOR SCHOOLS.

Second Edition, square, cloth, 1*s.*

A PARISH PRAYER-BOOK.

In the Press, price 6*d.*

CATECHISM OF THE HOLY DAYS, AS ORDAINED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By the Rev. WILLIAM J. DEANE, B.A Oxon.

REFORM YOUR TAILOR'S BILLS.

FIVE SPECIAL APPOINTMENTS.

THE QUEEN, PRINCE ALBERT, THE DUCHESS OF KENT

LOUIS PHILLIPPE & THE ROYAL FAMILIES OF ENGLAND & FRANCE

THE BEST IS THE CHEAPEST. Always keeping this in view in connexion with their scale of **READY MONEY LOW CHARGES** (A BOOK GRATIS) The **DOUDNEYS** have **raised their Business to greater extent and higher respectability** than any other House can boast, as a proof of which, they point to their **FIVE ROYAL APPOINTMENTS,** and their **Patronage Book** of **Royal, Illustrious,** and **Noble Names.**

WATERPROOF IRISH POPLIN. The **Royal Registered Cloak** constantly worn by the **QUEEN, PRINCE ALBERT,** the Duchesses of Kent and Cambridge, Sutherland and Buccleugh. "Every Lady should see these graceful garments." (*Vide Morning Post, Sept. 26th*). The **Overcoat for Gentlemen,** or their **New Cape,** admirably adapted for the **RACES,** to keep off wet and Dust. The Workmanship is not to be equalled, and needs only to be seen to be approved—made exclusively at the **DOUDNEYS.**

THE OLYMPIC GIRTH, for Riding, Hunting, or general exercise. Effectual **PROTECTION AGAINST RUPTURE.** The support commencing at the bottom edge of the Belt, and producing uniform upward pressure; enlarged or tightened six inches unobserved. They are attached to drawers with excellent effect. **10s. 6d. each.**

DOUDNEYS

17, OLD BOND ST. — 25, BURLINGTON ARCADE

AND 49, LOMBARD ST. ESTAB.D 1784.

LIVERIES. One of the Leading Articles of the DOUDNEYS ESTABLISHMENT, for which they are so celebrated by Families of the First Distinction. **FOOTMAN'S SUIT, £3 3s. Best Quality.**

The NEW PATTERNS for SPRING and SUMMER Wear at the **OLD PRICES,** so famous in Seasons past, viz.—Summer Waistcoats, 7s. each, or 3 for 20s.—Summer Trousers, 10s. 6d. per pair, or 3 for 30s.—Summer Coats, the beautiful light material, 10s. 6d., 21s., and 30s.

Habit Makers by Special Appointment to Queen Victoria and the Ladies of the Court. A SUPERFINE CLOTH HABIT for 4 Guineas.

The **DOUDNEYS** have been long CELEBRATED for **YOUNG GENTLEMEN'S CLOTHING,** tastefully made at **remarkably Low Prices.**

COUNTRY GENTLEMEN wishing to be Respectably Dressed at Low Prices, should send for a Book of Detail, Self-measurement, and all the System of Business, or if 3 or 4 Gentlemen unite, a Traveller will wait upon them.

TROWSER STRAPS superseded by the **DOUDNEY SPRING.** Nothing under the feet, easily attached, require no cleaning, and make the Trowsers fit better. **6d. per pair.**

THE LATE QUEEN DOWAGER.

CONTENTS

OF

No. LXX.

PAGE

ART. I.—The Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes, respecting the Treasure of Harpalus. The Fragments of the Greek Text, now first edited from the Facsimile of the MS. discovered at Egyptian Thebes in 1847; together with other Fragments of the same Oration cited in Ancient Writers. With a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes, and a Facsimile of a portion of the MS. By Churchill Babington, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge 269

II.—1. Breviarium Romanum, ex Decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini restitutum: S. Pii V. Pontificis maximi jussu editum: Clementis VIII. et Urbani VIII. auctoritate recognitum: cum officiis Sanctorum, novissime per summos pontifices usque ad hanc diem concessis.

2. Breviarium Insignis Ecclesiæ Aberdonensis 285

III.—The Prelude; or, Growth of a Poet's Mind. An Autobiographical Poem. By William Wordsworth 332

IV.—The Opinions of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, expressed in Parliament and in Public. Second Edition, with a Biographical Memoir ... 374

PAGE

ART. V.—1. Nineveh and Persepolis: an Historical Sketch of ancient Assyria and Persia, with an Account of the Recent Researches in those Countries. By W. S. W. Vaux, M.A.

2. Notes from Nineveh, and Travels in Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Syria. By the Rev. J. P. Fletcher 398

VI.—1. Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical. By the Rev. William Archer Butler, M.A. late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author's Life, by the Rev. Thomas Woodward, M.A. Curate Assistant of Fethard, in the Diocese of Cashel, and Chaplain to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

2. Letters on the Development of Christian Doctrine, in Reply to Mr. Newman's Essay. By the Rev. William Archer Butler, M.A. late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited by the Rev. Thomas Woodward, M.A. &c. 441

VII.—1. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Newfoundland by the Bishop, at his Second Visitation, on the Feast of S. Matthew, 1847.

2. Church in the Colonies. Nos. 10, 15, 19, 21, 25. A Journal of the Bishop of Newfoundland's Visitation of the Missions of the Western and Southern Coast—On the Northern Coast—A Visit to Labrador. — Journal of the Bishop's Voyage of Visitation and Discovery on the South and West Coasts of Newfoundland, and on the Labrador, in the year 1848.—Journal of the Bishop's Voyage, &c. to Labrador, in the year 1849.

3. S. P. G. Quarterly Papers, &c. &c. 488

NOTICES OF BOOKS 509

October, 1850.

PUBLISHED BY

JOHN AND CHARLES MOZLEY,

DERBY, AND 6, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

Will be published in a few days,

A VOLUME OF

SERMONS AND POETRY,

BY THE REV. GEORGE J. CORNISH, M.A.

LATE VICAR OF KENWYN AND KEA; PREBENDARY OF EXETER, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER.

Just Published,

A LETTER

TO THE

REV. DANIEL WILSON, M.A.

VICAR OF ISLINGTON.

OCCASIONED BY HIS RECENT

"APPEAL TO THE EVANGELICAL MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND."

BY WILLIAM SCOTT, M.A.

PERPETUAL CURATE OF CHRIST CHURCH, HOXTON.

Demy 18*mo*, *price* 2*s*. 6*d*., *Cloth*.

LANGLEY SCHOOL.

REPRINTED FROM THE "MAGAZINE FOR THE YOUNG."

Demy 18*mo*, *price* 1*s*. 6*d*., *or* 25 *for* £1. 10*s*.

A SELECTION

OF

PSALMS AND HYMNS.

FOR USE IN CHURCHES.

BY THE REV. H. K. CORNISH, VICAR OF BAKEWELL.

Demy 18*mo*, *price Fourpence*,

EASY LESSONS FOR

THE FESTIVALS AND FASTS.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"EASY LESSONS FOR SUNDAY SCHOOLS."

CHURCH AND STATE:

AN ARTICLE REPRINTED FROM NO. LXVIII (FOR APRIL, 1850)
OF THE "CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER."
8*vo*, *Sewed*, 1*s*.

DEEDS OF FAITH:

STORIES FOR CHILDREN FROM CHURCH HISTORY.
BY THE REV. J. M. NEALE,
WARDEN OF SACKVILLE COLLEGE, EAST GRINSTED.
18*mo*, *Cloth*, 2*s*.

POETRY PAST AND PRESENT,

A SELECTION FOR DAILY READING AND AMUSEMENT.
BY THE AUTHOR OF "CHURCH POETRY," AND "DAYS AND SEASONS."
With Woodcut Embellishments.
Demy 18*mo*, *Cloth*, 4*s*. 6*d*. *or bound in Morocco*, 7*s*. 6*d*.

"We have been charmed by every page of this collection that we have read. Its Editor is thoroughly familiar with the writings of all our poets, and has in these pages woven from them a garland of the richest flowers. We especially recommend this volume to young persons."—*English Review*.

"This selection has been made with admirable taste and judgment, and comprises some of the most beautiful specimens of many of the elder as well as of the choicest modern poets."— *Church of England Quarterly Review*.

"An elegant little volume most carefully selected from the best authors, with some sweet original pieces. A new feature is a selection from translations of classic authors. Some pretty woodcuts adorn the volume, and altogether it is a work admirably adapted for a present."— *Guardian*.

In the Press.

Demy 18*mo*, *price Sixpence*.

A CATECHISM

OF THE

HOLYDAYS,

AS ORDAINED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM J. DEANE, B.A., OXON.

Demy 18*mo*,

THE

CATECHUMEN'S INSTRUCTOR,

BEING A BRIEF EXPLANATION OF
THE APOSTLES' CREED, THE LORD'S PRAYER, AND
THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL FOX, M.A., RECTOR OF MORLEY.

Second Edition, with the addition of a Table of the Contemporary Sovereigns of Europe, a Genealogical Table of the Kings of England, and a list of the Royal Families of England:

KINGS OF ENGLAND;

A HISTORY FOR YOUNG CHILDREN.

Foolscap 8vo, Cloth, 3s.

"This is a very difficult task; and has never been so well executed as in the volume before us, which is evidently the work of one fully alive to the practical importance of a really serious and religious view of the history of our country."—*Guardian.*

"The Author has produced a very good general History of England—written in a style suited to the capacity of young persons."—*Morning Herald.*

"A History of England—as useful as unpretending. It is of the right size, and events appear in something like proportion. There is a deep, though not obtrusive, reference to duty and the principles of faith running through the volume."—*Christian Remembrancer.*

"A very well written volume, sound and moderate in its principles of Church and State. The book was much wanted, and we feel grateful to the author for having done real service to the rising generation."—*English Review.*

CONVERSATIONS

ON

THE CHURCH SERVICE.

BY THE AUTHOR

OF "EASY LESSONS FOR SUNDAY SCHOOLS."

Second Edition, 18mo, Cloth, 1s. 3d.

"A little book which will be found suitable for a parochial lending library. It gives an ample explanation of the Church Service, and in a pleasing way. Teachers in National and Sunday Schools will find it useful."—*English Review.*

"It will be found to contain a good deal of useful information, both doctrinal and practical; and is written in a very engaging style."—*Theologian and Ecclesiastic.*

"A very useful little book—its object being to draw the attention of children to the meaning and spirit of the Church Services. Many a Churchman of riper years may derive instruction from its pages."—*Oxford Herald.*

"It is suited for teachers and monitors, and for catechists of a higher order too."—*Christian Remembrancer.*

"An unpretending, but clear and comprehensive little manual, well adapted for schools and families."—*English Churchman.*

HOLY MEN OF OLD;

BEING

SHORT NOTICES OF SUCH AS ARE NAMED IN THE CALENDAR OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

Demy 18mo, Cloth, 3s.

"This is an admirable exposition of that department of our Church Calendar, which registers the days of the "Holy Men of Old"—the Saints whose names have been retained as those who deserve to be had in remembrance by the Church of England. We feel persuaded that, for children generally, it will be found an interesting and profitable manual—an introduction, too, to an important branch of Sacred History."—*Oxford Herald.*

SHORT SERMONS,
FOR FAMILY READING.

BY THE REV. S. RICKARDS, A.M., RECTOR OF STOWLANGTOFT,
AND LATE FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Demy 8vo, Cloth, 9s.

"The Sermons comprised in this volume, appear to have been delivered in the course of pastoral ministrations in a rural congregation, and those who are privileged to hear such discourses, may consider themselves more than commonly favoured. For Family Reading, we should think these Sermons even better adapted than for the Pulpit. Their simple diction; their affectionate tone; and the calm thoughtfulness which gives sufficient life and interest to their argument, without overstraining the attention, or pressing intensely on the feelings, seem to render them peculiarly adapted for social religious exercises of a private character. We have no doubt that they will be profitably used in this way."—*English Review*, July, 1849.

By the same Author.

THE CHRISTIAN HOUSEHOLDER;
OR GUIDE TO FAMILY PRAYER.

WITH THE ADDITION OF OCCASIONAL PRAYERS.

Second Edition, Foolscap 8vo, Cloth, 1s. 6d.

PRAYERS FOR SCHOOLS.

12*mo, Cloth,* 1*s.*

A PARISH PRAYER-BOOK.

Second Edition, square, Cloth, 1s.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PRAYER-BOOK VERSION OF THE PSALMS;

ADAPTED TO THE SERVICES OF THE CHURCH,
AND THE DIFFERENT SEASONS OF THE CHRISTIAN YEAR,
WITH INDEX OF PSALM TUNES, ETC.

18*mo, Cloth,* 1*s.* 3*d., or* 25 *for* 25*s.*

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW;

WITH MORAL REFLECTIONS UPON EVERY VERSE.

A New Edition, revised and corrected from the French of

PASQUIER QUESNEL.

Fcp. 8vo, Cloth, 6s.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS,

Suitable for Rewards for Sunday Schools, &c.
Sold separately, or in packets.

FARTHING BOOKS, reduced from Halfpenny.

48 in 2 packets of 24 each, 32mo, price 6d.

FIRST SERIES.

A Sad Story.
Banian Tree.
Bishop Ken's Hymns.
Christian Courtesy.
Dashing Dick.
Dreamland.
Earthquake at Lisbon.
Fables.
Flying Philosopher.
Hear and Heed.
Hollyheath Gate.
Little Dora.
Moss Rose.
Nineveh.
Pyramids of Egypt.
Short Sermon.
Story of Obidah.
Talk in the Garden.
Temptations.
The Birds' Nests.
The Boy that would not Suit.
Vision of Mirza.
Volcanoes.
What is a Gentleman?

SECOND SERIES.

Alice Lee.
Baby's Death.
Burnt Child.
Cold and Warm.
First Sight of the Country.
Forgive and Forget.
Jane and Betsy.
Little Mary.
My Tame Birds.
Our Daily Walk.
Saturday Holiday.
School Feast.
Stories about Geese.
Ticket for the Feast.
The Day.
The Week.
The Month.
The Year.
The Night.
The Parrot.
The Shower.
The Live Doll.
The Bear in the School Room.
Winter Evening.

HALFPENNY BOOKS, reduced from Penny.

24 in a packet, 32mo, price 1s.

A Scripture Dialogue.
Anecdotes.
Babylon.
Britons and Romans; or, a Chapter in English History.
Bunch of Violets.
Faithful Dog.
Good Daughter.
Hymns on Scripture History.
Lord's Prayer.
Lucy and Arthur's Sunday.
Naomi and Ruth.
Prayers at Church, and Prayers at Home.
Prayer-Book.
Prayers for Schools.
Sheepfold.
Short Sermon.
Short Stories.
Simple Prayers for Little Children.
Story of Annette.
Story of the Plague.
The Two Epitaphs.
The Two Sacraments.
The Two Sisters.
White Chicken.

PENNY BOOKS, the majority reduced from Two-penny.

60 in 3 packets, 32mo, price 1s. each.

FIRST SERIES.

Bessy's First Place.
Burial of the Dead.
Dialogue on Bible Pictures.
Dialogues on Bible Pictures, 2nd series.,
Gélé; or, the Boulogne Fisherman.
Good and Bad Temper.
Heedlessness.
Magpie's Nest. A Fable.
Pink Bonnet.
The Brothers.
The Three School Girls.
Sunday Slide.

SECOND SERIES.

Amy's Earnings.
Bird by the Stream.
Conceited Pig.
First Lesson on the Commandments.
Fretful Fanny.
Histories of Dogs.
Joe Croft.
Malvern Boy.
New Church.
Out in the Dark.
Second Lesson on the Commandments.
The Cripple.

THIRD SERIES.

Boscobel.
Fables in Prose and Verse.
Jane Hopkins.
Lessons from the Calendar.
Little Wanderers.
New Lodger.
Obstinacy and Passion.
Pet Rabbit.
Red Shawls.
Three Wishes.
Sights in Town and Country.
Will Woodhouse.

FOURTH SERIES.

Apple-Tree.
A Summer's Dream.
Day at the Manor-House.
Dialogue on Easter-Day.
Faded Leaf.
First Lie.
Half-Holyday.
Little Harry and his Robin Redbreasts.
Mary and Lucy.
Playing with Fire.
Susan Brown.
Two Orphans.

FIFTH SERIES.

Cecily Donne; a Story of Midsummer's Eve.
Dick Field.
Earl of Derby and his Family.
First Present.
Generous Friend, and the Purse of Gold.
Lessons on Attention.
Life of Bishop Wilson.
Margaret Fletcher.
Nanny Ford, the Old Travelling Woman.
Old Ambrose.
Peggy Doran.
Short Stories of Animals.

THREE-HALFPENNY, reduced from Two-penny.

12 in a packet, 32mo, price 1s. 6d.

Biddy Kavanagh.
Donkey-Boy.
Ellen and Kitty.
Honour Delahunt.
Lost and Found.
Margery Meanwell.
Rhoda's Accident.
Ruth at Service.
Sally King.
Stories Old and New.
Story of Ambrose Herne.
White Kitten.

TWO-PENNY, 18mo, the majority reduced from 3d. or 4d.

18 in 2 packets, price 1s. 6d. each.

FIRST SERIES.

Ask Mamma.
Children of Hazlewood School.
Christian Courtesy.
Counsels for Young Men. By Robert Nelson, Esq.
George Hengrove.
Life of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch.
Little Mary's Trouble.
The First Week.
The Prize.

SECOND SERIES.

Christian Lyrics, for Young Persons of the Church of England.
Faith, Hope, and Charity.
James Ford; or, the Heedless Boy.
Life of Saint Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna.
St. Christopher; a Painting in Fordhelme Church.
Susan Harvey.—Confirmation.
The Four Seasons.
The Two Dogs.
The Vicar's Gift to his Sunday-school Children.

THREE-PENNY, 18mo, the majority reduced from 4d. or 6d.

16 in 2 packets, price 2s. each.

FIRST SERIES.

Dialogues with Godmother.
Hannah and Alice.
Hymns for Children of the Church of England.
Maurice Favell.
Jenny Knight and Mary Taylor; or Diligence and Good Temper.
Richard Morton; a Village Tale.
Sketches of Christian Character.
The Primroses.

SECOND SERIES.

A Day at East Aston School.
London Pride.
Legend of Sir Fiducio, the Knight of the Ruby Cross.
Midsummer-Day.
Margaret Haywood.
Parish Stories.
Plain Lectures on Christian Truth and Duty.
Phœbe, or the Hospital.

FOURPENNY BOOKS, the majority reduced from 6d.

12 in 2 packets, 18mo, price 2s. each.

FIRST SERIES.

Dialogues on the Te Deum.
Esther Simmonds. A Tale.
Laura T——.
Lives of Ancient Bishops.
Palestine.
King Edwin and Northumbria; a Tale of Old English Times.

SECOND SERIES.

A Godparent's Gift.
Counsels for Young Females.
Old Bridge.
Robert Marshall.
Stanley Ghost.
Stories from Bede; with a Sketch of his Life.

SIXPENNY BOOKS, 18mo, 12 in 2 packets, price 3s.

FIRST SERIES.

Dorcas Green, and other Stories.
Edward Trueman.
Harry and Walter, or the Church Spire.
Harriet and Her Sister.
James Ford, and other Stories.
The Friends.

SECOND SERIES.

Bird-Keeping-Boy.
Hymns for Children, on the Lord's Prayer, our Duty towards God, and Scripture History.
Lucy Parker.
Michael the Chorister.
Olive Lester, the Lame Girl.
Village Story.

LIVES OF ENGLISHMEN.

10 in a packet, 18mo, price 2s. 6d., reduced from 3s. 9d.

Bishop Sanderson.
George Herbert.
Izaak Walton.
John Kettlewell.
Life of Richard Hooker, with some extracts from his writings.
Lord Collingwood.
Lord Exmouth.
Ridley, Bishop of London.
Sir Henry Wotton.
Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles.

Any of these Books may be had separately, as well as in packets.

TALES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH, or Scenes from Humble Life; containing—The Prize; The Primroses; Maurice Favell; Phœbe; The Friends; and a Village Story. *Reprinted from the Magazine for the Young.* With 6 wood cuts, 18mo, cloth, 2s.

Or separately,

THE PRIZE, 2d.
THE PRIMROSES, OR THE ELDER SISTERS, 3d.
MAURICE FAVELL, OR THE SINGING-LESSONS, 3d.
PHŒBE, OR THE HOSPITAL, 3d.
THE FRIENDS, 6d.
A VILLAGE STORY, 6d.

LUCY PARKER, 18mo, 6d.

MIDSUMMER DAY, or the Two Churches, 18mo, 3d.

HARRIET AND HER SISTER, 18mo, 6d.

LONDON PRIDE, 18mo, 3d.

HANNAH AND ALICE, 18mo, 3d.

"A very useful series—eminently suited, as we have found, for school prizes at this season."—*Christian Remembrancer.*

"Well suited for rewards for good behaviour in parochial schools and such like distribution, the stories being admirably adapted to the capacities of children, and point their moral obviously, without intrusion."—*Guardian.*

"They are highly interesting and very pleasing tales of village life, told in very good and simple language, and have each a moral which the young mind can easily comprehend."—*Church of England Quarterly Review.*

THE VICAR'S GIFT TO HIS SUNDAY SCHOOL CHILDREN, by the Rev. H. K. Cornish, Second Edition, 18mo, 2d.

BIDDY KAVANAGH and other Tales, 18mo, 1s.

INFANTINE POEMS, by Mary Dring, royal 32mo, 2d.

CROCUS, or Cautionary Stories in Verse, by the author of the "Daisy" and "Cowslip," 18mo, 1s.

BLUE-BELL, or Tales and Fables, by the author of the "Daisy" and "Cowslip," fcp. 8vo, 6 fine wood cuts, cloth, 2s. 6d.

SHORT PRAYERS FOR YOUNG CHRISTIANS, by a Clergyman, 32mo, 1d.

LAURA T———, or Memoirs of a Young Christian, 18mo, sewed, 4d.; or bound in cloth, gilt edges, 8d.

BESSIE GRAY, or the Dull Child, 18mo, third edit., cloth, 1s.

EDWARD TRUEMAN, or False Impressions, 18mo, third edition, 6d.; or bound in cloth, 1s.

THE BIRDKEEPING BOY, by the Rev. S. Rickards, Second edition, 6d.; or bound in cloth, gilt edges, 1s.

MICHAEL THE CHORISTER, Third Edition, 6d.; or bound in cloth, gilt edges, 1s.

ROBERT MARSHALL, by the author of the Fairy Bower, 18mo, 4d.

THE STANLEY GHOST, ditto, 4d.

THE OLD BRIDGE, ditto, 4d.

The above 3 together in cloth, 1s. 6d.

HYMNS FOR CHILDREN, on the Lord's Prayer, Our Duty towards God, and Scripture History, 18mo, fifth edition, sewed, 6d.

FIRST WEEK. Hymns on the Creation, by the Rev. S. Rickards, 18mo, 2d.

THE BIBLE IN MINIATURE, 64mo, roan, gilt edges, price 6d.

MAGAZINE FOR THE YOUNG, price 2d., published monthly. This publication is now enlarged to 36 pages.

MAGAZINE FOR THE YOUNG, Volume for 1848, 18mo, half bound, 2s. 6d.

MAGAZINE FOR THE YOUNG, Volume for 1849, enlarged, 18mo, half bound, 2s. 6d.

"Quite equal to its predecessors, and will prove a welcome and valuable present to young persons who do not receive it monthly. It is an unpretending, cheap and sterling publication—not a mere undigested and indigestible collection of miscellaneous matter, but furnishing a few useful and interesting extracts, with nicely told and instructive tales."—*English Churchman.*

"The last year's volume of this admirable little periodical for the young. As a miscellany for those whom the Church has under her nurture and admonition, it is in all respects a delightful and improving publication."—*Oxford Herald.*

"On the whole, the most effective and popular work with those for whom it is written."—*Christian Remembrancer.*

"Well deserving of circulation amongst the children of the Church, and young persons in our colonies, as well as at home."—*Colonial Church Chronicle.*

Tales, Poetry, &c.

SIR ELIDOC, A BRETON LEGEND,

Translated from the German of the Baron de la Motte Fouqué. With frontispiece by Thompson. Foolscap 8vo, Cloth, 7s.

THE FAIRY BOWER, or the History of a Month, fcp 8vo, third edition, cloth, 6s.

THE LOST BROOCH, or The History of Another Month, fcp 8vo, second edition, 2 vols. cloth, 10s. 6d.

LOUISA, or the Bride, fcp 8vo, cloth, 6s.

ENGLISH CHURCHWOMEN OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, fcp 8vo, second edition, cloth, 5s.

ABBEYCHURCH, or Self Control and Self Conceit, fcp 8vo, cloth, 4s. 6d.

SCENES AND CHARACTERS, or Eighteen Months at Beechcroft; by the author of Abbeychurch, fcp 8vo, second edition, cloth, 4s. 6d.

THE CAPTIVE MAIDEN, a Tale of the Third Century, fcp. 8vo, cloth, 3s. 6d.

MISS JEWSBURY'S THREE HISTORIES.—The Enthusiast. The Nonchalant. The Realist. Second edition, fcp 8vo, cloth, 3s.

CHURCH POETRY, or Christian Thoughts in Old and Modern Verse, 18mo, third edition, with Embellishments, cloth, 4s.; and morocco, 7s.

DAYS AND SEASONS, or Church Poetry for the Year, with Embellishments, second edition, cloth, 4s. 6d., and morocco, 7s. 6d.

PASSAGES FROM THE POETS, 18mo, cloth, 3s.

LYRA APOSTOLICA, 18mo, ninth edition, cloth, 3s. 6d., and morocco, 6s.

REEDS SHAKEN WITH THE WIND, Cluster the Second, by the Vicar of Morwenstow, 18mo, cloth, 1s.

ABRIDGEMENT OF
JEREMY TAYLOR'S LIFE OF CHRIST.

UNIFORM WITH THE "PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN LIBRARY."

18*mo*, *Cloth*, 1*s*. 6*d*.

"One of those very cheap and useful publications of a devotional character, which we rejoice to find supplied to the members of the Church, by the spirited exertions of the publishers of this work. This little volume contains a treasure of pious meditation and sound divinity.—*English Review*, July, 1849.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CROSS, illustrated in a Memorial of a humble follower of Christ, third edition, 18mo, cloth, 1s.

"A Book which we have more than once commended, and which it is really a privilege both to welcome and to commend again on this its third appearance. Its value and success as a testimony to the practical efficiency of the Church's system, both among ourselves and in America, have been incalculable. Truth and fidelity are stamped on every line."—*Christian Remembrancer*, October, 1849.

DAILY EXERCISES, being Prayers and Meditations for a Fortnight—Horneck—18mo, cloth, 9d.

PRAYERS FOR THE CLOSET, by a Clergyman, fourth edition, 18mo, cloth, 1s.

PRAYERS, HYMNS, &c, for Sundays, Weekdays, and Festivals. Compiled for the use of Schools, to form a short Morning and Evening Service. In 21 Sheets, to be pasted on Card. Per Set, 1s. 6d.

THE CATECHUMEN'S INSTRUCTOR; being a brief explanation of the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, by the Rev. S. Fox, 18mo, cloth, 1s. 6d.

CROSSMAN'S INTRODUCTION to the Knowledge of the Christian Religion, 18mo, sheep, 1s.

WOGAN'S ESSAY ON THE PROPER LESSONS, appointed by the Liturgy of the Church of England, complete in 2 volumes, 8vo, cloth, 16s.

"We welcome with much satisfaction a reprint of "Wogan on the Proper Lessons," a work of a very primitive cast and full of instructive matter. It is truly a Church of England book."—*British Critic, October*, 1836.

BURKITT'S EXPOSITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, 4to, *portrait*, cloth, 16s.

Ditto, ditto, 3 volumes, 8vo, *portrait*, cloth, 20s

BOOKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED
BY JOHN HENRY PARKER,
OXFORD; AND 377 STRAND, LONDON.

I.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. A cheaper Edition of this popular Work is now ready. Price in *cloth*, 1*s*. 6*d*., or *neatly bound with gilt edges*, 2*s*.

II.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND LEAVES HER CHILDREN FREE TO WHOM TO OPEN THEIR GRIEFS. A Letter to the Rev. W. U. RICHARDS, Minister of Margaret Chapel. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. 8vo. 5*s*.

III.

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY NOT AN ARBITRARY AUTHORITY, BUT LIMITED BY THE LAWS OF THE CHURCH OF WHICH KINGS ARE MEMBERS. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, late Fellow of Oriel College. Part I. Ancient Precedents. 8vo. 7*s*. Part II. in the press.

IV.

THE CHARACTER OF PILATE AND THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE. A Course of Sermons preached at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, by the Rev. W. SEWELL, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, and Whitehall Preacher. 12mo. Price 4*s*. 6*d*.

V.

WESTMINSTER CHURCHES. A Sermon preached in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, on the Fourth Sunday after Easter 1850. By the Rev. W. SEWELL. 12mo. 6*d*.

VI.

DAILY STEPS TOWARDS HEAVEN. A small pocket volume, containing a few PRACTICAL THOUGHTS on the GOSPEL HISTORY, with Texts for every Day in the Year, commencing with Advent. *A new edition*, *cloth*, 2*s*. 6*d*.; *bound*, 4*s*.

VII.

HYMNALE SECUNDUM USUM INSIGNIS AC PRÆCLARÆ ECCLESIÆ SARISBURIENSIS. Accedunt Hymni quidam secundum usus Matris Ecclesiæ Eboracensis et insignis Ecclesiæ Herford. 18mo. cloth, 3*s*. 6*d*.

VIII.

A REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL MEETING OF CLERGY AND LAITY AT ST. MARTIN'S HALL, AND FREEMASONS' HALL, July 23, 1850. Reprinted from the "Guardian," with Revisions. 12mo. Price 6*d*.

IX.

FIVE SERMONS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF FAITH AND CHURCH AUTHORITY. By the Rev. C. MARRIOTT, B.D., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, in Oxford. 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

X.

THE NATURE AND COMPARATIVE VALUE OF THE CHRISTIAN EVIDENCES CONSIDERED GENERALLY, in Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the year MDCCCXLIX, at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. JOHN BAMPTON, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By the Rev. JOHN MICHELL, B.D., Vice-Principal of Magdalen Hall, and late Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

XI.

THE DAILY SERVICES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; complete in one portable volume. Price 10*s.* 6*d. bound*, or 16*s.* in *morocco.*

XII.

A FEW WORDS ON THE SPIRIT IN WHICH MEN ARE MEETING THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THE CHURCH. A Letter to ROUNDELL PALMER, Esq. Q.C., M.P. By the Rev. E. A. MONRO, M.A. *Second Edition*, 8vo. 1*s.*

XIII.

PAROCHIAL WORK. By the Rev. EDWARD MONRO, M.A., Incumbent of Harrow Weald, Middlesex. 8vo. 9*s.*

XIV.

LITURGIA DOMESTICA; Services for every Morning and Evening in the Week. With Commemoration of the FASTS AND FESTIVALS, DOMESTIC AND OTHER OCCASIONS, from the Book of Common Prayer and other Sources: for THE USE OF FAMILIES. By ARTHUR H. DYKE ACLAND, Esq. *Fourth edition, revised and enlarged.* 18mo. 2*s.*

XV.

CHRISTIAN BALLADS AND POEMS. By the Rev. A. C. COXE. With Corrections and a Preface to this edition by the Author. 16mo. 3*s.* DREAMLAND, and other Ballads, may also be had in a separate form, in a packet of 12 for One Shilling.

XVI.

TRACTS ON THE CHURCH. By the Rev. W. JONES, of Nayland. Containing the "Essay on the Church," the "Churchman's Catechism," &c. 18mo. *cloth*, 1*s.* 6*d.*

XVII.

OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. Four Books by THOMAS Λ KEMPIS. A new edition revised, handsomely printed in fcp. 8vo. with Vignettes and red border lines, *cloth*, 5*s.*; *morocco*, 9*s.* Also kept in *antique calf binding, vermilion edges*, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

XVIII.

THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION. Illustrated by Select Passages from Old English Divines. With Lessons, Prayers, and Meditations; and a History of Confirmation. By the Rev. HENRY HOPWOOD, M.A. *Third Edition*, royal 32mo. elegantly printed, with Red Rubrics. *Cloth*, 2*s.* 6*d.*; *morocco*, 5*s.*

XIX.

Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. THE GREEK TESTAMENT, with English Notes. By the Rev. EDWARD BURTON, D.D. *Third Ed. revised*, 8vo. 14*s.*

XX.

Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.

Volumes published for 1849.

FRANK'S SERMONS. 2 vols. 1*l.* 1*s.*

ABP. LAUD'S WORKS. Vol. II. Conference with Fisher. 10*s.* 6*d.*

HAMMOND'S SERMONS. Part I. 8*s.*

BP. FORBES' Considerationes Modestæ. Vol. I. 10*s.* 6*d.*

THORNDIKE'S WORKS. Vol. III. Part I. 10*s.*

XXI.

TRACTS FOR PAROCHIAL USE. A Series of sound religious Tracts, suited to the various wants of a Parish, chiefly by the same Writers and under the same Editor as the "Tracts for the Christian Seasons," is now in course of publication.

*** A specimen Part, or packet, is published monthly, price 1*s.*

XXII.

TRACTS FOR THE CHRISTIAN SEASONS. A Second Series of this popular Work is now in course of publication in Monthly Parts, at One Shilling each. The First Series may still be had in Four Volumes, price 18*s.*, *strongly bound in cloth.* Also Vols. I. and II. of the New Series. Price 4*s.* each.

*** This Work will be completed in November.

XXIII.

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, to the Revolution of 1688. By the late Rev. J. B. S. CARWITHEN, B.D. *A New Edition*, edited by the Rev. W. R. BROWELL, M.A. 2 vols. small 8vo. 12*s.*

XXIV.

FESTIVAL AND LENTEN LECTURES, delivered at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, with special reference to the Ecclesiastical and Social Questions of the Day in 1848–49. By the Rev. C. J. ABRAHAM, B.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Assistant Master, Eton. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

XXV.

SERMONS, MOSTLY ACADEMICAL. With a Preface, containing a Refutation of the Theory founded upon the Syriac Fragments of the Epistles of St. Ignatius. By ROBERT HUSSEY, B.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, late Censor of Christ Church, and Whitehall Preacher. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

XXVI.

SERMONS PREACHED IN THE CHAPELRY OF BISHOP'S COLLEGE, CALCUTTA. By the Rev. A. W. STREET, A.M., of Magdalen Hall and Pembroke College, Oxford, Senior Professor of Bishop's College, Calcutta. Foolscap 8vo. 5*s.*

XXVII.

THE PRIEST'S MANUAL; or a Selection of Prayers, Pious Exercises, and other aids to a Priestly Life, by the devout and daily use of which Holy Men may always handle Holy Things in a Holy Manner. Abridged, translated, and altered by the Very Rev. the DEAN of MORAY, from the original Latin. Foolscap 8vo. *sewed*, 1*s.* 6*d.*

XXVIII.

THE LEGISLATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD AND THE HEBDOMADAL BOARD. A Speech prepared for the Convocation, April 23, 1850. By the Rev. W. SEWELL. Price 1*s.*

XXIX.

OFFICIUM EUCHARISTICUM: a Preparatory Service to a Devout and Worthy Reception of the Lord's Supper. By EDWARD LAKE, D.D. A New Edition, with the Communion Service. *Thirty-second Edition*, 32mo. *cloth*, 2*s.* 6*d.*; *morocco*, 5*s.*

XXX.

PLAIN STATEMENTS FOR PLAIN PEOPLE. By a Layman. 8vo. price One Shilling.

XXXI.

THE CROSS AND THE SERPENT: Being a brief History of the Triumph of the Cross, through a long series of ages, in Prophecy, Types, and Fulfilment. By the Rev. WILLIAM HASLAM, Perpetual Curate of St. Michael's, Baldiu, Cornwall. 12*mo.* *with numerous woodcuts*, 5*s.*

XXXII.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER PROHIBITED BY HOLY SCRIPTURE, as understood by the Church for 1500 years. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. To which is added, A Speech bearing on the English Law of Marriage, delivered in the Court of Queen's Bench. By E. BADELEY, Esq. M.A. 8vo. 6*s.*

XXXIII.

THE PSALTER, with the Gregorian Tones adapted to the several Psalms; as also the Canticles in the Prayer-book, and the Creed of St. Athanasius. *Second Edition.* 18mo. 2*s.*

XXXIV.

REMARKS ON THE RECENT JUDGMENT OF THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN THE CASE OF GORHAM *v.* THE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER. By a SOLICITOR. 8vo. Price 1*s.*

XXXV.

THE SINGERS OF THE SANCTUARY, AND THE MISSIONARY; Two Tales. By the Author of "Angels' Work." 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

XXXVI.

OBSERVATIONS ON VILLAGE SCHOOL EDUCATION, with Suggestions for its Improvement. By the Rev. R. A. GORDON, Rector of Avington, Berks, Inspector of the Deaneries of Ilsley and Newbury. Published by desire of the Lord Bishop and the Diocesan Board of Education of Oxford. 8vo. 6*d.*

XXXVII.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED. By the Rev. W. H. TEALE, M.A., Vicar of Roystom, in the Diocese of York. 8vo. 2*s.*

XXXVIII.

PURITY OF LIFE. A Sermon preached in the Parish Church to the Boys of Uppingham Grammar-School, by the Rev. E. MONRO. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

XXXIX.

A CHRONOLOGICAL CATENA OF ANCIENT FATHERS AND COUNCILS, together with the Teaching of the Reformers and more recent Divines of our Church on the Doctrine of Spiritual Regeneration in Holy Baptism. 8vo. 5*s.*

XL.

REASONS FOR FEELING CONFIDENCE IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. In a Letter to a Friend. By the Rev. E. A. MONRO. 8vo. 1*s.*

XLI.

SACRAMENTS CHANNELS OF GRACE FROM OUR LORD'S HUMANITY. A Sermon preached in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Uxbridge Moor, August 27, 1850. By the Rev. W. COOKE, M.A. Incumbent of St. Stephen's, Hammersmith. 8vo. 6*d.*

XLII.

THE ONE FOLD OF CHRIST; or, Practical and Spiritual Unity. By the Rev. C. A. DOUGLAS, B.A., Curate of Brighton. Fcap. 2*s.*

XLIII.

OPINION OF THE JUDGES ON THE JURISDICTION OF THE CONVOCATION IN MATTERS OF HERESY, given in the year 1711. Extracted from Mr. Whiston's Account of the Convocation's proceeding in his case. 8vo. Price 6*d.*

XLIV.

A PLEA FOR THE FAITHFUL RESTORATION OF OUR ANCIENT CHURCHES. By GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, Architect. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

XLV.

SERMONS PREACHED IN BRADFIELD CHURCH, BERKS, Oriel College Chapel, and in other places. By the Rev. C. MARRIOTT, B.D. Volume Second. 12mo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

XLVI.

BISHOP WILSON ON THE LORD'S SUPPER. Being a Short and Plain Instruction for the better Understanding of the Lord's Supper, with the necessary Preparation required. To which is affixed, The Office of the Holy Communion; with Proper Helps and Directions. *A New Edition,* reprinted entire. *Cloth,* 1*s.*; *roan,* 1*s.* 6*d.*

XLVII.

BISHOP WILSON'S SACRA PRIVATA, uniform with the above, but adapted to general use by the omission of such passages as were especially intended for the use of the Clergy. *Cloth,* 1*s.*; *roan,* 1*s.* 6*d.*

XLVIII.

PROGRESSIVE EXERCISES ON THE CHURCH CATECHISM. By the Rev. HENRY HOPWOOD, M.A. Part I. Previous Exercises. Part II. The Church Catechism, with Short Questions and Answers. Part III. Analytical Exercises. 32mo. 2*d.* each.

XLIX.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND BY A LADY. Vol. I. from the Roman Invasion to the Norman Conquest. *Fcap.* 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

L.

THE BLESSINGS OF BAPTISM RIGHTLY RECEIVED, AND THE SPIRITUAL BENEFIT CONVEYED BY THE SACRAMENT CONSIDERED. In a Letter to a Friend, by the Rev. W. C. RAWLINSON, M.A., Curate of Bunwell, Suffolk. 8vo. 2*s.*

LI.

THE CHURCH THE HOUSE OF GOD AND GATE OF HEAVEN. A Sermon Preached in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Sheviocke, Cornwall, at the Re-dedication of the Chancel, on the Feast of St. Peter, 1850. By the Rev. ARTHUR TATHAM, M.A., Rector of Boconnoc with Broadoak. 8vo. 1*s.*

LII.

THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME OF EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. 8vo. 6*d.*

LIII.

AN ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPEMENT OF WINDOW TRACERY IN ENGLAND. With Numerous Illustrations. Parts I. II. and III. 8vo. Price 5*s.* each. Part IV., completing the Work, will be ready in January.

LIV.

A CHARGE DELIVERED AT THE VISITATION OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF OXFORD IN MAY AND JUNE 1850. By the Ven. CHARLES C. CLERKE, D.D., Archdeacon of Oxford. With an Appendix containing an Address presented to the Bishop of the Diocese, together with his Lordship's reply. 8vo. 1*s.*

LV.

SUGGESTIONS TO MINDS PERPLEXED BY THE GORHAM CASE. A Sermon preached at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, on Sexagesima Sunday, 1850. By the Rev. W. SEWELL, B.D. Second Edition. Price 6*d.*

LVI.

Also, by the same Author, 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE NATION, THE CHURCH, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD: Two Sermons preached before the University in November 1849.

LVII.

A COMMENTARY ON THE FOUR GOSPELS, collected out of the Works of the Fathers. Translated from the "Catena Aurea" of Thomas Aquinas. 4 vols. in eight parts. 3*l.* 17*s.*

This compilation not being admissible in the Library of the Fathers, from the date of some few of the authors introduced into it, the editors of the latter work have been led to publish it in a separate form, being assured that those who have subscribed to their translations of the entire treatises of the ancient Catholic divines, will not feel less interest, nor find less benefit, in the use of so beautiful a selection from them. The editors refer to the preface for some account of the nature and characteristic excellences of the work, which will be found useful in the private study of the Gospels, and full of thought for those engaged in religious instruction.

LVIII.

THE DIVINITY OF OUR BLESSED LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. A Prize Essay read in the Divinity School, Oxford, Friday, June 7, 1850. Being one of the Dissertations to which Mr. DENYER's Theological Prize was awarded. By the Rev. WILLIAM ALEXANDER, S.C.L., New Inn Hall. 8vo. 3*s.*

LIX.

A LETTER TO THE VEN. EDWARD BERENS, M.A. Archdeacon of Berks, on the Constitution of the Ultimate Court of Appeal in Causes Ecclesiastical. By JAMES RANDALL, M.A., Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Oxford, and to the Lord Brougham, and Rector of Binfield, Berks. Price 6*d.*

LX.

A CHALLENGE TO THOSE WHO IMPUGN THE POSITION ASSUMED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SINCE THE REFORMATION. By the Rev. E. S. FOULKES, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. Price 4*d.*

LXI.

DISCOURSES ON PROPHECY; in which are considered its Structure, Use, and Inspiration. By the Rev. J. DAVISON, B.D., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. *Fourth Edition.* 8vo. 12*s.*

LXII.

REMARKS ON BAPTISMAL REGENERATION. By the same Author. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 1*s.*

LXIII.

DEVOTIONS. By the Right Rev. Father in God, LAUNCELOT ANDREWES. Translated from the Greek and Latin, and arranged anew. Fcap. 3vo. 5*s.*; *morocco*, 8*s.*

LXIV.

A HELP TO PRAYER, in Six Tracts. By the Rev. W. GRESLEY, M.A., Prebendary of Lichfield. 12mo. 1*s.*

LXV.

THE PASTOR OF WELBOURN AND HIS FLOCK. 18mo. 2*s.*

LXVI.

A LETTER TO THE PROVOST OF ETON COLLEGE, OXFORD, ON THE ELECTION OF SCHOLARS TO THE TWO FOUNDATIONS OF KING HENRY VI. By GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. 8vo. Price 1*s.*

LXVII.

THE HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, BY THUCYDIDES. The Text of ARNOLD, with his Argument. The Indexes now first adapted to his Sections, and the Greek Index greatly enlarged. By the Rev. G. R. P. TIDDEMAN, M.A., of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. In one thick volume. 8vo. 12*s.*

LXVIII.

THE GIFT OF THE HOLY GHOST IN BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION. Reprinted from the "Tracts for the Christian Seasons." Royal 32mo. 3*d.*

LXIX.

THE CHILD'S CHRISTIAN YEAR: Hymns for every Sunday and Holyday in the Year. *Fourth Edition.* 18mo. *cloth*, 2*s.*; *morocco*, 4*s.* 6*d.*

LXX.

THE ENGLISH THEOLOGICAL WORKS OF WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, D.D. sometime Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. Complete in 10 vols. 8vo. 5*l.* 5*s.*

LXXI.

A SACRED DIAL OF SCRIPTURE AND PRAYER: suitable for the Sick, the Mourner, the Watcher, or the Penitent. Compiled by the Ven. Archdeacon MANT. 18mo. 2*s.*

LXXII.

RULES FOR HOLY LIVING AND DYING, containing the whole duty of a Christian, and the part of Devotions fitted to all occasions, and furnished for all necessities. By Bishop JEREMY TAYLOR. Complete in 1 vol. 18mo. *cloth, gilt edges*, 4*s.* Each part may be had separately, price 2*s.* bound in *limp cloth.*

LXXIII.

HORROR *versus* MORALITY; or, the Tendency of the present Popular Style of Writing on the Public Morals considered. 8vo. 1*s.*

LXXIV.

A LETTER TO THE RIGHT REV. PATRICK TORRY, D.D., Bishop of the United Diocese of St. Andrews, &c. &c. By the Rev. CHARLES WORDSWORTH, M.A., Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, in the same diocese. 8vo. 6*d.*

LXXV.

THE IRISH CHURCH AND THE ARTICLES OF 1615. In Reply to some Remarks of the Rev. W. Maskell in his Second Letter. By the Rev. HENRY JELLETT, A.M., Curate of St. Peter's, Cork, Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Cork. 18mo. 1*s.*

LXXVI.

A GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN GRECIAN, ROMAN, ITALIAN, AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. Exemplified by upwards of Eighteen Hundred Illustrations, drawn from the best Examples. Fifth Edition, 3 vols. 8vo. *cloth, gilt tops*, 2*l.* 8*s.*

LXXVII.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. By JOHN HENRY PARKER, F.S.A. 16mo. with numerous Illustrations. Price 4*s.* 6*d.*

LXXVIII.

AN ESSAY ON THE PRIESTHOOD; intended chiefly as an Answer to the Theory of the Church, as advanced by Dr. Arnold. By the Rev. HENRY HARRIS, B.D., Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. 8vo. 2*s.*

LXXIX.

Also by the same,

THE INSPIRATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE CONSIDERED IN REFERENCE TO OBJECTIONS. A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

LXXX.

CHURCH MATTERS IN MDCCCL. No. I. Trial of Doctrine. By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A., Vicar of Hursley. No. II. A Call to Speak Out. Price 3*d.* each.

LXXXI.

AN ITINERARY; or, Prayers for all that Travel. 18mo. *vellum.* 6*d.*

LXXXII.

THE HOURS; being Devotions for the Third, Sixth, and Ninth Hours. With a Preface. *Third Edition,* royal 32mo. *vellum,* 1*s.*

LXXXIII.

TALES AND ALLEGORIES: A SELECTION FROM THE TRACTS FOR PAROCHIAL USE, suitable for a Parochial or Lending Library. Foolscap 8vo. Price 3*s.* 6*d.* *strongly bound in cloth.*

LXXXIV.

A CATECHISM ON THE XXXIX ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By the Rev. J. BEAVEN, D.D. Professor of Divinity in King's College, Toronto, Author of "A Help to Catechising," &c. 18mo. *cloth,* 1*s.* 6*d.*

LXXXV.

CATECHETICAL EXERCISES ON THE APOSTLES' CREED, THE LORD'S PRAYER, AND THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, designed to aid the Clergy in Public Catechising. Fcap. 8vo. Price 6*d.* each Series.

With the hope of giving a further stimulus to the important work of catechetical teaching, now so happily reviving in our Church, and as an aid to the Clergy in carrying it on, it is proposed to publish, at intervals, sets of notes on the leading subjects of elementary Christian instruction. Each issue consists of a fasciculus of from twelve to fifteen distinct papers, each paper containing matter for a catechetical lesson of from twenty minutes to half an hour's duration. The whole will have the advantage of being revised for the press after having been tested by the compilers in their own schools and church. The further prosecution of the design will depend on the degree of approval with which these three sets may be received.

LXXXVI.

Library of the Fathers.

VOL.	VOLUMES LATELY PUBLISHED.	Published Price. s.	d.	Subscribers' Price. s.	d.
27.	ST. CHRYSOSTOM ON 2 CORINTHIANS .	10	6	8	0
28.	ST. CHRYSOSTOM ON ST. JOHN, Part I. .	10	6	8	0
29.	ST. AUGUSTINE ON ST. JOHN, Vol. II. .	16	0	12	0
30.	ST. AUGUSTINE ON THE PSALMS, Vol. III. .	14	0	10	6
31.	ST. GREGORY, MORALS ON THE BOOK OF JOB, Vol. III. and Last . . .	15	0	11	0

LXXXVII.

Bibliotheca Patrum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.

SANCTI PATRIS NOSTRI JOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI IN DIVI PAULI EPISTOLAM AD ROMANOS, HOMILIÆ XXXIII. Price 12*s.*; to subscribers, 9*s.*